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The  
Emma  
Goldman  
Papers



REEL

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

*A Microfilm Edition*

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**Reel 66**

**Government Documents**

**April 1, 1922 to October 16, 1942**

Edited by

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Ronald J. Zboray

and

Daniel Cornford

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Alice Hall

**CHADWYCK-HEALEY INC.**

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# The Emma Goldman Papers Project

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- [Letter] 1934 Feb. 21 [New York to] Daniel W. MacCormack [Commissioner] Immigration and Naturalization Service, Department of Labor, Washington, D.C. [draft] / A[rthur] L[eonard] R[oss].
- [Letter] 1934 Feb. 23 [New York to] Daniel W. MacCormack, Commissioner [Immigration and Naturalization Service, Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / Roger Baldwin.
- Woman Without a Country Retains Nimble Wit and Fiery Views — 28 cm. *In* Washington Herald [Feb. 24? 1934] / [author unknown].
- "Red Emma" Comes Back, Bearing Torch of Old — 28 cm. *In* [unknown periodical (Feb. 24, 1934)] / [author unknown].
- [Letter] 1934 Feb. 27, New York [to] Daniel W. MacCormack [Commissioner] Immigration and Naturalization Service, Department of Labor, Washington, D.C. / Arthur Leonard Ross.
- [Letter, 1934 March? to] Franklin D. Roosevelt, President, Washington, D.C. [transcript] / Mrs. F.R. Gould.
- Summary of the Intelligence Situation as of March 1, 1934 [Baltimore, Md.] / J.C. Pegram, A[ssistant] C[hief] of S[taff], Military Intelligence Division, War Department].
- Fight Goldman Ban — 22 cm. *In* [New York Times (March 6? 1934)] / [author unknown].
- [Memorandum] 1934 March 10, Baltimore, Md. [to] Adjutant General, War Department, Washington, D.C. / John B. Richardson, Assistant Adjutant General, Third Corps Area [War Department].
- [Memorandum] 1934 March 16, Boston [to] Adjutant General, War Department, Washington, D.C. / Fox Conner, Commanding General, First Corps Area [War Department].

- [Letter] 1934 March 21, Cleveland, Ohio [to] Frances Perkins, Secretary of Labor [Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / Fred Schulder.
- [Letter] 1934 March 23, Rochester, N.Y. [to Franklin D. Roosevelt] President, Washington, D.C. / Robert C. Tait.
- [Letter] 1934 March 27, Madison [Wis. to] Frances Perkins, Secretary of Labor [Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / John R. Commons.
- [Letter] 1934 April 3 [New York to] Clifford McCarthy, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Department of the Interior, Washington, D.C. / R[oger] B[aldwin].
- [Letter] 1934 April 4, New York [to] Frances Perkins [Secretary of Labor, Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / Henry Moskowitz.
- [Letter] 1934 April 4, Chicago [to Eleanor] Roosevelt, Washington, D.C. / Henrietta M. Voorsanger.
- [Letter] 1934 April 5, Chicago [to Eleanor] Roosevelt, Washington, D.C. / Henrietta M. Voorsanger.
- [Telegram] 1934 April 5, Chicago [to] Frances Perkins, Secretary of Labor [Department of Labor], Wash[ington], D.C. / Edith Abbot, *et al.*
- [Telegram] 1934 April 5, Chicago [to] Franklin D. Roosevelt, President, Wash[ington], D.C. / Edith Abbot, *et al.*
- [Telegram, 1934 April 5, Chicago to] Franklin D. Roosevelt, President, and Frances Perkins, Secretary of Labor [Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. [transcript] / Edith Abbot, *et al.*
- [Telegram, 1934 April 5, Chicago to] Franklin D. Roosevelt, President, Washington, D.C. / Edith Abbot, *et al.*
- [Memorandum] 1934 April 6, Washington [D.C. to Frances Perkins] Secretary of Labor [Department of Labor, Washington, D.C.] / Louis McH[enry] Howe, Secretary to the President.
- [Letter] 1934 April 6 [Washington, D.C. to Henrietta M.] Voorsanger, Chicago [Malvina? T.? Scheider?] Secretary to [Eleanor] Roosevelt.
- [Report on] Speech By Emma Goldman at Pittsburgh, Pa. on April 11, 1934 / [Agent? Bureau of Investigation? Department of Justice?].
- [Letter] 1934 April 11 [New York to] Immigration and Naturalization Service, Department of Labor, Washington, D.C. / A[rthur] L[eonard] R[oss].
- [Letter] 1934 April 11, Brooklyn, N.Y. [to] Frances Perkins, Secretary [of Labor] Department of Labor, Washington, D.C. / John Haynes Holmes.
- [Telegram] 1934 April 11 [New York to] Clifford McCarthy, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Department of [the] Interior, Washington, D.C. / Roger Baldwin.
- [Telegram] 1934 April 12, Washington, D.C. [to] Roger Baldwin, N[ew] Y[ork] / Clifford McCarthy [Bureau of Indian Affairs, Department of the Interior].
- [Letter] 1934 April 12, Washington, D.C. [to] Stella [Ballantine, New York] / Elizabeth Watson.
- [Letter] 1934 April 13, New York [to Frances] Perkins [Secretary of Labor, Department of Labor, Washington, D.C.] / [Stella Ballantine].
- [Telegram] 1934 April 14, St. Louis, Mo. [to] Franklin D. Roosevelt, President, Wash[ington] D.C. / Joseph M. Klamon, *et al.*
- [Telegram] 1934 April 14, St. Louis, Mo. [to] Franklin D. Roosevelt [President], Washington, D.C. / Joseph M. Klamon, *et al.*
- [Telegram, 1934 April 14, St. Louis, Mo. to Franklin D.] Roosevelt, President, and [Francis] Perkins [Secretary of Labor, Department of Labor, Washington, D.C. (transcript)] / Joseph M. Klamon, *et al.*

- [Letter] 1934 April 16, New York [to] Frances Perkins, Secretary of Labor  
[Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / Arthur Garfield Hays.
- [Telegram] 1934 April 17, New York [to] Frances Perkins, Secretary of Labor  
[Department of Labor], Wash[ington] D.C. / E.C. Lindeman.
- [Letter] 1934 April 17, Rochester, N.Y. [to] Frances Perkins, Secretary of Labor  
[Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / Meyer Jacobstein.
- [Telegram] 1934 April 22, Rochester, N.Y. [to] Franklin D. Roosevelt, President,  
Washington, D.C. / Henry M. Stern, *et al.*
- Emma Goldman Bids Good-by Again — 22 cm. *In* [New York Times? (May 1?  
1934)] / [author unknown].
- [Memorandum] 1934 May 3, Montreal [to J.H. MacBrien] Commissioner, R[oyal]  
C[anadian] M[ounted] Police, Ottawa / F.J. Mead, Sup[erintenden]t, C Division,  
Royal Canadian Mounted Police.
- [Letter] 1934 May 4, Washington, D.C. [to Joseph B.] Keenan, Assistant Attorney  
General [Department of Justice], Washington, D.C. / J. Edgar Hoover, Director  
[Bureau of] Investigation, Department of Justice.
- "Red Emma's" Visit — 28 cm. *In* St. Louis Post-Dispatch (May 7, 1934) [transcript]  
/ [author unknown].
- [Letter] 1934 May 11 [Washington, D.C. to Frances Perkins] Secretary of Labor  
[Department of Labor, Washington, D.C.] / Joseph B. Keenan, Assistant  
Attorney General [Department of Justice].
- [Letter] 1934 May 14 [New York to] Daniel W. MacCormack, Commissioner  
[Immigration and Naturalization Service] Department of Labor, Washington,  
D.C. / Roger Baldwin.
- [Letter] 1934 May 18, Washington [D.C. to] Joseph B. Keenan, Assistant Attorney  
General, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. / Ralph H. Horner, Chief,  
Information Section, Immigration & Naturalization Service, Dept. of Labor.
- [Letter] 1934 June 3, Dorchester, Mass. [to Eleanor] Roosevelt, [Washington, D.C.]  
/ Julia E. Deane.
- [Letter] 1934 June 7 [Washington, D.C.? to] Julia E. Deane, Dorchester, Mass. /  
[Eleanor Roosevelt].
- [Letter] 1934 July 13, Marlboro, N.H. [to] Frances Perkins [Secretary of Labor,  
Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / Frank E. Ward.
- [Letter] 1934 Sept. 10, Pittsburgh, Pa. [to] Daniel W. MacCormack, Commissioner  
[Immigration and Naturalization Service] Department of Labor, Washington,  
D.C. / R[oger] B[aldwin].
- [Letter] 1934 Sept. 14, Washington [D.C. to] Roger Baldwin, New York / D[aniel]  
W. MacCormack, Commissioner, Immigration and Naturalization Service,  
Department of Labor.
- [Letter] 1934 Sept. 22, Chicago [to] D[aniel] W. M[a]cCormack [Commissioner,  
Immigration and Naturalization Service] Dep[artmen]t of Labor, Washington,  
D.C. / R[oger] B[aldwin].
- [Memorandum] of an interview with Emma Goldman, Niagara Falls, Canada, 1934  
Oct. 4 / R[oger] B[aldwin].
- [Letter] 1934 Oct. 16 [New York to] Frances Perkins, Secretary of Labor  
[Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / R[oger] B[aldwin].
- [Letter] 1934 Oct. 22, Washington [D.C. to] Roger Baldwin, New York / Frances  
Perkins, Secretary [of Labor] Department of Labor.
- Memorandum [on Emma Goldman's Return to United States, 19]34 Oct. 26 /  
R[oger] B[aldwin].



- [Report] re: Mrs. E.G. Colton, alias Emma Goldman, Toronto, 1934 Nov. 29 / R.W. Irvine, Royal Canadian Mounted Police.
- [Memorandum, 19]34 Nov. 30, Toronto [to J.H. MacBrien] Commissioner, R[oyal] C[anadian] M[ounted] P[olice, Ottawa] / C.D. LaNauze, Sup[erintenden]t, O Division, Royal Canadian Mounted Police.
- [Letter] 1935 May 28 [to Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.? (excerpt)] / [author unknown].
- [Memorandum] 1936 Feb. 18 [to Homer Cummings] Attorney General [Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. (excerpt)] / [Federal Bureau of Investigation? Department of Justice?].
- [Telegram] 1936 Sept. 21, Barcelona [to Cordell Hull] Secretary of State [Department of State], Washington [D.C.] / Perkins [Department of State].
- [Letter] 1936 Oct. 28, New York [to J. Edgar Hoover] Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Washington, D.C. [excerpt] / [Agent?] Federal Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice.
- Answers to Questions / Frederic J. Haskin. — 28 cm. *In* [Washington Star (March? 3, 1937)].
- See C.I.O. Drive as Communist in Its Objects / Chesly Manly. — 28 cm. *In* [Chicago Daily Tribune (March 28, 1937, excerpt)].
- [Letter] 1937 Sept. 16 [New York to] Frances Perkins, Secretary of Labor [Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / R[oger] B[aldwin].
- [Memorandum] 1937 Sept. 30, Washington, D.C. [to Edward A.] Tamm [Federal Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.? (excerpt)] / [Agent?] Federal Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice.
- Memorandum [on Emma Goldman's Return to United States, 19]37 Oct. 21 / R[oger] B[aldwin].
- [Letter] 1937 Oct. 30, Valencia [Spain to Cordell Hull] Secretary of State [Department of State], Washington, D.C. / Walter C. Thurston, American Embassy [Department of State].
- [Report from New York re:] Emma Goldman, Rome, 1938 Jan. 18 / Ministro dell' Interno.
- [Letter] 1938 Jan. 27, New York [to Stella] Ballantine, Bearsville, N.Y. / Nancy Cook.
- [Letter] 1938 Feb. 5 [Washington, D.C. to Stella] Ballantine, Bearsville, N.Y. / Malvina T. Scheider, Secretary to [Eleanor] Roosevelt.
- [Letter] 1938 Feb. 5 [Washington, D.C. to] Frances Perkins, Secretary of Labor [Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / Malvina T. Scheider, Secretary to [Eleanor] Roosevelt.
- [Letter] 1938 March 14 [to Federal] Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. / [author unknown].
- [Letter] 1938 March 22 [Washington, D.C. to unknown recipient] / Harold Nathan, Assistant Director [Federal Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].
- [Telegram] 1938 April 22, London [to Ministero dell' Interno, [Rome] / Console Gen[erale] d'Italia.
- [Letter] 1938 May 19, New York [to J. Edgar Hoover] Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation [Department of Justice], Washington, D.C. [excerpt] / R.E. Vetterli, Agent in Charge, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice.
- [Report re: Emma Goldman, Dr. F. Galasso, in London] Rome, 1938 May 29 / Ministro dell' Interno.

- [Agent Report In re: Name Deleted] 1938 July 26 / [Federal Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].
- [Investigation of] Un-American Propaganda Activities [in the United States] / [Special Committee to Investigate Un-American Activities, House of Representatives]. — p. 455, 501, 519, 693, 694 ; 25 cm. *In* [Hearings before a Special Committee . . . House of Representatives, 75th Congress, 3rd Session]. — Vol. 1 (Aug. 17, 1938).
- Investigation of Un-American Propaganda Activities in the United States / Special Committee to Investigate Un-American Activities, House of Representatives. — p. 1953, 2006 ; 25 cm. *In* [Hearings before a Special Committee . . . House of Representatives, 75th Congress, 3rd Session. — Vol. 3 (Oct. 25, 1938)].
- Investigation of Un-American Propaganda Activities in the United States / Special Committee to Investigate Un-American Activities, House of Representatives. — p. 2235, 2246, 2251, 2252 ; 25 cm. *In* [Hearing before a Special Committee . . . House of Representatives, 75th Congress, 3rd Session. — Vol. 3] (Nov. 15, 1938).
- [Letter] 1938 Nov. 28, New York [to J. Edgar Hoover] Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation [Department of Justice], Washington, D.C. / Dwight Brantley, Agent in Charge, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice.
- [Agent Report In] re: Federal Writers Project, 1938 Dec. 2 [excerpt?] / [Federal Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].
- [Memorandum, 19]38 Dec. 9 - 13 [Rome? to Ministro dell' Interno? Rome?] / [Ministro dell' Interno?].
- Investigation of Un-American Propaganda Activities in the United States / Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House of Representatives. — p. 2886, 2891-2894, 3027-3030 ; 25 cm. *In* Hearings before a Special Committee . . . House of Representatives, 75th Congress, 3rd Session. — Vol. 4 (Dec. 14, 1938).
- [Report re: Emma Goldman, Planned Attentat, Rome?] 1939 Jan. 23 / Ministro dell' Interno.
- [Report re: Emma Goldman, Planned Attentat] Rome, 1939 Feb. 10 / Ministro dell' Interno.
- Emma Goldman, Anarchist, Crazy About Cathedrals — 35 cm. *In* [Toronto Star (April 22, 1939)] / [author unknown].
- [Agent Report In re:] Communist Activities [19]39 Sept. 15 [excerpt] / [Agent, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].
- Charges Stalin Betrayed Workers — 35 cm. *In* [Winnipeg Free Press (Sept. 20, 1939)] / [author unknown].
- Says Hitler Needs Stalin — 28 cm. *In* [New York Times (Sept. 20, 1939)] / [author unknown].
- Emma Goldman Denounces Stalin — 28 cm. *In* [New York Post (Sept. 20, 1939)] / [author unknown].
- [Letter] 1939 Sept. 29, San Francisco [to] Agent in Charge [Federal Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice], Los Angeles / [author unknown].
- [Memorandum] Re: Rex [v]s. B[o]rtol[o]tti, et al. [Toronto, 1939 Oct.? 26?] / [author unknown].
- [Letter] 1939 Nov. 8, New York [to Ja]mes L. Houghteling, Commissioner [Immigration and Naturalization Service, Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / Harry Weinberger.
- Soviet Invasion Fails to Surprise "Red Emma" — 35 cm. *In* [Winnipeg Tribune (Nov. 30, 1939)] / [author unknown].

- Stalin is Likened to Judas Iscariot — 18 cm. *In* [Winnipeg Free Press (Dec. 4, 1939)] / [author unknown].
- Report re: Mrs. Emma Goldman Colton [or] Emma Goldman (Anarchist), Winnipeg, 1939 Dec. 6 / [Agent] 304, Royal Canadian Mounted Police.
- [Memorandum, 19]39 Dec. 6 [Winnipeg to J.H. MacBrien?] Commissioner, R[oyal] C[anadian] M[ounted] Police, Ottawa / R.L. Cadiz, A[ssistant] Com[missione]r, D Division, [Royal Canadian Mounted Police].
- Report re: Mrs. Emma Goldman Colton [or] Emma Goldman (Anarchist), Winnipeg, 1939 Dec. 6 / [Agent] 302, Royal Canadian Mounted Police.
- [Memorandum, 19]39 Dec. 6, Winnipeg [to J.H. MacBrien?] Commissioner, R[oyal] C[anadian] M[ounted] Police, Ottawa / R.L. Cadiz, A[ssistant] Com[missione]r, D Division [Royal Canadian Mounted Police].
- Stalin's Party Split, Says Emma Goldman — 18 cm. *In* [Winnipeg Free Press (Dec. 7, 1939)] / [author unknown].
- Report re: Industrial Workers of the World — Emma Goldman speaker, Winnipeg, 1939 Dec. 12 / [Agent] 302, Royal Canadian Mounted Police.
- [Memorandum, 1939 Dec. 12? Winnipeg to J.H. MacBrien?] Commissioner, R[oyal] C[anadian] M[ounted] Police, Ottawa / R.L. Cadiz, Ass[istant] Comm[issione]r, D Division [Royal Canadian Mounted Police].
- Report re: Industrial Workers of the World — Emma Goldman meeting, Winnipeg, 1939 Dec. 12 / [Agent] 304, Royal Canadian Mounted Police.
- [Memorandum, 19]39 Dec. 12 [Winnipeg to J.H. MacBrien?] Commissioner, R[oyal] C[anadian] M[ounted] Police, Ottawa / R.L. Cadiz, Ass[istant] Comm[issione]r, D Div[ision], Royal Canadian Mounted Police].
- Report re: Industrial Workers of the World — Emma Goldman, Winnipeg, 1939 Dec. 15 / [Agent] 304, Royal Canadian Mounted Police.
- [Memorandum, 19]39 Dec. 15 [Winnipeg to J.H. MacBrien?] Commissioner, R[oyal] C[anadian] M[ounted] Police, Ottawa / R.L. Cadiz, Ass[istant] Comm[issione]r, D Division [Royal Canadian Mounted Police].
- [Letter] 1940 Jan. 23, Philadelphia [to Malvina T. Scheider] Secretary to [Eleanor] Roosevelt, Washington, D.C. / Katharine Mulrenan.
- [Letter] 1940 Jan. 25 [Washington, D.C. to] Katharine Mulrenan, Philadelphia / [Malvina T. Scheider] Secretary to [Eleanor] Roosevelt.
- [Memorandum] 1940 Feb. 15, Washington [D.C. to Frances Perkins] Secretary [of Labor, Department of Labor, Washington, D.C. / James L. Houghteling, Commissioner, Immigration and Naturalization Service, Department of Labor.
- Emma Goldman Ill in Toronto Hospital — 15 cm. *In* [Toronto Daily Star (Feb. 20, 1940)] / [author unknown].
- [Bank Book of Emma Goldman] Toronto, 1940 Feb. 22 to June 17 / Dominion Bank.
- [Report] re: Mrs. E.G. Colton [or] Emma Goldman (Anarchist), Toronto [19]40 Feb. 24 / R.J. Smith, Royal Canadian Mounted Police.
- Reds' Fear Seen Behind Hoover Attack / Kent Hunter. — 26 cm. *In* [New York Journal and American (March 2, 1940, excerpt)].
- [Memorandum] 1940 March 4 [Washington, D.C. to Robert H. Jackson] Attorney General [Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.] / J. Edgar Hoover, Director [Federal Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].
- [Memorandum, 19]40 March 29, Toronto [to J.H. MacBrien?] Commissioner [Royal Canadian Mounted Police], Ottawa / F.W. Schutz, Insp[ecto]r [Royal Canadian Mounted Police].

- [Letter, 1940 May? 14? Rochester? N.Y.? to] F[ederal] B[ureau of] I[nvestigation, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. (government transcript)] / [author unknown].
- Emma Goldman Dies in Toronto; Famous Radical — 16 cm. *In* [(Rochester) Democrat and Chronicle (May 14, 1940)] / [author unknown].
- Miss Goldman, Noted Radical, Resided Here — 28 cm. *In* [(Rochester) Democrat and Chronicle (May 14, 1940)] / [author unknown].
- Death Takes "Red Emma," Anarchist — 28 cm. *In* [(Rochester) Democrat and Chronicle (May 14? 1940)] / [author unknown].
- Emma Goldman, Anarchist — 28 cm. *In* [Philadelphia Star? (May 14? 1940)] / [author unknown].
- "Red Emma," Noted Anarchist, Dies — 35 cm. *In* [Calgary Herald (May 14, 1940)] / [author unknown].
- Emma Goldman, 70, Is Dead at Toronto — 35 cm. *In* [Montreal Gazette (May 14, 1940)] / [author unknown].
- World's Woman Anarchist Emma Goldman Dies Here — 35 cm. *In* [Toronto Star (May 14, 1940)] / [author unknown].
- [Letter] 194[0] May 14, New York [to] Ministero [degli] Affari Esteri, Rome / Vecchiotti, Console Generale d'Italia.
- [File Revocation Request Card for Emma Goldman] 1940 June 12 [Rome?] / Ministero dell' Interno.
- [Report re: Death of Emma Goldman] Rome, 1940 June 24 / Ministero dell' Interno.
- [Report re:] Emilio Strafelini, Trento, Italy, 1940 Aug. 9 / Prefetto di Trento.
- [Report] re: Emma Goldman (Mrs. E.G. Colton) Anarchist, Toronto, 1940 Sept. 11 / R.J. Smith, Royal Canadian Mounted Police.
- [Memorandum, 19]40 Sept. 21, Toronto [to J.H. MacBrien?] Commissioner [Royal Canadian Mounted Police, Ottawa] / V.A.M. Kemp, Sup[erintenden]t, O Div[ision, Royal Canadian Mounted Police].
- [Memorandum] 1942 Oct. 16, Washington, D.C. [to] Mumford, [Washington, D.C.?] / Federal Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice.

## Introduction to Reel 66 (April 1, 1922 to October 16, 1942)

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During Goldman's years in exile after she left Russia, the United States government kept only sporadic accounts of her activities. The State Department tracked her moves from Sweden to Germany, inaccurately reporting that she went first to Czechoslovakia, and from Germany to England in August 1924. Reports on Goldman's stay in Sweden continued to trickle in throughout 1922, including reports on her lover Arthur Svensson (or Swenson) and on Albert Jensen, her Swedish host. Embassy officials kept Washington informed about Goldman's articles in the European press, her visa problems, and the publication of *My Disillusionment in Russia*.

The Bureau of Investigation chronicled various attacks on Goldman from the communists and the anarchists over what they considered her betrayal. Of particular interest is the October 5, 1922, report of Agent Hopkins, which includes an exchange of letters between Joseph Spivak of the International Anarchist Aid Federation and Goldman. Spivak condemns Goldman's decision to publish her critique of the Soviet state in *The World* rather than an anarchist publication and Goldman caustically defends herself.

Goldman's paper marriage to Welsh coal miner James Colton on June 27, 1925, enabled her to travel freely as a British citizen. In October 1926 she took advantage of her British passport to go to Canada. The Royal Canadian Mounted Police followed her activities closely, from her arrival in October to her departure in February 1928. They concentrated their efforts on her tour of western Canada in the fall and winter of 1926-27 and her fall 1927 lectures in Toronto. Their reports describe Goldman's speeches, audiences, lecture topics, and often include the names and addresses of her hosts. These accounts are especially interesting for their descriptions of the status of anarchist



organizations in Canada and the battles between the anarchists and the communists.

Goldman's arrival in Canada in the fall of 1926 provoked a flurry of interest in the United States government. The State Department worried that she might try to slip across the border. In November, journalist Isaac Don Levine prodded the State Department to consider her return to the United States. In an undated letter, marked "not delivered," the Department concluded that as a British citizen Goldman need only apply for a visa at the border. In fact, as a former deportee and self-proclaimed anarchist, she needed special permission from the Secretary of Labor to re-enter the United States.

Between Goldman's departure from Canada in February 1928 and her return in late 1933, she lived in St. Tropez, France, writing her autobiography and making several speaking tours in Europe. The Government Documents Series contains few records from this period. The French archives have not yet been able to locate Goldman's personal file with the Sûreté Générale, if indeed such a file exists. The departmental archives in Nice have found Berkman's expulsion file under the name of Alexandre Schmidt-Bergmann, but to date the file is closed to the public.

In early 1930, H.L. Mencken wrote to the Justice Department on Goldman's behalf, asking them to return the manuscripts and lecture notes they confiscated when they arrested her in June 1917. A somewhat perfunctory search by J. Edgar Hoover and others came up emptyhanded.

In November 1933, the lobbying campaign to obtain a visitor's visa to the United States for Goldman began in earnest. A committee headed by Mabel Carver Crouch and Roger Baldwin organized a massive letter-writing campaign directed at the Commissioner General of Immigration, Daniel MacCormack, and the first woman cabinet member, Secretary of Labor

Frances Perkins. Eugene O'Neill and Sherwood Anderson, among others, petitioned for Goldman's visit.

On November 8, 1933, the Immigration and Naturalization Service, formerly the Bureau of Immigration, prepared a memorandum on the legal and political feasibility of allowing Goldman to return. They concluded that no legal obstacles existed. From November through January, Roger Baldwin and attorneys Harry Weinberger and Arthur Leonard Ross negotiated with the Immigration Service over the conditions of her visit.

They finally agreed that the Immigration Service would issue Goldman a ninety day visa for the purpose of visiting family and friends. She in turn agreed to lecture on literature and drama and not on politics and current events. Goldman followed these guidelines in her own imaginative way, lecturing on the drama of modern Germany and her autobiography as literature.

Goldman spent from February 2 to the end of April in the United States. During her visit, her friends continued to petition the government on her behalf, first to lift the speaking restrictions and then to extend her visa. The Bureau of Investigation and the Immigration Service maintained newspaper clippings files of Goldman's visit. Only a few agent reports of her many speeches exist. One particularly detailed account, on April 11, describes Goldman's speech about her autobiography delivered in Pittsburgh.

The government files contain a number of letters from private citizens protesting the decision to allow Goldman back. A member of the New York jury that convicted her in 1917 sent a telegram. Several women wrote to Eleanor Roosevelt, worried that Goldman might try to kill the president. Her replies, dated January 31 and June 7, 1934, made light of these fears.

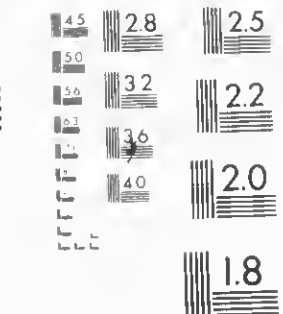
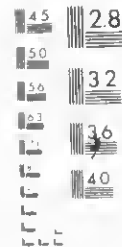
Government reports on the later years of Goldman's life are scarce. The Federal Bureau of Investigation, acting under a Freedom of Information Act request, released many heavily-censored reports from this period, but most

only mention Goldman in passing. Unfortunately, the records from Spain during the civil war period were either destroyed or are unavailable.

Goldman moved to Canada in April 1939, where she remained until her death in May 1940. Her Royal Canadian Mounted Police file for this period contains newspaper clippings of her fall 1939 tour to Winnipeg, her illness, and her death. A few reports from December 1939 describe Goldman's speeches condemning Stalin and reflect the anti-Semitism of the Canadian officials. The Royal Canadian Mounted Police, the Federal Bureau of Investigation in Washington, and the Italian Interior Ministry all reported Goldman's death.



# 16X



# The Emma Goldman Papers

Weekly Report of Japanese Activities, week ending April 1, 1922 [San Francisco? (excerpt)] / [Office of Naval Intelligence, Navy Department]. — 2 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the Office of Naval Intelligence via FOIA.

Summary: The Office of Naval Intelligence's report on Japanese activities includes an interview with a Russian-American graduate student who believes Goldman has either completely changed or is a double agent.

Notes: Enclosed with 870713000. Names deleted by Office of Naval Intelligence.

THE JAPANESE YUAN

MONITORING JAPANESE ACTIVITIES

7.5713. EP.

Director of Naval Intelligence. WEEKLY REPORT OF JAPANESE ACTIVITIES, Week ending 1 April 1922.

## RUSIAN SITUATION.

A Russian-American, who served in the American Army in Siberia; now a graduate student in economics in the University of California; recently made a lecturer in the University for the coming year; strong advocate of free trade, especially that with Russia, will visit the Orient for special investigation of trade conditions in the Orient during the coming summer. It is possible he will leave for the Orient by the end of April. He will pay special attention in his investigation to such points as Siberian ports, Shanghai and Hongkong. He will probably visit South Manchuria and Mongolia also if time allows.

At an interview Informant had with , the following took place:

I am going home this summer in order to investigate the trade conditions in the Far East.

Informant: That is very good, but I thought you were an American and would consider America your home.

Of course I do, but there are various kinds of homes. America is the home for myself, but Russia is still the home for my folks. I have not seen them since I left home, so now I am going to since I have an opportunity to go there anyway.

Informant: What is the latest from Russia-- at least from Siberia?

Nothing really new. Still the same old story about the "horrors of bolshevism" which we hear so much in America. The American public does not know anything about the real inside information of Russia. It is hopelessly dependent upon such news that is created by the British and Japanese Press agencies intended for imperial propaganda for these empires. That is one of the real reasons why I want to go there to find out the truth and make it known to the American public as truthfully as I can possibly do it.

Informant: What do you make of Emma Goldman's articles? She was once accused of being too strongly Bolshevik and now she seems to be equally strongly anti-Bolshevik.

I cannot make anything out of her. She is either radically changed or else she is only posing as such and playing a double game. Probably the whole thing is the worst scheme of sensationalism. It might even be possible that she acted as Bolshevik in order to get into Russia under the pretext of being deported. All these diplomatic

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Summary: The Office of Naval Intelligence's report on Japanese activities includes an interview with a Russian-American graduate student who believes Goldman has either completely changed or is a double agent.

Notes: Enclosed with 870713000. Names deleted by Office of Naval Intelligence.

## OFFICE OF NAVAL INTELLIGENCE NAVY DEPARTMENT

No. 5713. EP.

Director of Naval Intelligence.

Weekly Report of Japanese Activities, Week ending 1 April 1922.

RUSSIAN SITUATION (Cont. from page 7).

Games are Greek to me. I must confess that I am guilty of ignorance. How are the Koreans in Siberia now? I know many of them.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1922 April 3, Riga [Latvia to] W[illiam] L. Hurley [Office of the Under-secretary] Department of State, Washington [D.C.] / Evan E. Young, Commissioner of the United States [Department of State].— 1 p. ; 35 × 21 cm.

*Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.*

**Summary:** Young sends Hurley photographs of Alexander Schapiro, Goldman, and Berkman.

**Notes:** For enclosure, see 810409090. Reply to 810409094.



OFFICE OF THE COMMISSIONER OF THE UNITED STATES

RIGA

861.0-668



April 3, 1922.

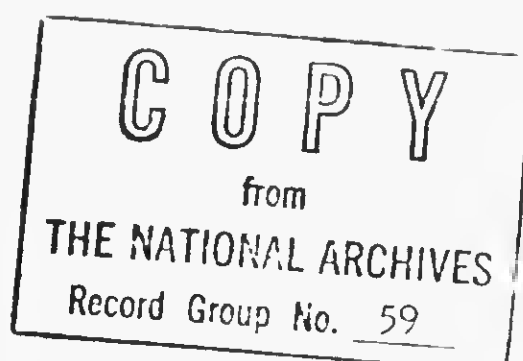
My Dear Mr. Hurley:-

In accordance with the request contained in your letter of March 9, 1922 (U-H 861.0-668), I enclose a small photograph of Shapiro, taken at Riga, December, 1921. I also enclose, as of possible interest pictures of Goldman and Berkman, taken at the same time.

Very sincerely yours,

*Evan E. Young*  
Commissioner.

W.L. Hurley, Esquire,  
Department of State,  
Washington.



General Records of the Department of State  
Office of the Counselor, File No. 861.0-668

# The Emma Goldman Papers

890414063

[Agent Report In] re: Italian Defense Committee - Anarchist Activities, New York, 1922 April 3 / [Agent] 854 [Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice]. - 1 p.; 28 x 21 cm.

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: Undercover agent 854 reports that the Italian Defense Committee tabled a decision whether to sponsor Goldman and Berkman's appeal for imprisoned anarchists in Russia.

Received April 3rd, 1922

REPORT MADE AT New York, N.Y.	DATE WHEN MADE: Apr. 3, 1922	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE: Mar. 30-31, 1922	REPORT MADE BY: #854
TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE RE: ITALIAN DEFENSE COMMITTEE : Anarchist Activities			
FACTS DEVELOPED: At New York, N.Y.			
<p>[redacted] went to the Food Workers Hall today at 133 W. 51st St., as there was a Sacco &amp; Vanzetti meeting, given by the Hotel Workers. I also learned that the Hotel Workers are also planning a May Day demonstration.</p> <p>The Italian Defense Committee held a meeting. [redacted], and it seemed that the discussion all centered around a circular [redacted] regarding the raising of funds for the Anarchists who are in prison in Russia. The circular has been written up by the Anarchist Aid Federation and signed by EMMA GOLDMAN and A. BERKMAN. After a lengthy discussion it was decided to lay this over until next meeting and make it a special order of business, as [redacted] asks some of the members are opposed to this. A meeting of the Anarchist Convention was also discussed and after the discussion was over, it was decided to hold it on April 30th, Sunday, and the Secretary was instructed to procure Astoria Hall for this date. This Convention is called for the purpose of signing up new members to start an Anarchist School at their own headquarters.</p> <p>[redacted]</p> <p>[redacted]</p>			
REFERENCE:	COPIES OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO: Washington 2; New York 2;		

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 7-10-85 BY SP4 EWL/6

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

## The Emma Goldman Papers

810409089

[Letter] 1922 April 4, Stockholm [to] William L. Hurley [Office of the Undersecretary] Department of State, Washington [D.C.] / Wainwright Abbott, Third Secretary [Department of State]. — 2 p. ; 35 x 21 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

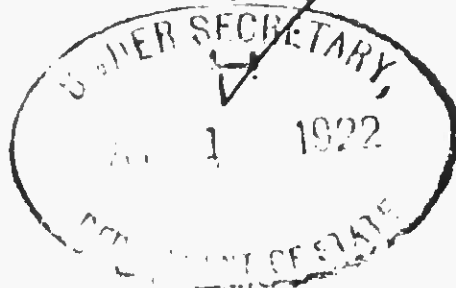
Summary: Abbott sends Hurley a photograph and description of Alexander Schapiro. Abbott informs Hurley that a Swede, Arthur Swensson, is working for Goldman and Berkman and might go to the United States.

Notes: For enclosures, see 810409090 and 810409091. For letters mentioned, see 810409094 and 810409060.

RETURN TO USA  
FILE

861.0-668

Stockholm, April 4, 1922.



W. L. Hurley, Esquire,  
Department of State,  
Washington.

My Dear Mr. Hurley:

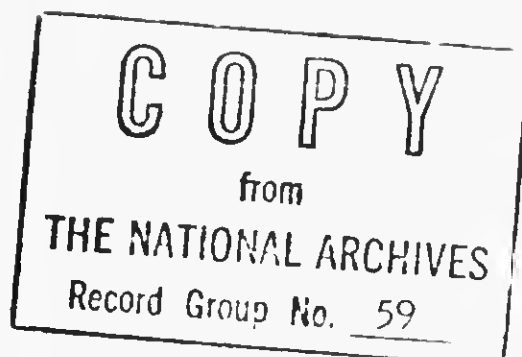
At the request of Mr. Johnson, and in reply to your letter of March 9, 1922, requesting a photograph and description of Alexander Schapiro, the subject of this Legation's despatch No. 2247, of January 5, 1922, I am enclosing herewith the photograph and description desired, which I have obtained from the Swedish police authorities.

I have also learned from the police authorities that a Swede, named Arthur Swensson, born in 1894, is in the employ of Berkman, Goldman and Schapiro. It is stated that this man has been a seaman and is familiar with the United States; that he attends to all the dealings of Berkman, Goldman and Schapiro with Swedes in Stockholm, and that he was recently apprehended at the German Legation in an attempt to obtain a visa on a false passport issued to the name "Strömberg". Upon being searched at that time he is reported to have had in his possession a

large

LAW  
89

Def 28  
Justice



General Records of the Department of State  
Office of the Counselor, File No. 861.0-668

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

## The Emma Goldman Papers

810409089

[Letter] 1922 April 4, Stockholm [to] William L. Hurley [Office of the Under-secretary] Department of State, Washington [D.C.] / Wainwright Abbott, Third Secretary [Department of State]. - 2 p. ; 35 x 21 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Abbott sends Hurley a photograph and description of Alexander Schapiro. Abbott informs Hurley that a Swede, Arthur Swenson, is working for Goldman and Berkman and might go to the United States.

Notes: For enclosures, see 810409090 and 810409091. For letters mentioned, see 810409094 and 810409060.

-2-

large amount of American currency, and it was believed that he was about to set out for America via Germany in the interests of the above mentioned persons.

As you will know from Mr. Johnson's letter of March 31st, Emma Goldman has succeeded in obtaining, on account of ill health, a further extension to the length of time for which her visa is good. Berkman and Schapiro are still allowed to remain here, presumably because of their inability thus far to obtain entrance into any other country.

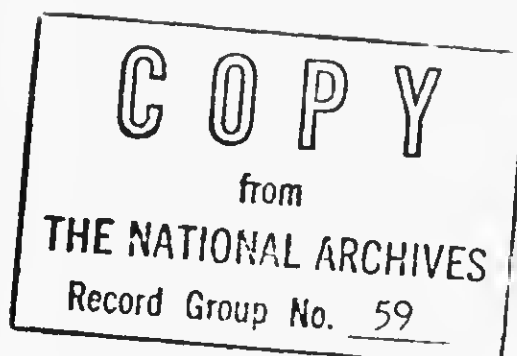
Very truly yours,

*Wainwright Abbott*

Third Secretary of Legation.

Enclosures:

Photograph of Alexander Schapiro.  
Description of " "



General Records of the Department of State  
Office of the Counselor, File No. 861.0-668



## The Emma Goldman Papers

Description of Alexander Schapiro [Stockholm, 1922 April? 4?] / [Wainwright? Abbott? Third Secretary? Department of State]. — 1 p. ; 35 x 21 cm.

*Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.*

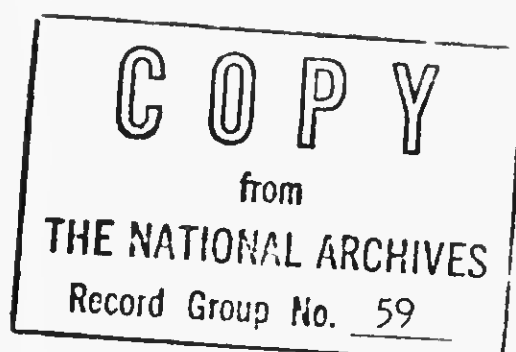
**Summary:** The Swedish police provide Abbott with a physical description of Alexander Schapiro.

**Notes:** Enclosed with 810409089 and 810409090.

### DESCRIPTION OF ALEXANDER SCHAPIRO

Born August 21, 1883, 5 ft. 11-1/2 in. tall, slenderly built, light brown hair, (it is unknown if color is artificial or not), bald headed, has at present a short stubbed mustache and uses eyeglasses at times. He is at present living at No. 83, Brännkyrkogatan, 3 flights, c/o, Borg, Stockholm.

- - - - -



General Records of the Department of State  
Office of the Counselor, File No. 861.0-668

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report In re:] Henry Sara—Communist Matter, Chicago, 1922 April 7 / Jacob Spolansky [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].— 2 p. ; 28 x 21 cm.  
*Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.*  
**Summary:** Agent Spolansky describes Henry Sara's speech praising the Soviet government and attacking Goldman for spreading lies about that government.  
**Notes:** Enclosed with 810617072.

CHICAGO FILE NO. C-2214

REPORT MADE AT: <b>Chicago, Ill.</b>	DATE WHEN MADE: <b>Apr. 7, 1922</b>	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE: <b>Apr. 2nd</b>	REPORT MADE BY: <b>JACOB SPOLANSKY</b>
TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE: <b>HENRY SARA</b>		<b>Communist Matter.</b>	
FACTS DEVELOPED: <u><b>AT CHICAGO ILL.</b></u>			
<p>Reference is made to the Director's telegram dated March 30th, requesting to cover the speech made by subject on April 2nd, also requesting to ascertain the manner in which subject entered this country.</p> <p>Agent this day covered the concert and ball given under the auspices of the FRIENDS OF SOVIET RUSSIA at Douglas Park Auditorium, Chicago. Subject, who was the principal speaker, spoke on "The Grief and Glory of Soviet Russia." In his lecture subject praised the Soviet government of Russia and blamed the counter-revolutionary forces in the imperialist countries of Europe for the present famine situation in Russia. He stated there was a shortage of food in the year 1918; that the continued warfare and revolutionary activities, destruction of bridges, railroads by counter-revolutionists together with the terrible blockade contributed largely to the causes of the present famine in Russia. That capitalists all over the world have tried to destroy the Communists of Russia. That the Russian Communists are showing to the workers of Russia the real causes of the situation, and the Russian people have a great deal of confidence in the Russian Communists, and therefore the Soviet Government of Russia is able to maintain its power.</p> <p>That the Soviet Government in Russia is doing all in its power to relieve the famine-stricken people, and contrary to the malicious lies spread by such as EMMA GOLDMAN who is rendering the greatest service to the capitalists</p>			
REFERENCE: <b>stop 8-30-22</b>	COPIES OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO: <b>Washington 2; Chicago 2.</b>		<b>JS:EH</b> 7-1100

ORIGINAL

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report In re:] Henry Sara—Communist Matter, Chicago, 1922 April 7 / Jacob Spolansky [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].— 2 p.; 28 x 21 cm. Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.  
 Summary: Agent Spolansky describes Henry Sara's speech praising the Soviet government and attacking Goldman for spreading lies about that government.  
 Notes: Enclosed with 810617072.

JACOB SPOLANSKY

PAGE 2

April 2nd.

and is betraying the workers in general, the Soviet Government is doing wonders to save the millions who are dying. That the Russian people in their suffering realize that they are fighting the battle of the entire working class of the world; that the workers of the other countries are the ones who must aid the workers of Russia and save the Russian revolution.

The pictures shown were stereopticon views, the same as previously shown, scenes from Russia under the Bolshevik regime and a few pictures taken in the famine-stricken area. A collection was taken up amounting to \$100.00.

After the lecture teachers and pupils of the United Socialist Sunday Schools of Chicago under the direction of MISS ANNIE VINTON presented a symbolic play in one act by HANS OPEL, translated from German by E. HIRSCHLER and A. STRUBE, entitled, "The Revolutionary Dawn". The cast of characters symbolized the world capitalism, diplomacy, militarism, the Church, higher education, the German workers, Voice of Soviet Russia, proletarians from Hungary, Proletarians from different countries, fugitive from Finland, fugitive from Poland, fugitive from Hungary, workers of the different countries, widows in mourning and a bugler from Soviet Russia. The scene is Central Europe, time present, characters represented classes, conditions and institutions. The play on a whole is a clever piece of Communist propaganda to be used on the stage.

Under cover inquiries as to subject's entry to this country developed that he arrived thru Canada, entering this country at Detroit.

CLOSED.

7-1149

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1922 April 11 [Washington, D.C. to] W[alter] W. Husband, Commissioner General [Bureau of Immigration] Department of Labor, [Washington, D.C.] / W[illiam] L. H[urley, Office of the Undersecretary, Department of State]. — 1 p. ; 35 x 21 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Hurley notifies Husband that Goldman is still in Sweden.

Notes: For original report, see 810409060.

RETURN TO U.S.  
FILE  
861.0-668

April 11, 1922.

*file with Jew*

Dear Mr. Husband:

Information has recently been received from Stockholm under date of March 21, to the effect that Emma Goldman is still quietly living there, having received further extensions to the length of time for which her visa is good. She seems to have convinced the police authorities that her bad health requires medical attention in Sweden and it looks as though she might be there for sometime to come.

Very truly yours,

*W. W. Husband*

W. W. Husband, Esquire,

Commissioner General of Immigration,

Department of Labor.

LAW:HFG:SS

COPY  
from  
THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES  
Record Group No. 59

General Records of the Department of State  
Office of the Counselor, File No. 861.0-668

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Memorandum] 1922 April 11, Washington [D.C. to William L.] Hurley [Office of the Undersecretary, Department of State, [Washington, D.C.] / L[uke] McNamee [Director] Office of Naval Intelligence, Navy Department. — 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the Office of Naval Intelligence via FOIA.

Summary: McNamee forwards a weekly report of Japanese activities in the vicinity of California.

Notes: For enclosure, see 870713001.

NAVY DEPARTMENT  
OFFICE OF NAVAL INTELLIGENCE  
WASHINGTON

In reply refer to No.

Op. 16-B  
REI:AM

11 April 1922

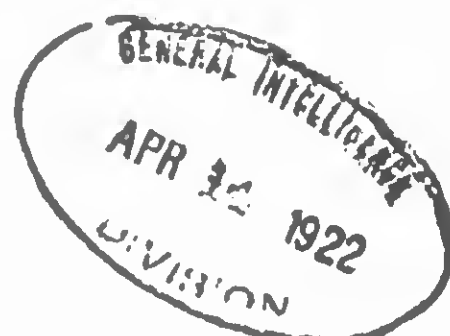
Memorandum for State (Mr. Hurley)  
Military Intelligence Division  
Justice (Mr. Burns)

SUBJECT: Weekly Report of Japanese Activities in the vicinity of California.

1. Forwarded herewith is weekly report of Japanese Activities in the vicinity of California, dated 3 April 1922.

L. McNamee  
Captain, USN

R. E. Ingersoll  
Commander, U.S. Navy  
By Direction



APR 22 1922

65-0-52	RECEIVED
BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION	
APR 14 1922 P.M.	
HOOVER	

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1922 April 11 [Washington, D.C. to] William J. Burns, Director, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. / W[illiam] L. H[urley, Office of the Undersecretary, Department of State].— 1 p. ; 35 x 21 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Hurley asks Burns if the enclosed list of names, supposedly taken from Goldman, is authentic.

Notes: For enclosure, see 810409054. For reply, see 810409050. Copy of 880615409.

*London  
1682*

*card names*

RETURN TO U-11  
FILE

861.0-668

April 11, 1922.

Dear Mr. Burns:

I enclose herewith a list of addresses found in possession of Emma Goldman which I have just received from London. I shall be pleased to be advised of the value of this information in order that the source may be informed as to its authenticity.

Very truly yours,

*W.L.H.*

Enclosure:

As above stated.

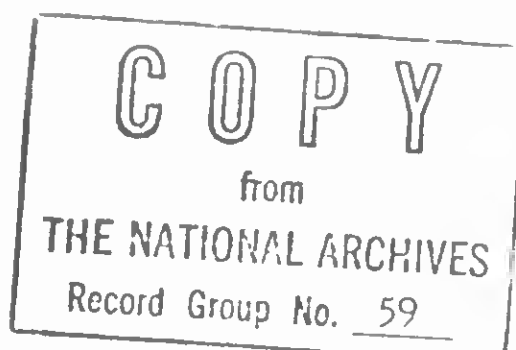
William J. Burns, Esquire,

Director, Bureau of Investigation,

Department of Justice,

Washington, D. C.

LAW:HFG:SS



General Records of the Department of State

Office of the Counselor, File No. 861.0-668



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1922 April 11, Washington [D.C. to] William J. Burns, Director, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. / W[illiam] L. Hurley [Office of the Undersecretary] Department of State.— 1 p. ; 16 × 13 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the United States Library of Congress.  
Institutional Location: Paul Avrich Papers.

Notes: For enclosure, see 810409054. For copy, see 810409052.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
WASHINGTON

April 11, 1922.

61-291

Dear Mr. Burns:

I enclose herewith a list of addresses found in possession of Emma Goldman which I have just received from London. I shall be pleased to be advised of the value of this information in order that the source may be informed as to its authenticity.

Very truly yours,  
W. L. Hurley

Enclosure: 61-291-22  
As above stated.

William J. Burns, Esquire,  
Director, Bureau of Investigation  
Department of Justice,  
Washington, D. C.

APR 13 1922  
RECORDED  
61-291-87

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## The Emma Goldman Papers

810409058

[Letter] 1922 April 11 [Washington, D.C. to] William J. Burns, Director, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. / [William L. Hurley, Office of the Undersecretary, Department of State]. — 1 p. ; 35 x 21 cm.

*Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.*

**Summary:** Hurley notifies Burns that Goldman is still living in Sweden.

**Notes:** Copy of 880615410.

861.0-668

April 11, 1922.

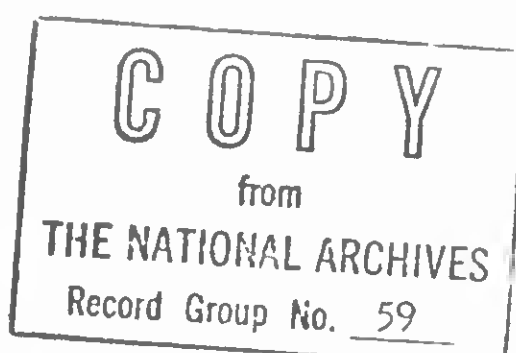
Dear Mr. Burns:

Information has recently been received from Stockholm under date of March 21, to the effect that Emma Goldman is still quietly living there, having received further extensions to the length of time for which her visa is good. She seems to have convinced the police authorities that her bad health requires medical attention in Sweden and it looks as though she might be there for sometime to come.

Very truly yours,

William J. Burns, Esquire,  
Director, Bureau of Investigation,  
Department of Justice,  
Washington, D. C.

LAW:HFG:SS



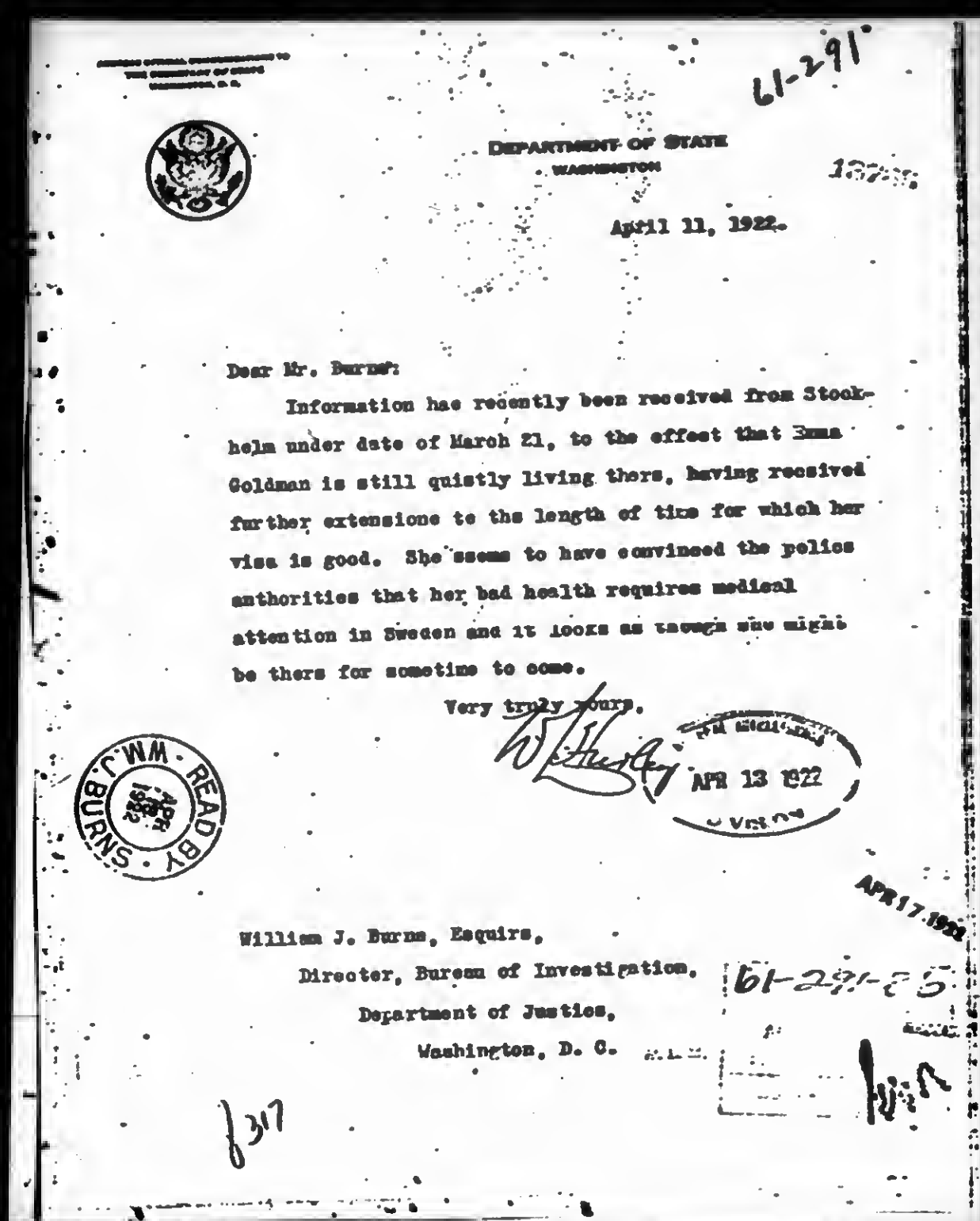
General Records of the Department of State  
Office of the Counselor, File No. 861.0-668

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1922 April 11, Washington [D.C. to] William J. Burns, Director, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. / W[illiam] L. Hurley [Office of the Undersecretary] Department of State. — 1 p. ; 16 x 13 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the United States Library of Congress.  
Institutional Location: Paul Avrich Papers.

Notes: For copy, see 810409058.



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# The Emma Goldman Papers

810617072

[Letter] 1922 April 12, Washington, D.C. [to] W[illiam] L. Hurley [Office of the Undersecretary] Department [of] State, Washington, D.C. / W[illiam] J. Burns, Director, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice. — 1 p. ; 28 x 21 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Burns asks Hurley if the State Department granted a visa to British communist Henry Sara.

Notes: For enclosure, see 870804000.

WM. J. BURNS,  
DIRECTOR.



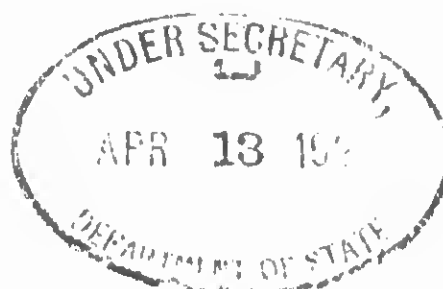
Department of Justice,  
Bureau of Investigation,  
Washington, D. C.

861.0-1793

G. A. JR.  
61-1363-3.

April 12, 1922.

Mr. W. L. Hurley,  
State Department,  
Washington, D. C.



Handwritten notes and stamps: "T-1", "APR 13 1922", "F. W.", and a signature.

My dear Mr. Hurley -

Reference is made to previous correspondence concerning the British Communist, HENRY SARA. For your information on this subject, I desire to call your attention to the enclosed report of Agent Spolansky, at Chicago, for the 7th inst., in which you will note that Sara evidently entered this country from Canada at Detroit, Mich. U-2

Will you kindly advise me whether you have any information in your Department concerning the issuance of a visa to this individual, in order that we may determine whether or not he is illegally in this country?

I am on this instant requesting the Commissioner General of Immigration to advise me as to whether or not they have a record of Sara's entry into this country at Detroit, Michigan.

Yours very truly,

*W. J. Burns*  
Director.

Encl. 115306

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1922 April 15, Washington [D.C. to] W[illiam] L. Hurley [Office of the Undersecretary] Department of State, Washington, D.C. / John H. Edwards, Solicitor, Post Office Department. — 1 p. ; 35 x 21 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Edwards informs Hurley that he is sending the list of Goldman's correspondents to the Bureau of Investigation.

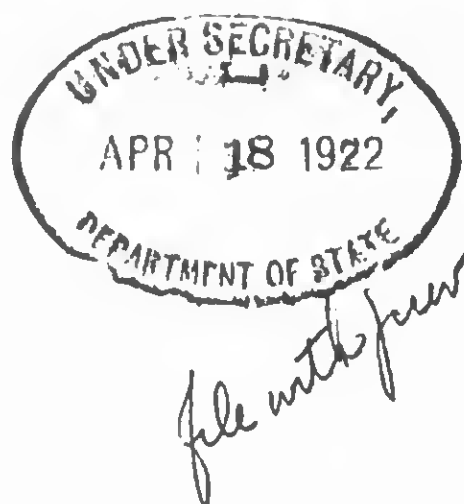
Notes: For list mentioned, see 810409054. For related documents, see 810409050 and 810409053.

HJD-FZ

248

Post Office Department  
OFFICE OF THE SOLICITOR  
Washington

April 15, 1922.



Mr. W. L. Hurley,  
Department of State,  
Washington, D. C.

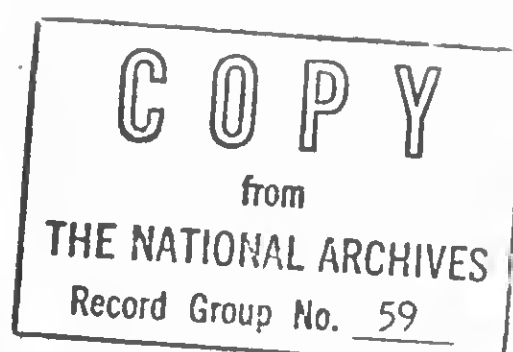
My dear Mr. Hurley:

I beg to acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 11th instant and thank you for the list of addresses found in possession of Emma Goldman.

I note that you would like to be advised of the value of this information, and in this connection, as it appears that the list might be of interest to the Department of Justice, I am taking the liberty of forwarding it, together with a copy of your letter, to the Director of the Bureau of Investigation of that Department.

Sincerely yours,

*John H. Edwards*  
Solicitor.



General Records of the Department of State

Office of the Counselor, File No. 861.0-668

# The Emma Goldman Papers

Says Emma Goldman Misjudges The Soviet — 28 cm. In [New York Times (April 17, 1922)] / [author unknown].

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: The New York Times describes the response of Moissaye Olgin, editor of Freiheit, to Goldman's criticism of Soviet Russia in the New York World.

Notes: Lefthand article only.

U P Y  
from  
THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES  
Record Group No. 59

General Records of the Department of State

Office of the Counselor, File No. 861.0-668

## SAYS EMMA GOLDMAN MISJUDGES THE SOVIET

Editor of Freiheit, a Bolshevik  
Enthusiast, Replies to  
Her Attacks.

Emma Goldman and her reports on Soviet Russia, as recently published in the New York World, were criticized last night by a Soviet enthusiast, Moissaye J. Olgin, editor of the Freiheit, who spoke to a large audience in Atlington Hall, 23 St. Marks Place, under the auspices of the Liberator.

"She says that Bolshevik bureaucracy and despotism broke down the Soviets and the revolution," he said. "Why, Russia would have broken down in anarchy if it hadn't been for the Second Congress of Soviets. She says that the masses don't feel the revolution to be of their own making, but we know that the people are kept close to the throbbing heart of the revolution."

"Emma Goldman does not seem to have understood the Russian language. Hasn't she read any history, and what has she been doing over there these last two years? She may have been conspicuous in America, but she is not conspicuous at all in Russia. The Communists are in the saddle because they have the confidence of all Russia, but Emma Goldman has not found that out."

One of those who listened to the speaker from the rear of the room was Prince Antoine Bibesco, Rumanian minister at Washington, who told a reporter that he had dropped in to hear what Mr. Olgin had to say.

"He isn't telling the whole thing," Prince Bibesco remarked. "I have been in Russia myself. He talks about it as if it were a paradise there, but it is not. Why did I come down here? Oh, I am just in New York for a few days for a bit of a rest, and I thought this might be amusing."

## GOLDMAN AGAIN TRIES TO GET TO STOCKHOLM

Post, Jan. 31  
With Two Fellow Deportees,  
Woman Anarchist Is Freed  
From Riga Prison.

Riga, Jan. 2 (By the Associated Press).—After a week's imprisonment, during which time they were not permitted to communicate with outsiders, Emma Goldman, Alexander Berkman and Alexander Shapiro, deportees from America who recently came out of Soviet Russia, started a second time today for Reval, Esthonia, on their way to Stockholm.

Not until the correspondent accidentally encountered the trio at the station here was it known that after they had started for Stockholm the Lettish authorities boarded the train and held up the party.

"They thought we were dangerous bolshevik agents and searched us for jewels, gold and papers, but finding none they released us," said Berkman. "We hope to get to Stockholm this time," he added, but Emma Goldman supplemented this with a remark prompted by experiences so far.

"You never can tell," she said.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

890520011

[Agent Report] In re: Articles by Emma Goldman—Liberator Meeting, New York [19]22 April 19 / [Agent] P 134 [Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].— 2 p.; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: An undercover agent describes a large meeting in New York at which Rose Pastor Stokes and the editor of the *Freiheit* attacked Goldman for her articles in the New York World.

NY File R 115 E.

REPORT MADE AT: New York City	DATE WHEN MADE: 4-19-22	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE: 4-16	REPORT MADE BY: P 134
TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE: IN RE: ARTICLES BY EMMA GOLDMAN (LIBERATOR MEETING)			
FACTS DEVELOPED: <p style="text-align: right;">ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE JUL 21 1983 BY 367</p> <p>This evening attended meeting held at Arlington Hall, St. Marks Place, under the auspices of the "Liberator."</p> <p>The meeting was attended by about 1500 people, and was opened by Rose Pastor Stokes, who acted as the Chairman. Before introducing Olgin, she explained that the articles Emma Goldman had written for the New York World have finished her as a leading light in the radical movement, and her articles should never be discussed as they are counter-revolutionary and play into the hands of the capitalist class.</p> <p>Olgin was introduced as one of the editors of the Jewish paper "Freiheit" and he explained that Goldman being against any form of State power, and being an Anarchist, was against the Soviet Government, and she is and was against the revolution as explained in her articles. He went on to explain that the Soviet Government and the Communists were not to blame for the revolution, the Communists being against bloodshed. He stated the Soviet Government of Russia is the will of the majority of the people and they are satisfied because they know that if they try to overthrow them they will be fighting themselves and they would have to give the land back to the capitalists and live in the same slavery conditions that they had in 1916, and their efforts and revolution would be for nothing.</p>			
REFERENCE:	COPIES OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO: Washington -3- New York -2- P 134 JWD		

7-1100

## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report] In re: Articles by Emma Goldman—Liberator Meeting, New York [19]22 April 19 / [Agent] P 134 [Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].— 2 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: An undercover agent describes a large meeting in New York at which Rose Pastor Stokes and the editor of the *Freiheit* attacked Goldman for her articles in the *New York World*.

-2-

For April 16, 1922

Articles by Emma Goldman

He stated the people are ready to die for the revolution. He went on to state that Emma Goldman did not like Russia because she could not be as conspicuous as she had been in the United States, and she was not fit for any work in Russia. Olgin stated that all her articles do not contain any facts but are all abstract things and she has failed to explain what she would have done if the power lied in her and the other fool Anarchists' hands. Olgin explained that he had been a close friend of Trotzky and other Communists of Russia while he was in Russia, and found they are doing all in their power to better the conditions of the Russian people, and all those who have thrown in jails were placed there for acts they committed.

Robert Minor then made an appeal for funds and \$100 was collected.

One of the members of the "Liberator" announced they are holding these meetings so that all the radicals can have their views presented. A Prince named Antonio Bisbesco subscribed to the "Liberator".

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

# The Emma Goldman Papers

810409050

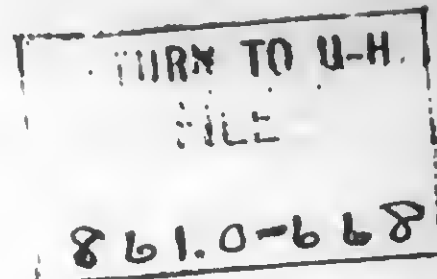
[Letter] 1922 April 21, Washington, D.C. [to] W[illiam] L. Hurley [Office of the Undersecretary] Department of State, Washington, D.C. / W[illiam] J. Burns, Director, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice.— 1 p.; 35 x 21 cm.  
Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.  
Summary: Burns informs Hurley that the list of Goldman's correspondents is the same list that the Latvian police took from Berkman in Riga.  
Notes: Reply to 810409052. For list mentioned, see 810409054. For letters mentioned, see 810409016, 810409020, 810409026, and 810409027.

WM. J. BURNS,  
DIRECTOR.



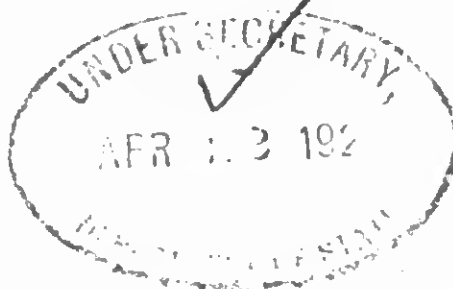
GFR:JWM

Department of Justice,  
Bureau of Investigation,  
Washington, D. C.



April 21, 1922.

Mr. W. L. Hurley,  
Department of State,  
Washington, D. C.



Dear Mr. Hurley:

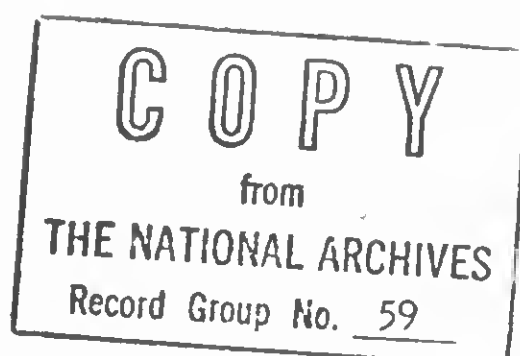
Reference is made to your communication of the 11th instant transmitting a list of addresses found in the possession of EMMA GOLDMAN, which you received from London. *file*

In this connection I desire to call your attention to your communication of February 9th enclosing despatch No. 1549, dated December 31, 1921, which you received from the American Commissioner at Riga, and which contains this same list of addresses.

Reports covering our investigation of these Subjects have been forwarded to you from time to time, immediately upon their receipt.

Yours very truly,

*W. J. Burns*  
Director.



General Records of the Department of State  
Office of the Counselor, File No. 861.0-668



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report In] re: Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman, New York, 1922  
 April 21 / Michael J. Clafter [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice]. —  
 2 p.; 35 x 21 cm.  
 Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.  
 Summary: Agent Clafter describes his efforts to verify the address of Bessie Davidoff, whose name appears in Berkman's address book.  
 Notes: For related report, see 810409007.

## COPY

from

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

Record Group No. 59

General Records of the Department of State  
 Office of the Counselor, File No. 811.01-304

N.Y. File 8-115-K.

RETURN TO U-H

FILE

Instructions received from Special Agent Chas. J. Souilly.

REPORT MADE AT: New York, N.Y.	DATE WHEN MADE: Apr. 21, 1922	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE: Apr. 20, 1922	REPORT MADE BY: Michael J. Clafter.
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811.01-304

TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE:

RE: ALEXANDER BERKMAN

and

EMMA GOLDMAN.

Investigation of addresses found in subject's effects. BESSIE D.

FACTS DEVELOPED:

At New York, N.Y.

Agent proceeded to the Morris Heights Post Office Station at Davidson and Burnside Avenue, the Bronx, and interviewed superintendent EDWIN A. TAYLOR, and carrier CASPER J. GRABER who covers 2109 Harrison Avenue, Bronx. Both said that they knew nothing about any mail going to 2109 Harrison Avenue for one known as BESSIE D.

At 10:30 A.M. Agent proceeded to 2109 Harrison Avenue and looked over the letter boxes in the hallway. There was one name beginning with "D" (DAVIDOFF). Agent then interviewed MRS. ANNA AYARY, the superintendent, who showed Agent a list of tenant's names. The name of DAVIDOFF appeared on the list. Agent inquired of MRS. AYARY if she knew MRS. DAVIDOFF'S first name. She replied that she did not know but that she would ask MRS. DAVIDOFF (under some pretence) over the wire. MRS. AYARY called MRS. DAVIDOFF on the house-phone, and asked for her first name, for a new house telephone list of tenants and their wives. MRS. DAVIDOFF replied that her name was BESSIE.

At 11:30 A.M. Agent returned to the Morris Heights Post Office Station and again asked superintendent TAYLOR and carrier GRABER if they knew anything about BESSIE DAVIDOFF, of 2109 Harrison Avenue.

REFERENCE: GFR:JR 2-28-22	COPIES OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO: Washington 3: New York 2: MJC:AH
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ORIGINAL

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report In] re: Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman, New York, 1922  
April 21 / Michael J. Clafter [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice]. —  
2 p.; 35 x 21 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Agent Clafter describes his efforts to verify the address of Bessie Davidoff, whose name appears in Berkman's address book.

Notes: For related report, see 810409007.

COPY

from

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

Record Group No. 59

General Records of the Department of State  
Office of the Counselor, File No. 811.01-304

RE: ALEXANDER BERKMAN and EMMA GOLDMAN.

-2-

April 21st, 1922.

Michael J. Clafter.

Carrier GRABER replied that the DAVIDOFFS received mail from Russia quite frequently. BESSIE D is married and has two children. At 12:05 Agent proceeded to the Bronx Office of the Board of Elections, 149th Street and Bergen Avenue and interviewed MR. CHARLES LEBETH, a clerk, relative to subject's husband. Agent looked over the registration book for 1920 and 1921, and found HARRY DAVIDOFF and ELIZABETH DAVIDOFF registered from 2109 Harrison Avenue. He is 41 years old, she, 32 years of age. Both were born in Russia. He has been in the United States 36 years and she for 27 years. HARRY DAVIDOFF votes on his father's papers, and ELIZABETH DAVIDOFF votes on her husband's rights. DAVIDOFF, is, at present, a teacher in Stuyvesant High School, East 15th Street, New York City, and receives \$3700 per year, salary. He has been with the Board of Education since 1900.

Agent then proceeded to the office of the bureau. Agent believes MRS. BESSIE DAVIDOFF is the BESSIE D. referred to in the bureau letter of February 28th.

7-1169

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

# The Emma Goldman Papers

81049056

[Telegram] 1922 April 28, Stockholm [to William L.] Hurley [Office of the Undersecretary, Department of State], Washington, D.C. / [Hallett] Johnson [American Minister, Department of State]. — 1 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Johnson wires Hurley that Goldman left Sweden for Prague and Berkman and Alexander Schapiro left for an unknown destination.

Notes: For follow-up letter, see 810409056.

TELEGRAM RECEIVE

NOT DISTRIBUTED

FROM

INDEX BUREAU  
Rec'd.

WP

APR 29 1922

Dept. of State.

GREEN

Stockholm

Dated April 28, 1922

Rec'd 4:50 p. m. VISA OFFICE

Secretary of State,

Washington, D. C.

3 1922

C. E.

13, April 28, 3 p. m.

For Hurley. Emma Goldman, Prague. Einstein informed.

Berkman and Schapiro left Sweden without knowledge police,  
unknown destination.

JOHNSON

OX



311,6124 K47

INDEX BUREAU  
311,6124- Goldman, Emma  
FILE et al  
MAY 4 1922 P

BEST COPY AVAILABLE



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1922 April 28, Stockholm [to] W[illiam] L. Hurley [Office of the Under-secretary] Department of State, Washington, D.C. / Hallett Johnson [American Minister, Department of State]. — 1 p. ; 35 x 21 cm.

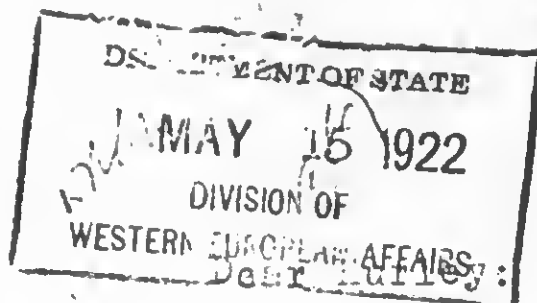
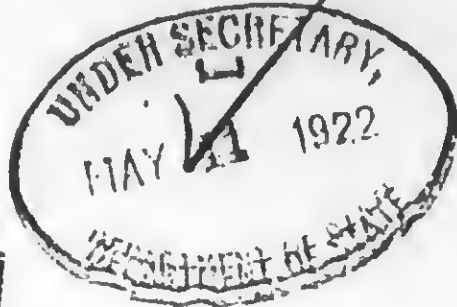
Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Johnson notifies Hurley that Goldman has gone to Prague.

Notes: Follow-up to 810617045.

RETURN TO U-H  
FILE

861.0-668



Stockholm, April 28, 1922.

(Confirming cable of to-day's date.)

Your friend Emma Goldman has at last folded her tent and departed for Prague armed with a German transit visa and a Checo-Slovak visa. I believe she cannot return to Sweden and she has not confided to me her post-Prague plans. I have wired Einstein at Prague advising him that you desire to be kept informed of her movements.

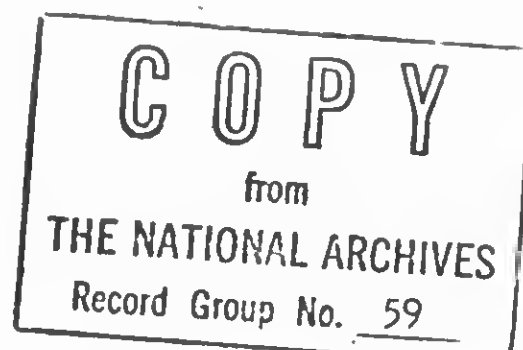
Angelica Balabanoff and the Swedish communist Fredrik Ström have left for Austria.

Upon inquiry from the Swedish Police, I learned that Berkman and Schapiro have left Sweden without the knowledge of the police and for an unknown destination.

Sincerely yours,

W. L. Hurley, Esquire,  
Department of State,  
Washington, D. C.

P. S. O'Flaherty, of the "Chicago Daily News" would be glad to have you meet him at Skindle's Maidenhead for a party in the near future.



General Records of the Department of State  
Office of the Counselor, File No. 861.0-668

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1922 April 28, Stockholm [to] Marquess Curzon of Kedleston [Foreign Minister?, London] / Colville Barclay [British Embassy].— 1 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Public Record Office, Surrey, England.

Summary: Barclay reports that Goldman left Sweden for Prague, having promised to abstain from politics.

Notes: Enclosed with 870714033. For dispatch mentioned, see 870714032.

FO 371/8180

74502

No. 205

STOCKHOLM

April 28, 1922

N 4185

133

My Lord,

According to to-day's "Svenska Dagbladet" the well-known Bolshevik agitator Angelica Balabanoff (see my despatch No. 732 of the 19th December 1921) has left for Austria in company with Herr Fredrik Ström and the anarchist Emma Goldman (see my despatch No. 73 of the 15th February last) started about the same time for Prague after having given a written undertaking to abstain from political propaganda.

The paper states that Goldman's associates Berkman and Schapiro afterwards left Sweden secretly for the same destination.

I have the honour to be, with the highest respect

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient,  
humble Servant,

*Colville Barclay*

The Most Honourable,

The Marquess Curzon of Kedleston, K.G.,

etc., etc., etc.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

Emma Goldman in P[rag]ue — 18 cm. In [Washington Post (April 29, 1922)] / [author unknown].

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: The Washington Post reports that Goldman left Sweden for Prague.

OFFICE CHIEF OF STAFF  
MIL. INTEL. DIV.

MAY 22

1922

10110-154

86

WAK DEPARTMENT

3298

EMMA GOLDMAN IN PRAGUE  
Berkman and Shapiro, Fellow Reds,  
Disappear From Stockholm.  
Stockholm, April 28. (By the Asso-  
ciated Press).—Emma Goldman, who  
came here out of Russia some time  
ago, has left Stockholm to settle down  
at Prague, after having guaranteed  
to abstain from propaganda. She is  
not to return to Sweden, and will not  
be allowed to even pass through the  
country.  
Alexander Berkman and Alexander  
Shapiro, her fellow-anarchists, who  
came with her from Russia, have se-  
cretly disappeared.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

# The Emma Goldman Papers

The Undesirable — 20 cm. In [Los Angeles Times (May 1922)] / [author unknown].  
 Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.  
 Summary: The Los Angeles Times reports that Goldman is in Prague and wants to return to the United States.

OFFICE CHIEF OF STAFF  
 MIL. INTELL. DIV.  
 1922 10110-154 MAY 15  
 WAR DEPARTMENT

**THE UNDESIRABLE**  
 Emma Goldman is at Prague, but she has to wear a muzzle or talk in whispers. Her affinity, Alexander Berkman, has also been parted from her. One may not even be a Bohemian in Prague in these days. There is no welcome for Emma in any country of Europe. She is an undesirable citizen and now realizes the folly of her speech. She would play deaf and dumb could she but be back in that dear old America once more.

*Los Angeles Times*  
 MAY 1922

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

810409055

[Letter] 1922 May 1 [Washington, D.C. to] William J. Burns, Director, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, [Washington, D.C.] / [William L. Hurley, Office of the Undersecretary, Department of State].— 1 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Hurley notifies Burns that Goldman has gone to Prague.

RETURN TO U-H  
FILE

861.0-668

May 1, 1922.

Dear Mr. Burns:

I have recently received information from Stockholm to the effect that Emma Goldman had left that place for Prague. The American Minister at that place has been advised of her contemplated arrival. Schapiro and Berkman left Sweden without the knowledge of the police and nothing is known of the destination. I shall not fail to keep you advised of all information along these lines which may come to my attention.

Very truly yours,

William J. Burns, Esquire,  
Director, Bureau of Investigation,  
Department of Justice.

COPY  
from  
THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES  
Record Group No. 59

General Records of the Department of State  
Office of the Counselor, File No. 861.0-668

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

870714033

[Report on] Russian Communists in Sweden [London] 1922 May 2 [cover page] / [British Foreign Office].— 1 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Public Record Office, Surrey, England.

Summary: The British Foreign Office prepares a short description of the attached report on Goldman's departure for Prague.

Notes: For enclosure, see 870714034.

28

FO 371/8180 74502

167

N.

RUSSIA.

N 4185

MAY 2 1922

## Russian communists in Sweden.

Registry Number N 4185/252/38.

FROM Sir C. Barclay, (Stockholm).

No. 205.

Dated April 28th, 1922.

Received May 2nd, 1922.

N : Russia.

Refers to Stockholm despatches No. 73 of 15th February (N 1695/252/38) and No. 732 of 19th December 1921 (N 14042/915/38/1921).

According to "Svenska Dagbladet" Bolshevik agitator Angelica Balabanoff has left for Austria in company with Herr Fredrik Strom and anarchist Emma Goldman started about same time for Prague after having given written undertaking to abstain from political propaganda.

Paper states that Goldman's associates Berkman and Schapiro afterwards left Sweden secretly for same destination.

Last Paper.

N3604

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

Christiania ho. 128 }  
Vienna ho. 171 } May 5  
Prague ho. 143 }

(Action completed.)

(Index.)

Next Paper.

N4873

273352—Wt. 26978/269—81500—12/20.—W. & S. Ltd.—(90).

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1922 May 2, New York [to] R.S. Sharp, Special Agent in Charge, Department of State, New York / Frank Higgins, Special Agent, Department of State. — 1 p.; 28 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Higgins reports that Stella Ballantine is Goldman's niece.

Notes: Enclosed with 870804003 and 810617066.



## DEPARTMENT OF STATE

OFFICE OF  
SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE  
NEW YORK DISTRICT

New York City, May 2d, 1922.

Mr. R. S. Sharp,  
Special Agent in Charge,  
Department of State,  
New York, N.Y.

Sir:

I beg to report that the lady signing herself "STELLA", in letters addressed to EMMA GOLDMAN from 36 Grove Street, New York, is the latter's niece, Mrs. Stella Ballantine, who until recently rented a flat at this address from a Mrs. Frank Pepe, a wealthy Italian woman, whose husband and sons are in the real estate business at 4th and McDougall Streets, who owns the majority of the row of brick houses running between 28 and 40 Grove Street, and who rents her premises very largely to members of the anarchist group concentrated in that section.

STELLA BALLENTINE departed from No. 36 Grove Street, several months ago, for an unknown destination, sub-letting her flat in the meanwhile, to a man by the name of Morey. Her husband is supposed to be a traveling-man, as he is very rarely present in New York. In any case, the reason for the correspondence between STELLA and EMMA GOLDMAN is completely established by the relationship.

Respectfully submitted.

Frank Q. Higgins.

Special Agent.

FCH/CB

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

870628000

[Memorandum] 1922 May 3, Riga, Latvia [to Stuart Heintzelman] A[ssistant] C[hief] of S[taff, Military Intelligence Division, War Department], Washington, D.C. / T. W[orthington] Hollyday, Military Observer. — 1 p. ; 28 x 21 cm.  
Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.  
Summary: Hollyday informs the head of Military Intelligence that he already sent Alexander Schapiro's photograph to the State Department.  
Notes: Portions illegible. Lower document only. Reply to 810402132. For related documents, see 810402131 and 850205060.

MILITARY INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

In replying refer to

10110-154

WAR DEPARTMENT  
OFFICE OF THE CHIEF OF STAFF  
WASHINGTON

1922  
10110-154  
88  
WAR DEPARTMENT  
328

March 4, 1922.

From: The A. C. of S., G-2.  
To: Military Observer, Riga, Latvia.  
Subject: Alexander Shapiro.

1. With reference to your letter of January 2, 1922 you are requested if possible to furnish this office with a photograph and description of Alexander Shapiro who, it is thought, may attempt to return to the United States; also any current information you may obtain concerning his activities.

For the A. C. of S., G-2.

*M. Churchill*  
M. Churchill,  
Major, General Staff.

her.

L.S.# 10235 1st Ind. #201 - SHAPIRO

Office, Military Observer, American Commission, Riga, Latvia, May 3, 1922 - To: A. C. of S., G-2, W.D., Washington, D.C., Returned:

1. With information that the only available photograph of Alexander Shapiro was forwarded in a communication from Commissioner Young to H. W. L. Hurley of the Department of State, under date of April 3, 1922. The despatch forwarding the photograph was in reply to State Department No. U-H.861.0-668.

Riga,

*T.W. Hollyday*  
T. W. HOLLYDAY,  
Major, General Staff,  
Military Observer.

T.M/crs.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Memorandum] 1922 May 3, Riga, Latvia [to Stuart Heintzelman] A[ssistant] C[hief] of S[taff, Military Intelligence Division, War Department], Washington, D.C. / T. W[orthington] Hollyday, Military Observer. — 1 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Notes: Copy of 870828000.

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WAS DEPT  
7254

L.S.# 2125

1st Ind.

#201 - SHAPIRO

Office, Military Observer, American Commission, Riga, Latvia, May 3, 1922 - To: A. C. of S., G-2, W.D., Washington, D.C., Return:

1. With information that the only available photograph of Alexander Shapiro was forwarded in a communication from Commissioner Young to Mr. W. L. Hurley of the Department of State, under date of April 3, 1922. The despatch forwarding the photograph is in reply to State Department No. U-H.861.0-668.

T.H./efs.

T. W. HOLLYDAY,  
Major, General Staff,  
Military Observer.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1922 May 3 [Washington, D.C. to William L.] Hurley [Office of the Undersecretary, Department of State, Washington, D.C.] / Chief Special Agent, Department of State. — 1 p. ; 21 x 14 cm.

*Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.*

**Summary:** The chief special agent of the State Department sends William Hurley a report on Stella Balantine.

**Notes:** For enclosure, see 870804004. For related documents, see 810617066, 870804005, and 870804006.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

CHIEF SPECIAL AGENT

May 3, 1922.

Dear Hurley:

Note this report from New York as to the identity of "STELLA" who did reside at 36 Grove Street, New York, and in whom London is interested.

*WLB*



*To  
B. A. B.*

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

# The Emma Goldman Papers

810617066

[Letter] 1922 May 4 [Washington, D.C. to] Boylston A. Beal, American Embassy [Department of State], London / W[illiam] L. H[urley, Office of the Undersecretary, Department of State]. — 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Hurley sends Beal requested information on Stella Ballantine.

Notes: For enclosure, see 870804004. Reply to 870804005.

RETURN TO U-H  
FILE

81101-202

May 4, 1922.

Dear Boylston:

Please refer to your letter No. 168E of March 23, relative to one "Stella", believed to be a close friend of Emma Goldman. For your information in this connection I enclose herewith a copy of a report which is self explanatory.

As ever,

WLD

1 enclosure.

Boylston A. Beal, Esquire,

etc., etc., etc.,

American Embassy,

London.

U-2: LAW/SDM:SS

BEST COPY AVAILABLE



## The Emma Goldman Papers

810409096

[Letter] 1922 May 4 [Washington, D.C. to] William J. Burns, Director, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, [Washington, D.C.] / W[illiam] L. H[urley], Office of the Undersecretary, Department of State. — 1 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Hurley sends Burns photographs of Alexander Schapiro, Goldman, and Berkman. Hurley warns Burns that Arthur Svensson, a Swedish employee of Goldman and Berkman, may try to enter the United States.

Notes: For enclosure, see 810409090. Reply to 810409096.

May 4, 1922.

RETURN TO U-H  
FILE

861.0-668

Dear Mr. Burns:

In compliance with the request contained in your letter of February 28, I enclose herewith photostat copies of a photograph of Alexander Schapiro, which were received from the American Legation at Stockholm - having been obtained from the Swedish police authorities.

It was also learned through the police authorities at that place that a Swede named Arthur Svensson, born in 1894, is in the employ of Berkman, Goldman and Schapiro. It is stated that this man has been a seaman and is familiar with the United States; that he attends to all the dealings of Berkman, Goldman and Schapiro with Swedes in Stockholm; and that he was recently apprehended at the German Legation in an attempt to obtain a visa on a false passport issued in the name of "Strömberg." Upon being searched at that time he is reported to have had in his possession a large amount of American currency, and it was believed that he was about to set out for America via Germany in the interests of the above mentioned persons.

There are also enclosed small pictures of Goldman, Berkman and Schapiro which were taken at Riga in December 1921.

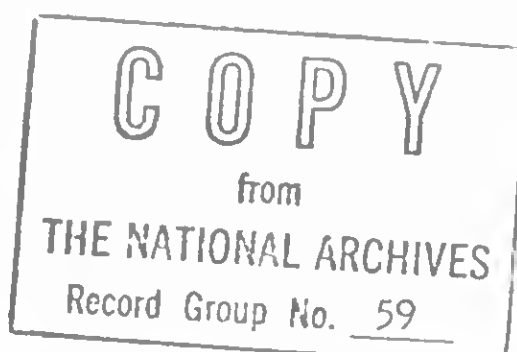
Very truly yours,

WJH

Enclosures:  
Photographs as  
above.

William J. Burns, Esquire,  
Director, Bureau of Investigation,  
Department of Justice.

U-2:IAW/SDM:SS



General Records of the Department of State  
Office of the Counselor, File No. 861.0-668



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1922 May 6, Washington, D.C. [to] Stuart Heintzelman [Assistant Chief of Staff] Military Intelligence Division, War Department, Washington, D.C. / W[illiam] J. Burns, Director, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice. — 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.  
*Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.*  
**Summary:** Burns asks Heintzelman again for a photograph of Alexander Schapiro.  
**Notes:** Follow-up to 850205060.

WM. J. BURNS,  
DIRECTOR.



J. H.  
GFR. JR.

Department of Justice,  
Bureau of Investigation,  
Washington, D. C.

OFFICE OF THE CHIEF OF STAFF  
MIL. INTEL. DIV.

1922

10118-154

85

WAK DEPARTMENT  
325

May 6, 1922.

MAY 9

Lt. Col. Stuart Heintzelman,  
Director, Military Intelligence Division,  
War Department, Washington, D.C.

My dear Colonel -

Reference is made to my communication of February 28th requesting a photograph and description of ALEXANDER SHAPIRO, who has been with Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman in Russia.

I would appreciate receiving any description or photograph of Shapiro which you may have received, as requested in my letter of the aforementioned date.

Yours very truly,

*W. J. Burns*  
Director.

RECEIVED  
MAY 8 1922  
MIL. INTEL. DIV.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

# The Emma Goldman Papers

870804009

[Report on Arthur Svensson, Stockholm, 19]22 May 26 / Hallett Johnson [American Minister, Department of State].— 1 p.; 28 × 22 cm.

*Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.*

**Summary:** Johnson sends the State Department a sketch of Arthur Svensson's background and association with Goldman and Berkman.

**Notes:** Enclosed with 870804010. For related documents, see 870804007, 870804008, and 810617065.



Arthur Svensson was born August 27, 1896, in Malmö.

This man was arrested at the German passport bureau carrying a false passport and trying to obtain a visa to go to Germany. Convicted for this offence on April 25th, 1922. This man was in the employ of Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman. When he was arrested he had a considerable amount of American dollars in his possession. He has now received a Swedish passport good for all countries except Russia and has tried in Denmark and Sweden to go to Germany but been refused.

He has stated that his intention is to proceed to America. This photograph is the same as he carries on his present passport.

*Hallett Johnson*

*PMH  
5/26/22*

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## The Emma Goldman Papers

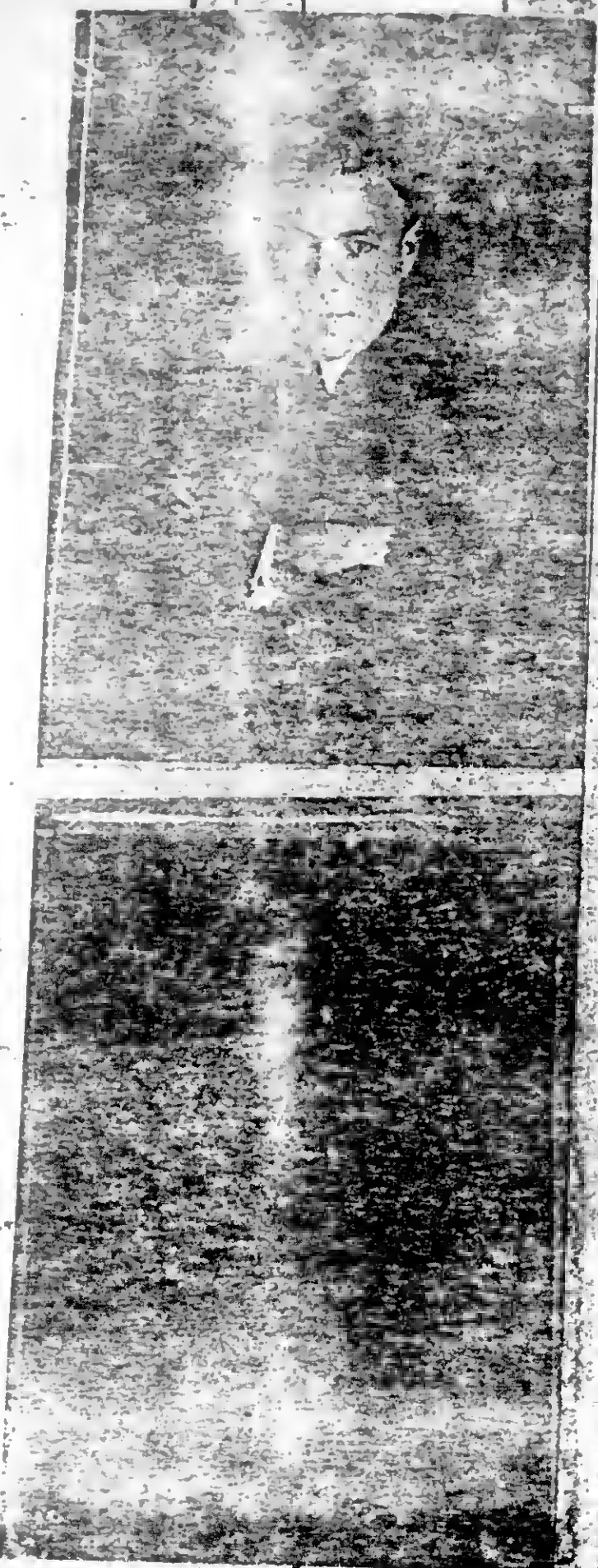
[Photograph of Arthur Svensson, Stockholm? 1922 May? 26?] / [author unknown]. —

2 p. ; 26 × 21 cm.

*Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.*

**Summary:** The American Embassy in Stockholm obtains a copy of Arthur Svensson's passport photograph, with a description on the reverse.

**Notes:** In Swedish. Enclosed with 870804009, 810617065, 870804007, and 870804008.



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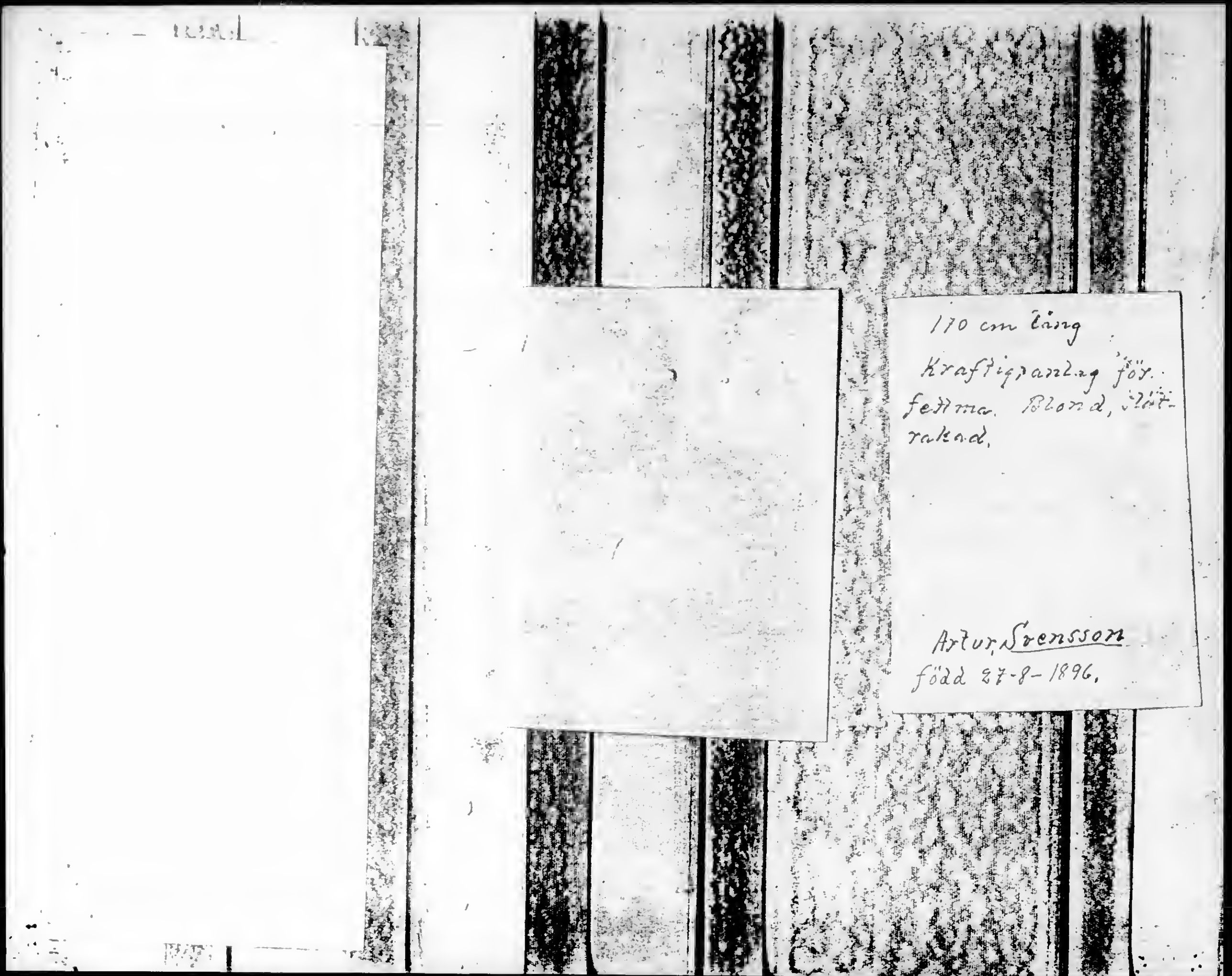
## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Photograph of Arthur Svensson, Stockholm? 1922 May? 26?] / [author unknown].—  
2 p. ; 26 × 21 cm.

*Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.*

**Summary:** The American Embassy in Stockholm obtains a copy of Arthur Svensson's passport photograph, with a description on the reverse.

**Notes:** In Swedish. Enclosed with 870804009, 810617065, 870804007, and 870804008.



BEST COPY AVAILABLE

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report In re:] Emma Goldman, Alexander Berkman, Alexander Schapiro—  
Anarchistic Activities, Seattle, Wash. [19]22 June 5 / R.A. Darling [Agent, Bureau of  
Investigation, Department of Justice]. — 1 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Darling reports that Goldman got a visa to Czechoslovakia and Berkman and Alexander  
Schapiro cannot return to Russia.

Notes: Broken type. For copy, see 870708045.

ATTENTION of MR. HOOVER d-2				TRIP	RETURN TO U-H FILE
REPORT MADE AT: Seattle, Wash	DATE WHEN MADE: June 5, '22	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE: June 5, '22	REPORT MADE BY: R. A. Darling	861.0-668	
TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE: EMMA GOLDMAN, ALEXANDER BERKMAN, ALEXANDER SHAPIRO : Anarchistic Activities Stockholm, Sweden					
FACTS DEVELOPED: AT SEATTLE, WASHINGTON: This Agent has learned from a confidential source that EMMA GOLDMAN has finally succeeded in obtaining a visa to her passport, entitling her to proceed to CZECHO-SLOVAKIA. BERKMAN and SHAPIRO have been unsuccessful in their attempts to leave SWEDEN, and while it is SHAPIRO'S desire to return to RUSSIA, his articles regarding the Soviet regime resulted in the Central Committee of the Bolshevik refusing him permission to return. BERKMAN has also been refused permission to return to RUSSIA, and is in the same position as SHAPIRO and has no place to go. At the time these three subjects departed from RUSSIA it was their intention to attend the INTERNATIONALE ANARCHIST CONFERENCE, which they were unsuccessful in reaching. Investigation continued.					
REFERENCE:	COPIES OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO: New York; Chicago; San Francisco				

**COPY**  
from  
THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES  
Record Group No. 59

General Records of the Department of State  
Office of the Counselor, File No. 861.0-668

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

# The Emma Goldman Papers

870708045

[Agent Report In re:] Emma Goldman, Alexander Berkman, Alexander S[c]hapiro—  
Anarchistic Activities, Seattle, Wash. [19]22 June 5 / R.A. Darling [Agent, Bureau of  
Investigation, Department of Justice].— 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.  
Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.  
Notes: Copy of 810409085.

ATTENTION of <b>L2</b>		ORIGINAL <b>IN 1</b>	
REPORT MADE AT: <b>Seattle, Wash</b>	MADE: <b>June 5, '22</b>	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE: <b>June 5, '22</b>	BY: <b>R. A. Darling</b> <b>61-291</b>
TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE: <b>EMMA GOLDMAN, ALEXANDER BERKMAN, ALEXANDER SHAPIRO Stockholm, Sweden</b>		<b>: Anarchistic Activities</b>	
FACTS DEVELOPED:		File #15942-47-E	
<p>AT SEATTLE, WASHINGTON:</p> <p>This Agent has learned from a confidential source that <b>EMMA GOLDMAN</b> has finally succeeded in obtaining a visa to her passport, entitling her to proceed to <b>CZECHO-SLOVAKIA</b>.</p> <p><b>BERKMAN</b> and <b>SHAPIRO</b> have been unsuccessful in their attempts to leave <b>SWEDEN</b>, and while it is <b>SHAPIRO'S</b> desire to return to <b>RUSSIA</b>, his articles regarding the Soviet regime resulted in the Central Committee of the Bolshevik refusing him permission to return. <b>BERKMAN</b> has also been refused permission to return to <b>RUSSIA</b>, and is in the same position as <b>SHAPIRO</b> and has no place to go.</p> <p>At the time these three subjects departed from <b>RUSSIA</b> it was their intention to attend the <b>INTERNATIONALE ANARCHIST CONFERENCE</b>, which they were unsuccessful in reaching.</p> <p>Investigation continued.</p>			
<p><b>JUN 15 1922</b></p>		<p><b>JUN 21 1922</b></p> <p><b>61-291-91</b></p> <p><b>RECORDED</b></p>	
REFERENCE:	COPIES OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO: <b>New York; Chicago; San Francisco</b>		

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

Weekly Intelligence Report, week ending June 10, 1922, Seattle, Wash. [excerpt] / R.A. Darling, Acting Agent in Charge [Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice]. - 2 p. ; 27 x 20 cm.

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: Darling reports that Goldman will go to Czechoslovakia from Sweden.  
Notes: Dark copy; barely legible.

... called in Berlin, Germany.  
... Czechoslovakia from Sweden.  
... Party organizer, addresses Labor Party Con.  
... will speak in Tacoma, Wash.  
... tive communist, may visit Seattle.

## I.W.O. ACTIVITIES:

... delegate to Moscow, due in Seattle soon.  
I.W.O. arrested in Davenport, Wash.  
Boats are bound at Aberdeen, Wash.

... of strike along Great Northern Railway  
One big dam formed in Sydney, N.S.W.

## JAPANESE ACTIVITIES:

Steps taken to making Co. of Illegal Japanese Land Holdings.  
Japanese enter U.S. near Chehalis, Wash.  
New company formed in Japan.  
Admiral Kato to form new cabinet.  
Japanese arrivals.  
Japanese erect radio.

## RADICAL ACTIVITIES:

Finnish residents leave Oregon for Soviet-Russia.  
Farmer-Labor Party Convention adopts resolutions.

Mexicans used as strike-breakers in Oregon.

"Three Soldiers" published in Seattle Union Record.

Ewin L. Davis, Representative, publishes article in Union Record.

## Russian Activities:

Letts and Lithuanians form organization.  
... leaves New York.

## DEPORTATIONS:

... R. A. Darling,  
Acting Special Agent in Charge.

Copies to: San Francisco, Los Angeles.

249,870  
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 1-14-86 BY SP4 ELW/ELW

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

**Summary:** Darling reports that Goldman will go to Czechoslovakia from Sweden.

ORIGINAL

2.

Seattle, Wash.

Weekly Intelligence Report

June 10, 1922.

COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES - 4021

uncertain as to whether or not they will be able to return to Russia. It was the intention of GOLDMAN, BERKMAN and SHAPIRO to attend the INTERNATIONALE ANARCHIST CONFERENCE but they were unsuccessful in reaching the conference. (Refer report of Agent Darling, June 5, 1922, in re above subjects.)

b7c / o/s



## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1922 June 20 [Washington, D.C. to] William J. Burns, Director, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. / W[illiam] L. H[urley, Office of the Undersecretary, Department of State]. — 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Hurley sends Burns a copy of Arthur Svensson's photograph, with instructions to watch for his possible entry into the United States. Svensson has been helping Goldman and Berkman leave Sweden.

Notes: For enclosure, see 870804010. For related documents, see 870804007 through 870804009.

RETURN TO U-11  
FILE

800.11-433

800.11

In reply refer to  
U-11

June 20, 1922.

Dear Mr. Burns:

I enclose herewith a photostatic copy of a photograph of Arthur Svensson, who was born August 27, 1896, in Sweden. This man was arrested at the German Passport Bureau carrying a false passport and trying to obtain a visa to go to Germany, and convicted of this offence on April 25, 1922. He was in the employ of Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman and when arrested he had a considerable amount of American dollars in his possession. He has now received a Swedish passport good for all countries except Russia and has tried in Denmark and Sweden to go to Germany but has been refused.

He has stated that it is his intention to proceed to America. This photograph is the same as he carries on his present passport. The foregoing is for your information and any action you may deem desirable.

Very truly yours,

W.L.H.

Enclosure:

Copy of photograph.

William J. Burns, Esquire,  
Director, Bureau of Investigation,  
Department of Justice,  
Washington, D. C.

U2 LAW:MVB SS

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

## The Emma Goldman Papers

870804007

[Letter] 1922 June 20 [Washington, D.C. to] W[alter] W. Husband, Commissioner General [Bureau of Immigration] Department of Labor, Washington, D.C. / [William L. Hurley, Office of the Undersecretary, Department of State]. - 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.  
Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.  
Summary: Hurley sends Husband a copy of Arthur Svensson's photograph, with instructions to watch for his possible entry into the United States. Svensson has been helping Goldman and Berkman get out of Sweden.  
Notes: For enclosure, see 870804009 and 870804010.

RETURN TO J-H  
FILE

800.11-433

In reply refer to  
4-2

June 20, 1922.

Dear Mr. Husband:

I enclose herewith a photostatic copy of a photograph of Arthur Svensson, who was born August 27, 1896, in Malmö. This man was arrested at the German Passport Bureau, carrying a false passport and trying to obtain a visa to go to Germany, and convicted of this offence on April 26, 1922. He was in the employ of Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman and when arrested had a considerable amount of American dollars in his possession. He has now received a Swedish passport good for all countries except Russia and has tried in Denmark and Sweden to go to Germany but has been refused.

He has stated that it is his intention to proceed to America. This photograph is the same as he carries on his present passport. The foregoing is for your information and any action you may deem desirable.

Very truly yours,

Enclosure:

Copy of photograph.

W. W. Husband, Esquire,  
Commissioner General of Immigration,  
Department of Labor,  
Washington, D. C.

U2 LAW:MVB SS

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

## The Emma Goldman Papers

870804008

[Letter] 1922 June 20 [Washington, D.C. to] S[tuart] Heintzelman [Assistant Chief of Staff] Military Intelligence [Division] War Department, Washington, D.C. / [William L. Hurley, Office of the Undersecretary, Department of State]. — 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Hurley sends Heintzelman a copy of Arthur Svensson's photograph and informs him that Svensson may try to enter the United States. Svensson has been helping Goldman and Berkman leave Sweden.

Notes: For enclosure, see 870804009 and 870804010.

RECEIVED

JUN 21 1922

ILL.

800.11-433

In reply refer to  
U-2

June 20, 1922.

Dear Colonel Heintzelman:

I enclose herewith a photostatic copy of a photograph of Arthur Svensson, who was born August 27, 1896, in Malmö. This man was arrested at the German Passport Bureau carrying a false passport and trying to obtain a visa to go to Germany, and convicted of this offence on April 26, 1922; he was in the employ of Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman and when arrested had a considerable amount of American dollars in his possession. He has now received a Swedish passport good for all countries except Russia and has tried in Denmark and Sweden to go to Germany but has been refused.

He has stated that it is his intention to proceed to America. This photograph is the same as he carries on his present passport. The foregoing is for your information and any action you may deem desirable.

Very truly yours,

Enclosure:

Copy of photograph.

Colonel S. Heintzelman, U. S. A.,  
Director, Military Intelligence,  
War Department,  
Washington, D. C.

U2 LAW:MVB SS

BEST COPY AVAILABLE



## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1922 June 20 [Stockholm to] W[illiam] L. Hurley [Office of the Undersecretary] Department of State, Washington [D.C.] / Hallett Johnson [American Minister, Department of State]. — 1 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Johnson reports on his investigation of Albert Jensen, with whom Goldman lived while in Stockholm.

Notes: For response, see 870804014.

808-127



Stockholm, June 20, 1922.

Dear Hurley:

With reference to your letter of May 17th I can inform you that A. Jensen, Heleneborgs 25 B. Stockholm is known to the local police as one of the leaders of the small anarchistic party which exists here. He is not considered to be dangerous and has no police record. I understand it was at his house that Emma Goldman resided while in Stockholm. I have taken measures to try to secure information as to where mail comes from that arrives at this address and will inform you if I am successful. It has been reported to me that a number of letters come to this address with each American mail.

Very sincerely yours,

W. L. Hurley, Esquire,  
Department of State,  
Washington.

DJ

WLD

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

810402026

[Memorandum] 1922 July 13, Honolulu, Hawaii [to Stuart Heintzelman] A[ssistant] C[hief] of S[taff, Military Intelligence Division] War Department, Washington, D.C. / Stephen O. Fuqua, Office of A[ssistant] C[hief] of S[taff, Military Intelligence Division, War Dept]. — 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: Fuqua returns a list of *Mother Earth* subscribers to Heintzelman.

Notes: Upper document only. For enclosure, see 870804012. For reply, see 870804011.

267-7

Office A.C. of S., G-2,  
HEADQUARTERS HAWAIIAN DEPARTMENT, 2-2  
HONOLULU, H. I.

SAW/amb

OFFICE CHIEF OF STAFF  
MIL. INTEL. D.V.

July 13, 1922

1922 9679-80

JUL 27

Subject : Military Intelligence Division Handbooks.

WAR DEPARTMENT

To : A.C. of S., G-2, War Department, Washington, D.C.  
(attention M.I.9.)

328 ✓

In accordance with instructions contained on printed card there are returned herewith the following handbooks prepared by the Military Intelligence Division:

- (a) Copies 61 and 62, Provisional Instructions for the Operation of the Military Intelligence Service in Corps Areas and Departments. } 271-a-9
- (b) Alphabetical List of Suspects, covering period from Jan. 23, 1918 to June 5th, 1918.
- (c) List of Subscribers to "Mother Earth" by Emma Goldman.

STEPHEN O. FUQUA,  
Lieut-Colonel, G.S.

1st Ind.

JVM/RM

G-2/ 9679-80  
271-a-9

War Department, A.C. of S., G-2, Washington, D.C., July 28, 1922; To: The A.C. of S., G-2, Hawaiian Department.

Receipt is acknowledged.

For the A.C. of S., G-2:

B. MAGRODER,  
Major, Infantry,  
Acting Chief, M.I.4.

MAILED M.I.D.G.S. JUL 21 1922

hjn

Copy of above letter & the handbooks  
under (a) filed 271-a-9

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1922 July 13 [Washington, D.C. to] William J. Burns, Director, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, [Washington, D.C.] / W[illiam] L. H[urley], Office of the Undersecretary, Department of State. — 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Hurley notifies Burns of the State Department's investigation of Albert Jensen, who hosted Goldman while she was in Stockholm.

Notes: Bleedthrough. For related documents, see 870804015 and 810617067.

RETURN TO U-H  
FILE

858-127

In reply refer to  
U2

July 13, 1922.

Dear Mr. Burns:

Please refer to your letter of April 20th, 1922, (initialed JFH\*H) and previous correspondence relative to A. Jensen, Helenoborvysy 25 B, Stockholm, Sweden.

Information has recently been received from the Legation at Stockholm to the effect that Jonson is known to the local police as one of the leaders of the small anarchistic party which exists there. He is not considered to be dangerous and has no police record. It is understood that it was at his house that Emma Goldman resided while in Stockholm. An effort is being made to secure information as to where mail comes from which arrives at his address. It has been reported that a number of letters are received there with each American mail.

Very truly yours,  
to this address with each mail.

Very sincerely yours,

William J. Burns, Esquire,

Director, Bureau of Investigation,

U. S. Department of Justice.

Department of State,

Washington.

U2-LAW/GC/ss

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1922 July 26, Stockholm [to Charles Evans Hughes] Secretary of State [Department of State], Washington [D.C.] / Ira N. Morris [American Embassy, Department of State]. — 2 p. ; 33 x 22 cm.

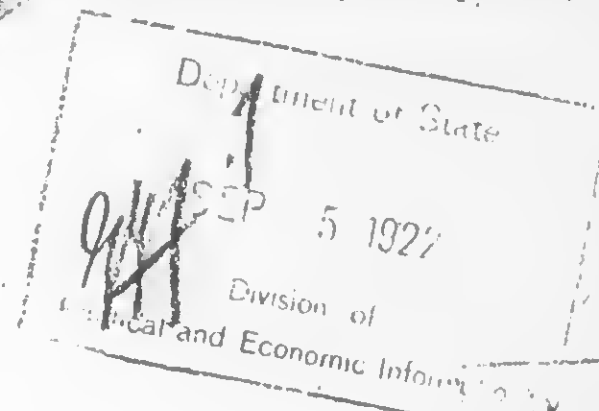
Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Morris forwards a copy of an open letter from William Haywood to Goldman, published in the *Folkets Dagblad Politiken*.

Notes: For enclosure, see 870804013. Enclosed with 810409097 and 880615405. For copy, see 880615406.

No. 2385.

Stockholm, July 26, 1922.



INDEX BUREAU

311.6124-

FILED  
SEP 8 1922

Goldman, Emma et al

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,  
Washington.

Sir:

I have the honor to enclose herewith, as of possible interest to the Department, a summary of the contents of an article which appeared in the Communist "Folkets Dagblad Politiken", of July 17th, being an open letter from William D. Haywood to Emma Goldman in view of her recently published utterances against Bolshevist Russia, which the paper states "it has had the honor to receive from its well-known American party comrade, probably the most popular

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## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1922 July 26, Stockholm [to Charles Evans Hughes] Secretary of State [Department of State], Washington [D.C.] / Ira N. Morris [American Embassy, Department of State]. — 2 p. ; 33 × 22 cm.

*Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.*

**Summary:** Morris forwards a copy of an open letter from William Haywood to Goldman, published in the *Folkets Dagblad Politiken*.

**Notes:** For enclosure, see 870804013. Enclosed with 810409097 and 880615405. For copy, see 880615406.

-2-

labor leader in the United States, who is at present active in Soviet Russia."

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

*Ira N. Morris*

Enclosure:

Summary as above described.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1922 July 26, Stockholm [to Charles Evans Hughes] Secretary of State [Department of State], Washington [D.C.] / Ira N. Morris [American Embassy, Department of State]. — 1 p. ; 17 × 26 cm.  
Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the United States Library of Congress.  
Institutional Location: Paul Avrich Papers.  
Notes: Portions illegible. One shot of two pages. Copy of 810617043.

No. 1208.

Stockholm, July 18, 1922.

Enclosure in State Dept  
attch. of 8-81-22

The Honorable  
The Secretary of State,  
Washington.

Sir:

I have the honor to enclose herewith, as of possible interest to the Department, a summary of the contents of an article which appeared in the Communist "Folk's Paper", of July 17th, being an open letter from William D. Knudsen to Emma Gold by published utterances against the paper stating "It has had its well-known American party"

labor leader in the United States, who is at present active in Soviet Russia."

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

(Signed) IRA N. MORRIS.

Enclosure:  
Summary as above described.

32/22

A true copy of  
the signed original  
f.l.

## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Summary of William Haywood's letter to Emma Goldman in] Folkets Dagblad Politiken, 1922 July 26 [Stockholm] / [Department of State].— 4 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.  
Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Someone in the American Embassy in Stockholm excerpts William Haywood's open letter in the Folkets Dagblad Politiken criticizing Goldman's anti-Bolshevik articles.

Notes: Enclosed with 810617043, 810409097, and 880615405.

Enclosure in Despatch No. 2385, July 26, 1922.

Summary of Article in "Folkets Dagblad Politiken", dated  
July 17, 1922.

-----

"The Anarchists and the Revolution of the Proletariat."

The "Politiken" has had the honor to receive the following crushing satire from our prominent American party comrade, William Haywood, now active in Soviet Russia, who is perhaps the most popular of all the labor leaders in the United States; being an open letter to the Russian-American anarchist lady, Emma Goldman, who, deported from the United States two years ago, was received with the utmost kindness in Soviet Russia, but did not remain content under the reign of the proletariat and now wants to return to the lost capitalist paradise in the West by means of her contra-revolutionary articles.

Comrade Haywood writes in part:

"Emma Goldman's articles about Soviet Russia, recently published in the 'New York World' are false, malicious, but well suited for the purpose intended. It is Emma's desire to return to the United States where she was formerly able to obtain the good will of illiterate audiences. The people of Soviet Russia stand far above the most radical ideal Miss Goldman has ever had.

"The articles must be viewed from the point of view of their mission: a polite knocking at the doors of the United States, these doors which she states with a sigh are closed and sealed. She shows no ill feeling towards the United States though she states that this country has robbed her of home and heart but she is furious at Soviet Russia which offered her work, a home and a living. Is not her attitude  
towards



## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Summary of William Haywood's letter to Emma Goldman in] Folkets Dagblad Politiken, 1922 July 26 [Stockholm] / [Department of State]. — 4 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

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Notes: Enclosed with 810617043, 810409097, and 880615405.

-2-

towards the Soviet Government more than pure ingratitude?

"It is her egotism that has been satisfied by the printing of these articles all over the United States. She will naturally protest against such a conception of her propaganda, even if it is pointed out that no labor or socialistic organ have deemed her articles worthy of repetition even partially. The fact is that the majority of the workers of the United States are and desire to be loyal to the Soviet and the revolution in Russia, not to mention the fact that Emma Goldman has relied upon Samuel Gompers whose abnormal thinking power has never given birth to a constructive thought or a radical idea.

"Miss Goldman made a mistake when she printed the articles in the 'World', and she has begun to fall - when a woman falls there are no limits to which she cannot go. No doubt similar articles will be flowing from her pen, that instrument with which she tries to open the locks of the doors closed to her, though every word she writes will condemn her in the opinion of former friends as they know she was made welcome when she came to Russia and given an influential post by the Soviet Government. She was given a private car and assistants and instructed to collect relics and documents for a museum established by the Soviet for the purpose of perpetuating the history of the revolution. That this important work failed depended either upon her incapability or the loss of understanding and willingness to cooperate. She has her own methods. Unlike the Ibsen character she mentions, who loosened the knot and straightened out the whole affair, she presented a tangle much worse than when she began her work of unravelling.

For

## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Summary of William Haywood's letter to Emma Goldman in] *Folkets Dagblad Politiken*, 1922 July 26 [Stockholm] / [Department of State]. — 4 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Someone in the American Embassy in Stockholm excerpts William Haywood's open letter in the *Folkets Dagblad Politiken* criticizing Goldman's anti-Bolshevik articles.

Notes: Enclosed with 810617043, 810409097, and 880615405.

-2-

For example, after elaborating on how indecent it was for Russia to fire a brand that might have set the world on fire just at the moment when war profits were largest and the imperialists were sure of victory, she goes on to explain that the revolution was doomed from its very inception, as it was not able to counteract the great world massacre. She further remarks that it was the Marxian policy of the Bolsheviks, which at first seemed to be the only strength of the revolution, that finally brought about its downfall. But not satisfied with this, which she must have known was untrue the same moment that she wrote it down, she adds that the contra-revolutionists, right social-revolutionists, cadets and mensheviks were the undermining factors of the Russian revolution. And in truth she could have added the anarchists and bandit leaders, of whom Emma Goldman seems to be a devoted follower. In her condemnation of the Brest-Litovsk treaty she ignores the real historical facts and builds up her argument on her own sentimental theories. She employs tactics of her own. In New York she harangues against capitalism; then she goes to Moscow and there begins to fight against the 'treachery' of the Soviet republic, and finally strolls back again into the capitalistic trap.

"It is curious that she did not begin to attack Soviet Russia before she left America. But perhaps she knew what the 'Tcheca' is in Russia and thought it advisable to regard 'silence as gold' as her collections consisted mostly of copper and silver.

"Fighting against the Soviet Government seems to afford Emma Goldman considerable pleasure. She was never at  
heart

## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Summary of William Haywood's letter to Emma Goldman in] *Folkets Dagblad Politiken*, 1922 July 26 [Stockholm] / [Department of State].— 4 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.  
*Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.*

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**Notes:** Enclosed with 810617043, 810409097, and 880615405.

-4-

heart in sympathy with the Bolshevik revolution. Forced to leave the United States, she went to Russia as there was no other place for her to go. It is not her friends who have made her impossible. She has sealed her own doom."

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1922 July 26, London [to Charles Evans Hughes] Secretary of State [Department of State], Washington [D.C.] / Robert Skinner, Consul General [Department of State]. — 1 p. ; 33 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: The American consul general informs the State Department that the home secretary is resisting Goldman's efforts to get permission to enter England.

Notes: For follow-up, see 810409100.

No. 13470.

AMERICAN CONSULATE GENERAL

London, England.

July 26, 1922.

VISA OFFICE

AUG 12 1922

SUBJECT: Movements of Emma Goldman.

THE HONORABLE

THE SECRETARY OF STATE,

WASHINGTON.

SIR:

I have the honor to report that the well known radical, Emma Goldman, who was deported from the United States a year or two ago, is now seeking to enter Great Britain. In the House of Commons on July 17th the Home Secretary reported that he was not prepared to allow her to enter "as it is considered that her presence here would be undesirable."

I made enquiries at the Home Office about the person named, following the statement made in Parliament, and have now received a note setting forth that according to the latest information Emma Goldman was in Czecho-Slovakia last month, but apparently was not to be allowed to stay there and was given permission to go to Germany for a limited visit of two months.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

American Consul General.

310-RPS.LEM.

MATIC BUREAU

G 15 1922

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

UNDER SECRETARY

AUG 19 1922

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

INDEX BUREAU

311.6124-

FBI FILED

AUG 16 1922

Goldman, Emma

## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Memorandum] 1922 July 28, Washington, D.C. [to Stephen O. Fuqua] A[ssistant] C[hief] of S[taff, Military Intelligence Division] Hawaiian Department, [Honolulu, Hawaii] / [Stuart Heintzelman] A[ssistant] C[hief] of S[taff, Military Intelligence Division, War Department].— 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: The head of Military Intelligence acknowledges receipt of the *Mother Earth* subscription list.

Notes: Broken type. Lower document only. Reply to 810402026.

In accordance with instructions contained on printed card there are returned herewith the following handbooks prepared by the Military Intelligence Division:

- (a) Copies 61 and 62, Provisional Instructions for the Operation of the Military Intelligence Service in Corps Areas and Departments. } 271-a-9
- (b) Alphabetical List of Suspects, covering period from Jan. 23, 1918 to June 5th, 1918.
- (c) List of Subscribers to "Mother Earth" by Emma Goldman.

STEPHEN O. FUQUA,  
Lieut-Colonel, G.S.

1st Ind.

JVM/BM

G-2/ 9679-50  
271-A-9

War Department, A.C. of S., G-2, Washington, D.C., July 28, 1922: To: The A.C. of S., G-2, Hawaiian Department.

Receipt is acknowledged.

For the A.C. of S., G-2:

B. MAGRUDER,  
Major, Infantry,  
Acting Chief, H.I.4.

MAILED M.D.C.S.

hjn

Copy of above letter & the handbooks  
under (a) filed 271-a-9

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1922 Aug. 10 [Washington, D.C. to] William J. Burns, Director, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, [Washington, D.C.] / W[illiam] L. H[urley, Office of the Undersecretary, Department of State]. — 1 p. ; 34 × 22 cm.

*Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.*

**Summary:** Hurley informs Burns that Goldman is trying to enter Great Britain.

**Notes:** Follow-up to 810617044. Copy of 880615408.

RETURN TO U-H

861.0-668

August 10, 1922.

Dear Mr. Burns:

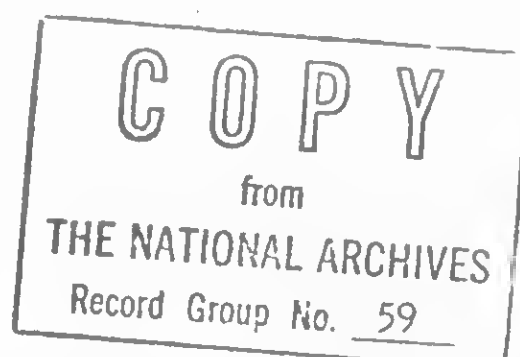
I have been informed that the well known radical, Emma Goldman, who was deported from the United States a year or so ago, is now seeking to enter Great Britain. In the House of Commons on July 17th the Home Secretary reported that he was not prepared to allow her to enter "as it is considered that her presence here would be undesirable."

According to the latest information Emma Goldman was in Czecho-Slovakia last month, but apparently was not to be allowed to stay there and was given permission to go to Germany for a limited visit of two months.

Very truly yours,

*WJH*

William J. Burns, Esquire.  
Director, Bureau of Investigation,  
Department of Justice.



General Records of the Department of State  
Office of the Counselor, File No. 861.0-668



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1922 Aug. 10, Washington [D.C. to] William J. Burns, Director, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, [Washington, D.C.] / W[illiam] L. Hurley [Office of the Undersecretary] Department of State. — 1 p. ; 16 x 13 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the United States Library of Congress.  
Institutional Location: Paul Avrich Papers.

Notes: For copy, see 810409100.

61-291

DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
WASHINGTON

August 10, 1922.

RECEIVED  
AUG 11 1922  
DIVISION

Dear Mr. Burns:

I have been informed that the well known radical, Emma Goldman, who was deported from the United States a year or so ago, is now seeking to enter Great Britain. In the House of Commons on July 17th the Home Secretary reported that he was not prepared to allow her to enter "as it is considered that her presence here would be undesirable."

According to the latest information Emma Goldman was in Czecho-Slovakia last month, but apparently was not to be allowed to stay there and was given permission to go to Germany for a limited visit of two months.

Very truly yours,  
W. L. Hurley.

William J. Burns, Esquire,  
Director, Bureau of Investigation,  
Department of Justice.

AUG 21 1922

Read by  
AUG 11 1922  
W. J. Burns.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1922 Aug. 19 [Washington, D.C. to] Rush Simmons, Chief Post Office Inspector, Post Office Department, [Washington, D.C.] / [William L. Hurley, Office of the Undersecretary, Department of State].— 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Hurley informs Simmons that Albert Jensen, a Swedish anarchist and friend of Goldman, receives many letters from the *Freie Arbeiter Stimme*.

Notes: Bleedthrough. For related documents, see 870804014 and 870804015.

858-129

August 19, 1922.

Dear Mr. Simmons:

I have just had information from the Legation at Stockholm to the effect that considerable correspondence arrives at Heleneborgsgatan 25 B from "The Freie Arbeiter Stimme", 23, Ruter Street, New York.

The first mentioned address is that of one A. Jensen, who is known to the local police as one of the leaders of the small anarchistic party which exists there. He is not considered to be dangerous and has no police record. It is understood that it was at his house that Emma Goldman resided while in Stockholm. For some time an effort has been made to secure information as to where mail comes from which arrives at his address. It has been reported that a number of letters are received there with each American mail.

Very truly yours,

W. L. Hurley, Esquire,

Department of State,  
Washington, D. C.

Rush Simmons, Esquire,  
Chief Post Office Inspector,  
Post Office Department.

WLL/MGL

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1922 Aug. 31 [Washington, D.C. to] William J. Burns, Director, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. / W[illiam] L. H[urley, Office of the Undersecretary, Department of State].— 1 p. ; 34 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Hurley sends Burns excerpts from William Haywood's published criticism of Goldman's attack on Soviet Russia.

Notes: For enclosures, see 810617043 and 870804013. Copy of 880615405.

RETURN TO U  
FILE

861.0-668

*card both  
file with  
Goldman*

In reply refer to  
U-2 311.6124 Goldman, Emma

August 31, 1922.

Dear Mr. Burns:

In connection with previous correspondence relative to Emma Goldman, I enclose herewith a copy of a despatch which has recently been received from Stockholm dated July 26, 1922, relative to an open letter from William D. Haywood to Emma Goldman.

Very truly yours,

*WJH*

Enclosure:

From Stockholm,  
No. 2385,  
July 26, 1922.

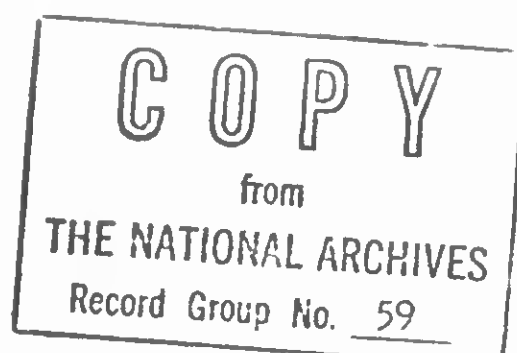
William J. Burns, Esquire,

Director, Bureau of Investigation,

Department of Justice,

Washington, D. C.

U-2:LAW/ECD-SS



General Records of the Department of State  
Office of the Counselor, File No. 861.0-668

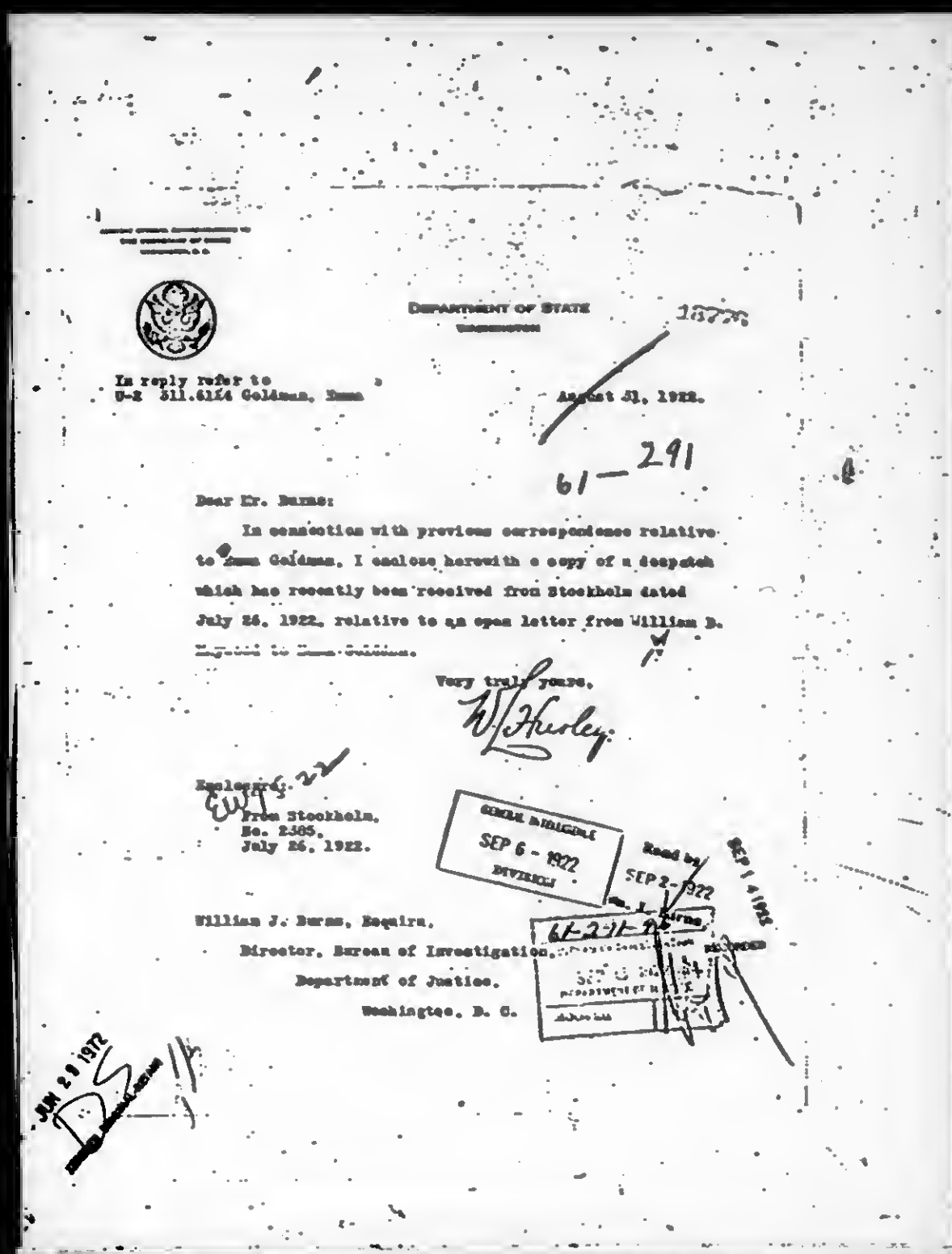
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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1922 Aug. 31, Washington [D.C. to] William J. Burns, Director, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. / W[illiam] L. Hurley [Office of the Undersecretary] Department of State.— 1 p.; 16 × 12 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the United States Library of Congress.  
Institutional Location: Paul Avrich Papers.

Notes: For enclosures, see 810617043 and 870804013. For copy, see 810409097.



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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1922 Sept. 22, Philadelphia [to] W[illiam] J. Burns, Director, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. [excerpt] / [author unknown]. — 2 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: An undisclosed correspondent identifies Goldman as the organizer of a large Mooney defense meeting in Chicago.

Notes: For related document, see 890414126.

W. J. Burns, Esq., Director,  
Bureau of Investigation,  
Department of Justice, Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Burns:

I presume a letter of the 21st instant having "Director" at the bottom but with no written signature and Mr. Hoover's initials at the top was meant to have been signed by you and I therefore reply to you.

You inclose me a four-page printed copy of a letter written by Colonel Theodore Roosevelt to Felix Frankfurter and bearing a number 132676, which I return herewith. This printed copy is one of quite a number that I had printed and I have indorsed a note on the margin as to its authenticity and signed it. <sup>Sup. by the letter last paragraph.</sup> When Colonel Roosevelt wrote his letter to Frankfurter he gave copies of it to Honorable Charles M. Fickert, then District Attorney at San Francisco, to Senator Lodge and to Mr. James A. Emery, whose office is in the Union Trust Building in Washington. The printed copy was taken from Fickert's copy, as I thought it should be distributed and I sent printed copies to every member of the House and Senate and to many other people. Among those to whom I sent them were Senator Lodge and Mr. Emery and I then learned from them that they had already received copies direct from Colonel Roosevelt himself and there can be no possible doubt therefore that this printed copy is a correct copy of the original. At the time I probably sent copies to the Department of Justice and the Bureau of Investigation.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

890414123

[Letter] 1922 Sept. 22, Philadelphia [to] W[illiam] J. Burns, Director, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. [excerpt] / [author unknown].—  
2 p.; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: An undisclosed correspondent identifies Goldman as the organizer of a large Mooney defense meeting in Chicago.

Notes: For related document, see 890414126.

TELEPHONE

(b)(7)(c)

W. J. Burns, Esq., Director. 9-22-22. #4.

*Philadelphia*

I know positively that many of the Berkman crowd when they wished to hide went there and some of them were met and taken there and did not know just where it was even after they had been there. Minor also at times disappears in the neighborhood of San Francisco. His address then is always in care of Edward D. Nolan, Berkman's most intimate friend and friend of William B. Wilson who is the principal medium of communication between the Berkman gang and Wilson. Nolan was an intimate friend of Mooney's and chairman of the Mooney meeting in Chicago at which James H. Maurer, Vice-President of the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor, was vice-chairman, and Edward Nockels, Secretary of the Chicago Federation of Labor AFL (this is not its official title, I think) was secretary. The meeting was gotten up principally by Emma Goldman. It was ostensibly purely AFL but included various reds and IWWs. My representative there was an IWW delegate but Maurer lied to two of the vice presidents of the Pa. State FL and told them it was a purely AFL affair. The two men to whom he lied were John A. Phillips of the Typographical Union and Andy Bower of the Cigarmakers. I proved the facts to them and they admitted Maurer's mendacity. Minor would be sure to keep in touch with Nolan. I regard that as the most certain clue that can be followed out in the absence of some positive evidence as to where he is. I think it likely however that he is in Mexico. Nolan is generally in San Francisco but is interested in red activities in Seattle. Ex-District Attorney Charles M. Fickert, 901 Kohl Building, San Francisco, can generally tell where he is and I know would be glad to help you in any way he can. Berkman told my representative that Nolan was the most intimate

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

870708046

[Agent Report In re:] Emma Goldman, Stockholm, Sweden—Anarchist Activities, Los Angeles, 1922 Oct. 5 / A.A. Hopkins [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice]. — 7 p.; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: Hopkins' report includes the text of a letter from Joseph Spivak of the International Anarchist Aid Federation to Goldman, objecting to her decision to print her attack on Soviet Russia in the capitalist press, plus Goldman's reply.

Notes: Broken type; portions illegible.

GENERAL INTELLIGENCE

OCT 14 1922 L.A. File 1150/10

DIVISION

ATTENTION: MR. HOOVER--72.

Los Angeles, Cal. :: Oct. 5th, 1922 :: Oct. 5th: HOPELINS: /CP

EMMA GOLDMAN

STOCKHOLM, SWEDEN.

:ANARCHIST  
:ACTIVITIES.

At Los Angeles, Cal.-

Reference is made to report re: JOSEPH SPIVAK, et al., ANARCHIST ACTIVITIES, by Agent, at Los Angeles, Cal., this date:

The following letter from EMMA GOLDMAN was taken from among the papers of JOSEPH SPIVAK at 2906 Brooklyn Ave., Los Angeles, Calif., October 4th, 1922.

"New York, March 6, 1922."

Dear Conrad Emma.

No doubt you have received our cable in which we urged you to cancel the publication of your articles in the N.Y. World. We know that before you agreed to write for the N.Y. World you have consulted some of your American friends. Those friends, however, who used their influence to have you taken such a step, are not in close connection with the movement and have conveyed a wrong impression as to the stand that the American comrades will take upon this question. Also the possibilities of giving the story a wide publicity and circulation.

We claim that, by printing your story in a pamphlet form, we could reach a circulation that no other news paper could do.

We are an organization consisting at present of 15 groups, including Russian, Jewish, Italian, English and Spanish speaking groups. We feel that we can easily print your story in thousands of copies in each language, and thus circulate among the public the truth about Russia.

It is not the number of copies that a certain story is printed that counts. It is the channels through which it is printed that count, that has the power to make the reader believe or disbelieve in these stories.

We wish to make it clear, that, it is not your own personality which will probably suffer, that concerns your printing as your own concern. It is the movement.

WASH DC-3; JAN 100.1224 YOUNG 100.1224-1 1111-2;

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## The Emma Goldman Papers

870708046

[Agent Report In re:] Emma Goldman, Stockholm, Sweden - Anarchist Activities, Los Angeles, 1922 Oct. 5 / A.A. Hopkins [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice]. - 7 p.; 28 x 22 cm.

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Notes: Broken type; portions illegible.

A.A. HOPKINS:

October 5, 1922...

PAGE - 2

RE: EMMA GOLDMAN--

cause, the cause of the Russian prisoners which will suffer as a result of this step, because the people will lose confidence in you. That is what concerns us, and which we would wish to avoid.

We can see from your letter to a certain individual, that, you have carelessly considered everything before you decided to take such a step, and it is only through misjudging the possibility of giving your story a wide publicity through anarchist channels, that you have made such a step.

You and Sasha were practically the first, in whom we have confidence, who called our attention to the conditions of the Anarchists in Russia and that aid is urgently needed. You are aware of the fact that we can't seek any aid among the capitalist thinking opponents of the Russian government.

They may be enemies of the Bolsheviks, but are in a still higher degree enemies of the Anarchists, and will never have any sympathy for them. We therefore, have to seek aid among the more radical workers, who believe in the Russian government and who know nothing about what is really going on there. In order to gain the support of these elements it is first necessary to tell them about the conditions as they exist in Russia, and to make them believe in these facts.

This task, however, is a very hard one, it is not so easy, for one who has been told during the past three years, that, the Russian Government is fighting for freedom of the world, to make him believe that, this very same government commits all the crimes which you and other Russian refugees have ascribed to them.

It is not so easy to take from one away his "god." The Bolsheviks were the God of the radical workers and even of most of the Anarchists. They will resist any attempt to take this "god" away from them. They will try to find dishonesty in any thing that will be told about Russia, and it is for us to present these facts to them in such a manner, through such channels, that no impurity, nothing that can throw a shadow of prejudice or dishonesty shall be possible.

The appearance of your articles in a capitalist publication, a publication that was always a friend of counter-revolution, will, like the followers of the Bolsheviks, the strongest weapon to discredit the contents. These articles will not only not accomplish their aim, but will have a counter effect upon the worshippers of the Soviet Government. It is true, they will reach thousands of "readers", but it is not the capitalist opponents of the Bolsheviks that we want to reach. We wish to reach every radical worker, especially the followers of the

61-311-91

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## The Emma Goldman Papers

87078846

[Agent Report In re:] Emma Goldman, Stockholm, Sweden—Anarchist Activities, Los Angeles, 1922 Oct. 5 / A.A. Hopkins [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice]. — 7 p.; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: Hopkins' report includes the text of a letter from Joseph Spivak of the International Anarchist Aid Federation to Goldman, objecting to her decision to print her attack on Soviet Russia in the capitalist press, plus Goldman's reply.

Notes: Broken type; portions illegible.

A. A. HOPKINS:

October 5th, 1922..

Page-3

(RE: EMMA GOLDMAN)

Bolsheviki and THEY DO NOT BELIEVE IN WHAT IS PRINTED IN  
N.Y. WORLD. TO THEM ANY ONE WHO IS SIGNED FOR WRITING IN  
THE N.Y. WORLD IS A TRAITOR AND CAN'T BE BELIEVED.

The appeal for Russia, which was signed by Lou, Sasha and Shapiro has had a wonderful effect upon the workers. It acted upon the minds of the workers as a good antidote to the Bolshevik Anaesthetic.

The workers believe you because they know you and they know the F.A.S. and the other anarchist publications where that appeal was printed. The workers began to open their eyes to the truth. They did not like this truth, but they had no way how to discredit same. We have immediately organized the international An. Aid Federation and our work is very promising. We are however, sure that, as soon as your first article will appear in the N.Y. World it will discredit anything told against the Russian government and we will have to give up our work. Not only this, it will injure the movement for many years to come.

We are certain that there is nothing behind your move, other than the interests of the Anarchist cause; you have, however, never referred to the active groups for advice, as to how your story can best be circulated. You have left this matter to one who is not in the movement, is not connected with any one who is active and has not consulted anyone who is active in the movement. And based upon the information obtained from this person, you have made your decision.

We are certain, that if you would have referred direct to the groups, we would have shown you a better way how to bring the truth about Russia to the people.

We know, that the cause of Anarchism, the cause of the Anarchists in Russian prisons is dear to you, and in the name of this cause, we urge you to cancel the publication of the articles in the N.Y. World.

Yours for freedom of mankind,

International Anarchist Aid Federation,

Geo. Y."

APPROVED

BEST COPY AVAILABLE



## The Emma Goldman Papers

870700-46

[Agent Report In re:] Emma Goldman, Stockholm, Sweden - Anarchist Activities, Los Angeles, 1922 Oct. 5 / A.A. Hopkins [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice]. - 7 p.; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: Hopkins' report includes the text of a letter from Joseph Spivak of the International Anarchist Aid Federation to Goldman, objecting to her decision to print her attack on Soviet Russia in the capitalist press, plus Goldman's reply.

Notes: Broken type; portions illegible.

A. A. HOPKINS:

Oct. 5, 1922.

(RE: EMMA GOLDMAN)

"Stockholm, March 25th, 1922.

"International Anarchist Aid Federation

New York City.

Dear Comrades.

Your cable of two weeks ago reached me safely. Your letter of the 6th inst. arrived yesterday. Thank you for both. I appreciate your concern in our movement and in the work you have undertaken, to raise funds for our imprisoned comrades in Russia. I should indeed be sorry if my appearance in the World would interfere with your work, yet I can not possibly comply with your request to cancel my articles in the World, - and that for the following reasons.

First, I did not know that there were "active Anarchist groups" in America. I did know that that reaction was rampant in the states and that everything had been suppressed, except of course, the Freie Arbeiter Stimme. I did not even know of the existence of Free Society, a very fine little paper I must say, but one which is published irregularly and probably has a small circulation, hence I could not consider it as a medium of reaching the American workers on a large scale. It is not more than a month or so that I saw the first copy of Free Society. In other words, I knew there was no Anarchist paper in the English language of any consequence through which I might be heard on the Russian situation. I have already said I knew nothing of your existence. There remained the Freie Ar. St., the Liberal Press or the World. The Freie Arb. St. is of importance in the Jewish movement. I do not depreciate its value but while I consider the Jewish propaganda and the propaganda in all foreign languages important, I do not think it important enough to concentrate only on them.

The Liberal press was tried, in fact I was willing to let my articles go into the Liberal papers free of charge, but they proved themselves so illiberal that they would not take my articles. The Liberals have always been more cowardly than the Conservatives; they are afraid of my name and of Anarchism. In other words, I had to either be silent on the Russian situation, or appear in the World. And as I consider silence on Russia the greatest betrayal against the workers in Russia and the rest of the world I have decided upon the W.

You say that I have never referred to the active groups for advice as to how my articles can best be circulated. Now could I refer to something I did not know existed? The fault for that,

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## The Emma Goldman Papers

8707080-46

[Agent Report In re:] Emma Goldman, Stockholm, Sweden—Anarchist Activities, Los Angeles, 1922 Oct. 5 / A.A. Hopkins [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice]. — 7 p.; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: Hopkins' report includes the text of a letter from Joseph Spivak of the International Anarchist Aid Federation to Goldman, objecting to her decision to print her attack on Soviet Russia in the capitalist press, plus Goldman's reply.

Notes: Broken type; portions illegible.

A. A. HOPKINS: Oct. 5, 1922...

Pe

(RE: EMMA GOLDMAN)

dear comrades rests with you and not with me. For two years I have been cut off from the Anarchist movement. Did the "active groups" take any trouble to get into touch with me? Did they make any attempt to learn of my life and struggle of the two years in Russia? As far as these groups are concerned I might have been in the Tcheka, or died of typhus, or starved to death. Never a word of concern or comradeship did I get from these groups during the two years.

Now you may say and not without some justice, that it was difficult to get into touch with Russia. Still, other people have, why not your "active groups"? The very person you so contemptuously refer to, my niece was able to get in touch with me. But for her devotion and care, I might have been compelled as so many others in Russia, to prostitute my ideas and ideals in the service of the Bolshevik state; however, I will grant that you could not reach me while I was in Russia. What about the time since I am out of Russia? It is nearly four months since we reached Europe. Three months since our joint appeal appeared. Why did the "active groups" fail to get in touch with me? Why did they not show some solidarity, some interest in the pléce possibility of my existence, the struggle I am making to find a place to live and breath? The answer for that you yourself have given in your letter. You say "It is not your personality which will probably suffer that concerned us" Precisely, the personality of E.G. may be kicked about from pillar to post; the door of the whole world may be slammed in her face and she be compelled to hide and seek for a refuge, the personality of E.G. may suffer want or be otherwise in distress and misunderstood. All that does not concern your groups. All that they are concerned in is how much E.G.'s name and ability can be used for the "cause" which these groups have chosen as theirs and which they consider important above all human values. Woe to us if we dare to go our way because we are convinced of the logic or justice of our actions, the active groups will be the first to condemn and discredit us even if we have been at their back and call all our lives. There is nothing new in that. The thing which interests me is the fact that you, dear comrades, though you call yourself anarchists, yet express the same fanatic precepts of the Bolsheviks, the individual and personality are of no consequence; indeed, both may be crushed for the sake of the "cause". Only you call your "cause" anarchism; they call it the state. But in the ultimate both are the same..

Frankly that is not my idea of anarchism, nor do I consider any "cause" superior to personality and the individual.

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## The Emma Goldman Papers

8707080-46

[Agent Report In re:] Emma Goldman, Stockholm, Sweden—Anarchist Activities, Los Angeles, 1922 Oct. 5 / A.A. Hopkins [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice]. — 7 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: Hopkins' report includes the text of a letter from Joseph Spivak of the International Anarchist Aid Federation to Goldman, objecting to her decision to print her attack on Soviet Russia in the capitalist press, plus Goldman's reply.

Notes: Broken type; portions illegible.

A.A. HOPKINS:

Oct. 5th, 1922..

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(RE: EMMA GOLDMAN)

I never have, nor will I ever consent to serve as a means to an end, even if that end actually be Anarchism, for I know, and Russia has only strengthened me in my knowledge that any "cause" which is willing to show disregard for personality ends by enslaving not only the one but the many.

As a matter of fact this is not really the reason why I have failed to turn for advice to the active groups. I did not do so because I did not know of your existence. I may also say that my 32 years in the movement have not made me very enthusiastic about the efficiency of these groups to handle an important situation, which should be brought to the notice of large groups of people. Still if you had appraised me in time of what you can and are willing to do, I should no doubt have refused the offer of the world, but you made yourself known too late.

It is hardly necessary to reply to your charge that I have been influenced by my American friends, if you knew me better you would have realized that E.G. is not so easily influenced. But while it is true that I have not consulted the active groups in America I have consulted some of our most unimpeachable comrades in the movement, among them Harry Kelly, Rudolf Rocker, Malatesta, Nettlau, the comrades of the London Freedom group, dependable comrades in Paris and in this City. Their unanimous advice was "accept the offer of the world because it is of the utmost importance that your voice on Russia should be heard by all America". Perhaps if these comrades had known that there are active groups who can spread my story broadcast, they would not have been so emphatic in their urge though I rather think that would have made no difference. See the advice of Freedom for instance, - why would it not have preferred to have the exclusive possibility to bring my articles? But our comrades of Freedom are too broad minded not to see the value of reaching the mass and not only its hand full of readers, hence, they too urged that I appear in the W. So you see dear comrades, I have consulted those whose opinions I value and who have remained true to their ideas all their lives. I again repeat if I did not consult you, it is not because I would not have valued your opinion, but because I never heard of your groups until your cable came and when my attention was called to your ad in the Frei Arb. St.

Besides, you say yourself that you have only recently organized and for the purpose of raising funds for our imprisoned comrades in Russia. Now I think that is a very worthy purpose, but it is not the only purpose of the Anarchist movement. Above all, money is not the only thing which can help our comrades in Russia. There is something else, something that might compell the Bolshevik government to let up in its cruelly despotic methods of repression. A few ago something said in the revolutionary press might have been that something I have in mind. Today the Bolshevik give a

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## The Emma Goldman Papers

870708046

[Agent Report In re:] Emma Goldman, Stockholm, Sweden—Anarchist Activities, Los Angeles, 1922 Oct. 5 / A.A. Hopkins [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice]. — 7 p.; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: Hopkins' report includes the text of a letter from Joseph Spivak of the International Anarchist Aid Federation to Goldman, objecting to her decision to print her attack on Soviet Russia in the capitalist press, plus Goldman's reply.

Notes: Broken type; portions illegible.

A. A. HOPKINS:

October 5, 1922..

Page 3

RE:

EMMA GOLDMAN--

damn for the opinions of the revolutionary workers, or the revolutionary press. They are, however, keenly sensitive to the criticism that appears in any of the important Metropolitan papers, because that affects large masses of workers for whose support they are now clamoring. If for no other reason this alone is enough to appear in the W.

As to what the Bolsheviks will say, I have considered that, But I have never cared what our enemies will say. I thought as Anarchists we must be concerned only in the truth and justice of our position and then defy the whole world for its sake. At least I have always acted in that way, why do you expect me to pay attention to what the Bolsheviks will say? Then too it matters not where my articles would appear, the Bolsheviks will hurl their anathema against me anyway. They have already started directly, my article appeared in Freedom and as soon as our joint appeal was published. No, I can not consider them or their blind followers. People who are so obsessed as the Communists and Anarchists who are under the Communists hypnotism can not be convinced not just yet anyhow. And the rest of the workers will judge my articles by their merit. I hope so anyway, And I hope with all my heart that you dear comrades too will judge my work on its merits. I can not believe that you are so bigoted and so sectarian that you will condemn me after you have read my preface and the articles. Whatever else you may think or feel, I am convinced that you will not say I have compromised one single iota of my ideas, or that I have been prompted by other than the one deep burning desire to shed light on the terrible betrayal of the Russian Revolution, and the Russian people by the Bolshevik government. But if you will judge me lightly, I shall have to stand it, as I have on more than one occasion born with the misunderstanding of friends and enemies alike. That will in no way interfere with my interest in your work and with my desire to help you all I can, if you will permit me to do so without denying what I consider most vital to my own integrity.

One of the stipulations with the W. is that my articles be released for the use of the Anarchist press. The comrades here will publish all of it in pamphlet form, so will the comrades of Holland and no doubt of most countries. If after you have read the stories you feel that you would like to publish the material in pamphlets, I should be very glad. If not, it is my intention of having pamphlets published and circulated freely in America, Canada and England.

Trated 17,

(Signed) EMMA GOLDMAN

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

880615350

[Agent Report In re:] Alexander Berkman, Berlin, Germany—Anarchist Activities, Los Angeles, 1922 Oct. 5 / A.A. Hopkins [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].— 6 p.; 18 x 26 cm.  
Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the United States Library of Congress.  
Institutional Location: Paul Avrich Papers.  
Summary: Hopkins transcribes letters from Berkman to Maria Abramofsky and Joseph Spivak which discuss the best way to spread information about the situation in Russia.  
Notes: Broken type; portions illegible. Six shots of eleven pages.

ATTENTION: MR. FOOTER-12 L.A. FILE 1190/10  
Los Angeles, Cal.: Oct. 5th, 1922. : Oct. 5th. : L.A. ECHELON 1/2  
C. ALEXANDER BERKMAN : Berlin, Germany. : ANARCHIST ACTIVITIES.  
At Los Angeles, Cal.:  
Reference is made to report re: JOSEPH SPIVAK, et al.,  
ANARCHIST ACTIVITIES, - by Agent, at Los Angeles, Cal., this date.  
The following late correspondence from ALEXANDER BERKMAN  
is taken from among the papers of JOSEPH SPIVAK  
Los Angeles, Calif., October 4th, 1922.  
"28 Grove Street  
New York, November 4, 1922.  
Miss Maria Abramofsky,  
c/o Jacklovits  
1342 Clinton Ave.,  
Dear Maria:  
First of all I feel that I ought to apologize to you.  
I am afraid I hurt you the last time I saw you. I was in a  
bad humor and very impatient with you. It was not your fault.  
but my own. I had had a very unpleasant experience just  
a few minutes before I came home and found you. I was not  
in a condition to see anyone. I hope you will forgive me.  
In reference to Adolph S. Rose, I have just written a little letter  
to him to get the correct information. I have the feeling  
that, owing to my confused state of mind, when you talked  
to me on this matter, I did not fully understand your request.  
I do not know where I could secure bail for anyone, except  
by seeing Alex C. and it seems impossible to find him. I have  
been looking for him now, in vain, for several weeks. I  
could not ask bail for anyone I don't know or for one whom  
the parties do not know that are to give bail. If you will  
write me a note to explain this whole thing, I should be glad  
to let me hear from you soon.  
Yours (Signed) Alex.

A.A. HOPKINS: Los Angeles, Oct. 5, 1922 Page 2  
RE: ALEXANDER BERKMAN

"Berlin, May 26 4780  
My dear little Maria:  
I started to write a letter to you sometime ago,  
but then some business interfered, and I could not get back at  
it till now.  
I received your good letter of April 7th, though it took  
a good time to reach me here. As you see, I am now in Berlin,  
and the mail had to be forwarded to me.  
You certainly can bet your bottom dollar that I have not  
forgotten my old friends, nor you in particular. I have a good  
emotional memory, you see. I am very sorry indeed to hear that  
you are not in good health. The South Calif. climate surely  
ought to do you some good. I hope you will keep in touch with  
me, so that I may be informed how you are getting along.  
I am glad to hear that the local group is trying to carry  
on propaganda. If they are publishing the Sourevostnik, please  
see to it that a copy is sent to me regularly, at the address  
at the bottom of my letter. You used to be a very effective worker,  
and I hope that your health will permit you to be active. More  
energetic propaganda is necessary now than ever before. I have no  
need for people who are always on the verge of pessimism. True,  
the Russian experience is a terrible disillusionment, but it  
served a great purpose; it has practically demonstrated the truth  
of our theoretic claims. Namely, the menace of State Socialism  
and Marxism. These are bankrupt now, and thus the road is open  
for OUR ideas, principles and methods.  
Never before was our propaganda more necessary, nor was there  
ever a better field for it, if we go at it in the proper manner.  
I suppose you have read my article in the Arctic Circle.  
They have been published by all of our anarchist press in every  
language. Now I am preparing to issue a series of pamphlets,  
popularly written. The Series may have 8 - 12 pamphlets, which  
will deal with all the phases of the Revolution, and give a com-  
prehensive analysis of the ideas and lessons involved. I am  
publishing already the first pamphlet here, in English, and will  
soon be ready to send it over to America. The first is called:  
THE RUSSIAN TRAGEDY: a General Review, 1917-1922.  
I hope that you and our other friends, in America, will be  
interested in the distribution of these pamphlets. For the distri-  
bution is really the most important part of the work. It is no use  
writing, unless the comrades will see to it that the pamphlets  
are read, especially by the workers. I hope you will take this matter

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

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A.A. HOPKINS:

Oct. 8th, 1922

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RE: ALEXANDER BERKMAN.

up with our people there. I used to have many friends in L.A., and all with through Calif., but now I don't have any addressees, except your own.

I will send you a little bundle of my first pamphlet, but meanwhile talk the matter over with the comrades and let them decide how many they could handle. Let me know about this as soon as possible, so we lose no time. It is over 32 pages, this first pamphlet, and I've put the price of 10 cents on it. I have of course considerable expense on it, printing, mailing, etc., and I expect that the group, or individual comrades, may contribute toward the expense. Perhaps the group would take say 200 copies for sale and distribution, and advance me some money on them, because I could not wait till those pamphlets are sold. Or let the group take 500 and pay in advance for half of it, so that I can go on with further work. Well, I guess I can leave it to you and to the other comrades. But I must hear from you at once, so I will know what orders to expect, how much to print of the next pamphlet, etc., My general agent for U.S. will be Nitzke.

The next pamphlet, which is ready now for the printer, will be a very thorough pamphlet called, *The Russian Revolution, and the Communist Party*. It will be 64 or more pages, and will have to be sold for 15 or 20 cents. But I have no money to publish it with.

The Bolshevik Superstition is sweeping America just now, but take courage. Two or three years ago the war and Wilson Crase swept the country, and such great revolutionists as Max Eastman and Yanovsky stood up for Wilson and the war for Democracy. They ridiculed us for remaining true to our ideals. Well, it is only a short time ago, but now they are all of the same opinion that we propagated three years ago.

It will be the same with this Bolshevik Delusion. Let them shout Traitor, etc., at us. We shall remain true in the future as we have been in the past 35 years. And just watch them, in a year or two the American great Bolshevik champions will again turn tail, and they will reach the understanding that we were right, as we have been about the war. We alone do not permit ourselves to be swept off our feet by every fad in Socialism. Well, it will change in this as they have changed their colors many times in the last years, these Eastmans etc. And in a couple of years or may be sooner, they will holler against the Bolsheviks, as they hollered against Wilson after they opened their eyes to the facts.

Have courage, Comrades, the future belongs to us, and history will prove us right. What is the ONLY thing to be concerned about? We build not for the moment, but for the coming generations.

A.A. HOPKINS:

October 5th, 1922

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RE: "ALEXANDER BERKMAN"

Fraternally, with greetings to all comrades.

And you, dear Manya, take good care of yourself, and write me soon. Do you remember those days in the office in N.Y., when you used to come up to help me in the work? I often think of that happy time, for now life is more gray and less interesting than in those glorious activities of anti-war agitation, the Mooney case, etc., etc.

Affectionately, your old friend and comrade

Sasha

Papers and letters to be addressed to me thus:

F. Kater  
Kopernikstr. 25, II  
Berlin, O. 34  
Germany.

DO NOT mention any other names, either on the envelope or in the letters. Just put on the envelope, and I will get it all right. You can also use a double envelope, and put Sasha on the inside envelope. But no other name, you understand. Tell the comrades the same thing. It's important.

P.S. You did not send me your address. I will mail this to Spir.

Berlin, Sect. 4

My dear Spivak:

Today received your letter, registered, of the 16 of August. Glad to hear from you. Also found in your letter enclosed check for 9,000. German marks. Now, my dear Spivak, what is wrong with you people that you insist on sending me MARKS? Others do the same thing, although I have repeatedly written to the comrades to send ONLY dollars. Don't you know that dollars are good all over the world? And the mark is falling, so that I am losing as much on your check as the amount of the check. You can get 200p marks here for the dollar. You meant to send me \$10.80. I would get for it here over 20,000 marks. Yet you got only 9,000 marks. So you see how much I lose on your check, and I really can't afford it.

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A.A.HOPKINS:

Oct. 5th, 1922...

Page- 5

(RE: ALEXANDER BERKMAN)

Let it be understood then for the future, and also tell the comrades: NO NAMES should be sent here. Send ONLY American money. Send it per American Express Co., Travelling Cheques, with the proviso that it be PAID IN AMERICAN MONEY. Make your American Express Co. Cheques payable to

A. SCHMIDT-BERGMAN.

Notice the spelling of that name, and follow it.

Now, I appreciate it that you and Manya are helping to spread the pamphlet. As to the Feder, in N.Y., I expect little from them in this direction. They criticised E. for publishing her articles in the World, and they wrote then that they could give her articles good circulation by their own efforts. Well, I did not want my articles published in the World (I had good offers from it). I published my views in that pamphlet, but the Federation wrote me that they "will see" what can be done about the pamphlets. That was long ago, and I have not heard anything about them since.

On the other hand, I see some N.Y. Anarchist group has published an idiotic thing in the Volna, in re E.G. They instructed the Feder. delegate not to send help to the -uss. An. in prison-- because E.G. is a member of the Committee for that help. Just do you think of such "comrades"? They will punish our comrades in Russian prisons, because they don't like E.G.'s publishing her articles in the World. Besides, the whole thing is simply the brain storm of somecretine. E.G. is NOT a member of the Society to Aid the R.A. in Prisons, nor is she a member of ANY Committee.

Then the Federation asks me to give an account of the monies collected for Russia. I wrote to them politely to go to hell. When the time comes for an account I shall do so without the request of anybody. Secondly, the amount of monies received must come from the BERND. All monies are sent to them (the Stockholm paper) and they have already published one account some time ago. I'll tell you, dear Spivak, our so-called comrades make me sick. I haven't time nor strength to reply to all the idiotic and insulting questions and demands of those idiots. This letter is private, for your own information.

Well, I was foolish to expect our comrades (with some exceptions) of course, to really be helpful in the matter of the pamphlets. They can talk big, but when it comes to work, they have many excuses.

A.A.HOPKINS:

Oct. 5, 1922...

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(RE: ALEXANDER BERKMAN)

And now I am stuck, because I depended on them. My second pamphlet is already published, and the third also written. But I can't pay the printer even for the first. No one has yet sent any money for the first pamphlet. Except one or two comrades, including yourself. That is the use of printing pamphlets; they probably lie around there in the Federation, etc. And if they have been circulated, then why don't the comrades pay for them? I am sure I don't want to make any money on the pamphlets. But I must pay the printer, mustn't I?

Well, I am not sending out my second pamphlet till I will get an account of the first one. I'll tell you, it is not easy to discourage me, but you dear comrades have gotten my goat. If another month passes with as little result as I got so far, I shall quit publishing pamphlets. I'll begin to write my book on Russia and I'll sell it to some publishing firm, of course. For if I should want to depend with my 300K on comrades, the Social Revolution will be here before they will wake up to the necessity of circulating such works.

You advise me to send the pamphlets DIRECTLY. I will do.

I sent:

Enrique P. Hagon, 1120 E. 28th St. LOS ANGELES 25 copies

Perry McCallough, Box 937 P.F.D., 6 " " 200 "

(a good friend of mine; please write him and go to see him, as he can't spread the pamphlets himself. He is a sick man. The other day I received letter from him with \$5. on account of pamphlets.)

M. Melinsky, 1039 Pine St. San Francisco - 50 copies

A. Garibaldi, 601 North Spring St. Los Angeles. 50 copies

Please see these people, and find out what they did with the pamphlets. I am giving you above also Melinsky's address in San Francisco, please get in touch with him.

Let me know when you want me to send you the second pamphlet. I rely on you and Manya in Los Ang. and I hope you can also make the fellow up in San Francisco. I used to have many friends there, but now it is hell,.....

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A.A. HOPKINS:

Oct. 5th, 1922

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RE: ALEXANDER BERKMAN

"I don't want the groups or comrades to ADVANCE me any money for pamphlets or for anything else. I don't want to be under obligations to ANYONE. All I ask them is to help spread the truth about Russia, and I think I have a right to ask that of comrades. And if they get and sell pamphlets, I expect them to pay for them, for I must pay the printer and postage, etc.

As to news from Russia, they are terrible. I have just published the enclosed Appeal (Archangel letter). I am sending out copies of it, and also a number to you. Have them published wherever possible. There is to be a trial of various anarchists in Russia - some political trick as Soc. Rev. trial. Bukharin, L. Baron, etc., to be tried.

(Sgd) George S (7)"

"Berlin, Sept. 7th, 1922

My dear Friend:-

At last I received the first letter from you, dated August 17th, and you may feel sure that I was very pleased to hear from you. I have written to you several times, and I have been wondering why I do not hear from you. A few days ago I wrote to Spivak and in the letter to him I enclosed also a letter for you.

Your letter pleased me very much and I see that you have not forgotten the good old days in our New York office, where you used to help so much with the work. I am sorry to hear that you are not well, but I hope that the Los Angeles climate will put you on your feet again. I know from before that you are a very good worker, and if you were quite well and took charge of the distribution of my pamphlets in California, then I am sure it would be a success. Together with Spivak you should certainly be able to get in touch with the different comrades in Los Angeles and San Francisco and with those in the neighborhood towns. I shall enclose here a number of addresses, and it would be well if you would communicate with them. With some of them I am also in touch.

As concerns the Hagons, there are two brothers, Maurice and Unique. Maurice is in prison, but Unique is out on parole. I know him and I believe he lives in Los Angeles. You could have no difficulty in finding his address. I sent him twenty-five copies of my pamphlet, but I have not heard from him and I do not know whether he received them. Here is the address to which I sent them -

A.A. HOPKINS:

Oct. 5th, 1922

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RE: ALEXANDER BERKMAN

"Eulogie Flores Hagons,  
1120 East 28th St.,  
Los Angeles, Calif.

I wish dear friend that you would go over there and see if Hagons really lives there and if the pamphlets were received.

I dictated the above. Now I shall continue myself, and on my own machine. Dear girl, I often think of those days when we were absorbed in the heat of propaganda work in N.Y., with many comrades about us, and full of life and energy to work for our ideas. There is that spirit now? How many of our people have remained staunch and true to their ideals? As for myself I feel as full of life and energy as ever, but I am away from friends and comrades and I lead a rather hunted dog's life. However, I am still on deck. I think NOW is just the time to work for our ideals. Marxism and State Socialism have become bankrupt, and intelligent people all over the world are coming to realize it. That is the great and very valuable lesson of the Russian Revolution. We always knew and always said that State Socialism would prove the most dangerous enemy of liberty. But that was mere theory. Now the Russian Revolution proved our theory CORRECT in every way. What should give us hope and faith and greater strength to continue our work. The difficulties are great and man's stupidity is hard to dislodge. But that means that our exertions must be the greater. If only some of our people had better sense and would not hurt our work by their pettiness and foolishness. But that too must be put up with, and ever must our motto be, Always forward, forward, never to lose courage and to work and work.

Well, dear friend, enough for today. I hope to hear from you soon. Write me often - I like to hear from you. And I know that you and Spivak and the other good comrades there will continue to work for our ideas. First of all we must expose the monstrosity of Bolshevism, make the people see what they and their Marxism and terrorism have done to the Russian Revolution, and then we must bring home to them our ideas and our methods and teach them the ONLY way to liberty, and that is LIBERTY and libertarian methods. That is the work I have in view: a series of pamphlets on the various phases of the Russian Revolution; then on Anarchism, Free Communism, Anarcho-Socialism, etc. I hope many of our comrades will cooperate with me in these plans. I must close. I cannot carry my plans out, for I am myself writing and publishing the pamphlets; but their spreading in the hands of the comrades. Of course, I ask only those to cooperate who agree with my ideas and vision and who want to advance the ideas of Anarchism.

Well, I must close and get back to work. Such letters as this one take me back to the old days in N.Y., and that is not good for my work. I put to live in the present and for the future. The past must bury its dead.

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A. A. HOPKINS: October 5, 1922... Page - 9  
(RE: ALEXANDER BERKMAN)

"By the way, I repeat what I wrote in last letter: NEVER SEND ME GERMAN MARKS. Only American money should be sent. Send it per American Express Co. Travellers Cheques, to BE PAID TO THE AMERICAN MONEY.

Make such cheques payable to P. Kater, but mail them to me.

Yes, dear Spivak, I have also heard from Millie, and other comrades in Petrograd. The packages were received. Have the Federation send money, if possible, to have many prisoners, especially in Archangel.

Enclosed Appel in re: Archangel. Terrible conditions, worse than under Nicholas. Give it the widest possible publicity. Print it in capitalist papers, if possible. SEE THE WHOLE MATTER BEING IN I consider the Bolsheviks A GREATER DANGER THAN THE TSAR, and no consideration is due them. It were a betrayal of the people and of the Revolution if we were to hide the truth.

My best greetings to you, dear Marya, and to you Spivak and to all good friends.

Yours as ever, "

"My dear, dear Friend Marya:

Sometimes I wrote to you. Not having your address I sent it on to Fittie to send to Spivak. I have since been informed that the letter was sent to S., but the latter now tells me he never received it. I am very sorry, for I said several things in that letter to which I wanted a reply to you. Well, such are our mails, and I have a lot of trouble about it.

I was very sorry to hear that you are not feeling well. The wonderful Los Angeles sunshine, however, ought to do you a world of good, I hope. I should like to hear from you, and write me soon and all about yourself. How is life in Los Angeles? You know, I spent several months there in 1915 and I had made many friends. I don't know where they are now, but probably you will come across some of them. In that case tell them that I have not forgotten. Only I don't know how to get in touch with them. But I should be pleased if they will write me.

But REMEMBER: the address I am sending here is ONLY for you and Spivak. Our people are often careless, and they put on the WRONG name, you understand. Therefore give NO ONE this address. Let people write to me care of Fittie, and the mail will

A.A.HOPKINS: October 5th, 1922... Page- 10  
(RE: ALEXANDER BERKMAN)

be forwarded. You can give people P's address: 45 Grove St.

This time I am writing to you a short letter, but I hope it will reach you. As soon as I hear from you I shall write at length.

Meanwhile, best greetings to you, and please write soon.

Yours as ever before

(Sgd) Sasha"

Enrique S. Nigon, 1120 East 28 St., Los Angeles  
Jules Sparceriaux, 2111 Gaynor Ave., RICHMOND, Cal.  
Rebecca Raney, 1559 Clay St., San Francisco, Cal.  
Dora R. Israel, R.F.D., Alta Mesa Road, Mountain View, Cal.  
Perry McCollough, Box 937, R.F.D., 6, Los Angeles  
M. Melinsky, 1089 Pine St., San Francisco.  
A. Caribeldi, 601 North Spring St., Los Angeles.

That is all I have in the State of Cal."

"Dear Marya, it is a long time I am waiting for your reply. I hope you are improving in the Los Angeles air. By the way, it seems Spivak failed to receive a long letter I sent to him, to Los Angeles about a month ago.

Write me soon, tell me about yourself and what is doing there. I need to have good friends and comrades in Los Angeles. I don't know where they all are now. The change of time, the war, and the Bolsheviks have all alienated most comrades from us. Banned few people can stand on their feet and not be swept off by every blast of political wind.

It is a long time I have not seen you. I would love to have a talk with you, but that is a vain wish. You will remain there, and I don't intend to return to the States, not even if I could. And

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Institutional Location: Paul Avrich Papers.

Summary: Hopkins transcribes letters from Berkman to Maria Abramofsky and Joseph Spivak which discuss the best way to spread information about the situation in Russia.

Notes: Broken type; portions illegible. Six shots of eleven pages.

A.A. HOPKINS:

Oct. 5th, 1922...

Page- 11

RE: ALEXANDER BERKMAN.

day I shall return to Russia, for I believe there is a good field for propaganda there. But not till I have first done the work I want to do, for once back in R., I shall not be able to do it.

Otherwise life is quiet. Am working mostly, helping with syndicalist work, then my pamphlets, also beginning soon on my diary, which I kept in Russia all the time I was there. Then I want to write a book on Russia and my experiences there, etc. Enough work on hand, if one only got the time for it all.

Well, dear girl, be good, get well, and write to me when the spirit moves you.

Yours as ever

S.

APPROVED  
SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE  
LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report In re:] Telfair S. Wetter, Communist, Baltimore, Md., 1922 Dec. 19 / Harold Nathan [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].— 1 p.; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Agent Nathan reports that Telfair S. Wetter just received sixty copies of Goldman's pamphlet, "The Crushing of the Russian Revolution."

CL / This case originated at Baltimore.  
Journal to be made at originating office ONLY.

REPORT MADE AT: Baltimore, Md.	DATE WHEN MADE: Dec. 19, 1922	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE: Dec. 14, 1922	REPORT MADE BY: Harold Nathan
TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE: TELF AIR S. WETTER,		Baltimore, Md. COMMUNIST (Communist Party of America, Unified)	
FACTS DEVELOPED: <u>ATTENTION - MR. HOOVER - 2.</u> <u>Balto. File #396-R</u>  <u>At Baltimore, Md.</u>			
<p>Reference is made to numerous previous reports upon the above mentioned subject, more particularly to report of this agent dated Oct. 17, 1922, setting forth the receipt by subject of 23 copies of pamphlet No. 2 of series entitled "The Russian Revolution" from London, England.</p> <p>In accordance with information received from reliable, confidential sources, above mentioned subject received on the 14th of this month 60 copies of pamphlet entitled "The Crushing of the Russian Revolution" by EMMA GOLDMAN. These pamphlets were printed by the Freedom Press, 127 Ossulston St., N.W., London, England, and were forwarded by said publishers to T. S. WETTER at 435 S. Broadway, Baltimore, Md., together with bill for \$6.00, apparently covering the selling price of same. WETTER'S history, activities, present status, etc., have been fully covered, it is believed, by previous reports from this office. JAN 2 - 1923</p> <p>ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE AUG 11 1983 BY 367</p> <p>CONCLUDED.</p>			
REFERENCE:	COPIES OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO: BUREAU-3; BALTIMORE-1.		

ORIGINAL

96  
 GENERAL INTELLIGENCE  
 DEC 28 1922  
 DIVISION

61-796-3  
 BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
 RECORDED  
 INDEXED  
 JAN 2 1923  
 HOOVER

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

Haywood Is Pathetic Outcast in Moscow — 20 cm. *In The Detroit [Free Press (Jan. 5, 1923)]* / [author unknown].

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

**Summary:** *The Detroit Free Press* reports that William Haywood and Goldman have no place in post-revolutionary Russia.

10110-235

10110-235

20

WAR DEPARTMENT

THE DETROIT

## Haywood Is Pathetic Outcast in Moscow

Emma Goldman Also Finds No Place in New Russia, Report.

By Free Press Private Leased Wire.  
Baltimore, Md., Jan. 4.—"Big Bill" Haywood and Emma Goldman are out of jobs in Russia. They have both seen their teachings put into practice and suffered a common fate of successful revolutionists in finding no place for themselves after the revolution wins.

This is the report brought by Sidney Hillman, who is just back from Russia and is in Baltimore to attend a meeting of the general board of Alameda Clothing Workers, of which he is president.

"Haywood is a pathetic figure,"

said Hillman. "I saw him often when I was in Moscow. What has happened to him is what happens to all propagandists. The propagandist is, of course, not an administrator. And when Haywood was placed in charge of his industrial colony in Siberia he learned that he did not have the training which the control of the colony required. It was necessary to replace him with an engineer, with one who had training."

"His fate is the same as that of Emma Goldman."

"Both would attract more attention in this country than in Russia, for the reason that Russia has no ear now for the propagandist. Emma Goldman was an anarchist. They have been through their period of anarchy in Russia and they do not care to hear propaganda. It is the way with life. The leaders of a revolution are lost when the revolution is accomplished. It is pathetic, but it is a fact."

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report In] re: Russian Revolution Series, Wash[ington] D.C. [19]23 Jan. 29 / J.T. Flourney [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice]. — 2 p.; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: Agent Flourney reports that Lillian Kisliuk, who may be Goldman's half-sister, is the leader of the Communist Party who has been selling Berkman's publication, the Russian Revolution Series.

Notes: Broken type; portions barely legible.

REPORT MADE AT: Wash. D. C.		PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE: 1/29/23	REPORT J. T. Flourney.
TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE: RE: RUSSIAN REVOLUTION SERIES		ALLEGED RADICAL PUBLICATION BY ALEXANDER BERTMAN	
FACTS DEVELOPED: Wash. D. C.		File 4112. ATTENTION MR. HOOVER.	
<p>Reference is made to Bureau memorandum initialed TFB:GA, dated Jan. 27th, in which information is furnished that the Detroit office of this Bureau has reported that the publication known as the "Russian Revolution Series" is on sale in Detroit, of which Lillian Kisliuk, 1817 Kenyon St. Washington, D. C. is distributor. Agent will respectfully state that this publication has been the subject of report by this office, and reference is made to Agent's own reports made 9/8/22 and 10/27/22, in re: "Russian Revolution Series".</p> <p>Agent would also refer to his own report made 4/12/22 in re: Lillian Kisliuk alias Platnik alias Platnick alias Kasseluck, in which report investigation is made as to the activities of Lillian Kisliuk.</p> <p>For information of the Detroit office, Agent would respectfully state that Lillian Kisliuk is the recognized leader of the Communist Party, and has been the most active promotor of the "Friends of Soviet Russian Society", which has a local branch in this city. Lillian Kisliuk has also been the subject of investigation in connection with anarchist activities, and during Agent's investigation of this matter made in Washington he has received information that she is possibly the half-sister of Emma Goldman. She is said to be the wife of Israel P.</p>			
REFERENCE:	COPIES OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO: Wash. 3; Detroit 1; Office 1.		

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FILE NO. 4-291-17  
BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
ROUTED TO: FILED  
FEB 2 1923

7-1113

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## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report In] re: Russian Revolution Series, Wash[ington] D.C. [19]23 Jan. 29 / J.T. Flourney [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice]. - 2 p.; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: Agent Flourney reports that Lillian Kisliuk, who may be Goldman's half-sister, is the leader of the Communist Party who has been selling Berkman's publication, the Russian Revolution Series.

Notes: Broken type; portions barely legible.

- 2.

Dinowitzer, a hardware dealer in this city, and that she uses the name of Lillian Kisliuk as her pen name in her correspondence.

Agent has kept her under close observation for the past three years, and considers her one of the most dangerous "Anarchists" and "Communists" in the city of Washington.

No. 1 and No. 2 of the "Russian Revolution Series" has made its appearance in Washington, copies of which have been obtained and attached to reports made by this office. Agent understands from inquiries made a day or two ago, that copy No. 3 of the "Russian Revolution Series" has not as yet made its appearance, but it is expected that it will be on sale in this city during the early part of February. The author of the publication is Alexander Berkman, who was deported from this country with Emma Goldman in 1920.

Reports say that he lived for sometime in Moscow, after he was deported with his consort Emma Goldman, and that they were later on, driven out of Russia, and went to Sweden, and the last report that Agent had in the matter was that both are, at the present time in Berlin, Germany, or perhaps in Sweden. The "Russian Revolution Series" is apparently a publication of an Anarchist's ideas of Government, and in it, the Soviet Government of Russia, as well as the Communist Party, is freely criticized. Agent does not believe that the publication has found very extensive sale in this city. He has noticed Lillian Kisliuk offering the same for sale at meetings of the "Friends of Soviet Russia", "The Socialists", "The Workmen's Circle" and other Radical organizations, whose meetings have been covered from time to time by this Agent. Agent, however, noticed that there were very few who purchased the publication at these meetings which in my view composed entirely of Radicals. CLOSING

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 192[3] Feb. 16, Columbus, Ohio [to J. Edgar Hoover?] New York Stock Exchange, New York / The Lion of St. Mark. — 4 p. ; 20 × 13 cm.

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

**Summary:** An anonymous citizen notifies Hoover that he has found the perpetrators of the Wall Street bombings of 1920, including Goldie Casto, alias Emma Goldman.

**Notes:** Enclosed with 890414036.

431  
 Forwarded  
 Columbus, Ohio  
 Feb. 16, 1923  
 (u)(r)(c)  
 c/o The New York Stock  
 Exchange, New York City, N.Y.  
 Dear Sir: — 61-5-457  
 We have located  
 and have under surveillance  
 the parties that done the  
 bombing in Wall St. during  
 the year of 1920. Names  
 are as follows: Charles Lewis  
 alias Albi Dan, Ken Carter  
 alias Ben O'Leary, alias Tony  
 D'Angelo (Goldie Casto alias  
 Emma Goldman), and his sister  
 Mrs. Richards and husband,  
 also her mother Margaret  
 Shephard, George Hood alias  
 Pancho Villa, alias Panha Dan,  
 also a fellow by the name  
 of H.H. Fairbanks, whose

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 192[3] Feb. 16, Columbus, Ohio [to J. Edgar Hoover?] New York Stock Exchange, New York / The Lion of St. Mark. — 4 p. ; 20 x 13 cm.

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

**Summary:** An anonymous citizen notifies Hoover that he has found the perpetrators of the Wall Street bombings of 1920, including Goldie Casto, alias Emma Goldman.

**Notes:** Enclosed with 890414036.

phone number is Bell phone  
at Columbus, Ohio 1835.  
Write to Chicago, Ill to police  
and tell them to tell Albert  
Bailin, that parties have  
confessed, implicating him.  
These parties are all Unit  
Christian Moors and have  
been claiming that they  
were Italians, which they  
are not. Get in touch  
with Chief of Police H. E.  
French, at Columbus, Ohio. He  
has the dope. As a favor  
request, please wire Alberta,  
Canada and tell police authorities  
there that Mrs. Irene M. Christen-  
sen and Mrs. Florence Cassandra  
are innocent, and request a stay of  
execution and reprieve, as the parties  
we have under surveillance have confessed  
the crime. Act on this.  
The Lion of St. Mark of the U.S.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 192[3] Feb. 16, Columbus, Ohio [to J. Edgar Hoover?] New York Stock Exchange, New York / The Lion of St. Mark. — 4 p. ; 20 × 13 cm.

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**Notes:** Enclosed with 890414036.

431

The addresses of the  
guilty parties are 1230  
Highland St. and 1222  
Hunter and we have  
parties under surveillance  
at 1225 Highland Ave.  
Columbus Ohio.  
For God's sake upon  
receipt of this act and  
get in touch with  
Columbus Police Force  
Straight A. O. P. S.  
Act immediately.  
in 1920 in service  
The Lion of St. Mark  
of U.S.A.

Secret Service agency  
made up entirely  
of members of the

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 192[3] Feb. 16, Columbus, Ohio [to J. Edgar Hoover?] New York Stock Exchange, New York / The Lion of St. Mark. — 4 p. ; 20 x 13 cm.

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

**Summary:** An anonymous citizen notifies Hoover that he has found the perpetrators of the Wall Street bombings of 1920, including Goldie Casto, alias Emma Goldman.

**Notes:** Enclosed with 890414036.

232nd Regiment A.E.F.  
Italy, and North American  
Citizens.  
Let in touch with  
Columbus Police Force  
once  
The Lion of St. Mark.

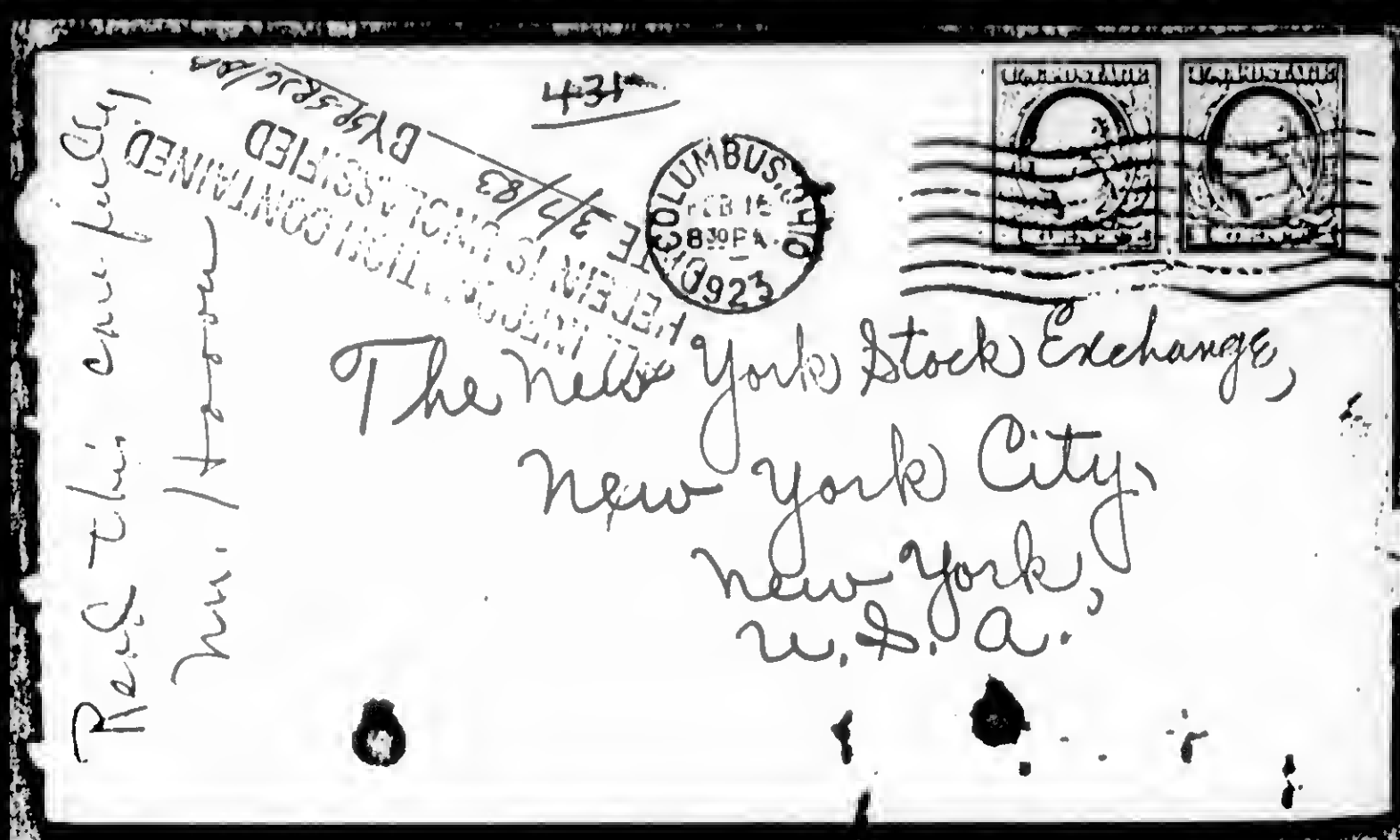
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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Envelope] 1923 Feb. 16, Columbus, Ohio [to J. Edgar] Hoover, New York / [The Lion of St. Mark].— 1 p. ; 10 × 16 cm.

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Notes: For enclosure, see 890414035.



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# The Emma Goldman Papers

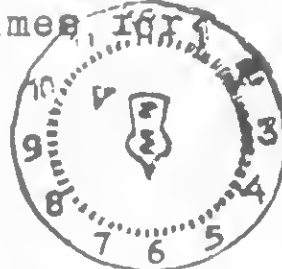
[Agent Report In] re: [N.A. Collier?] Alleged Communist Propagandist, New York, 1923 Feb. 26 / [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].— 1 p.; 28 x 20 cm.

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: An undisclosed agent reports that N.A. Collier, Goldman's associate, was imprisoned in Italy for two days due to the radical literature he carried.

REPORT MADE AT: New York, N. Y.	D Feb. 26, 1923	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE: Feb. 26, 1923	REPORT MADE BY: [REDACTED]
TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE: RE: [REDACTED] 67C Alleged Communist Propagandist.			
FACTS DEVELOPED: At New York, N. Y.			
<p>The following is quoted from the New York Times, Feb. 26, 1923.</p> <p>"AMERICAN NOVELIST OUT OF NAPLES JAIL.</p> <p>N.A. COLLIER, Held Two Days as Bolshevist Propagandist, Has Arrived in Paris.</p> <p>Paris, Feb. 25.—Nelson A. Collier, son of William Armistead Collier, a former publisher of The Memphis Appeal, and brother of Baron G. Collier, a New York advertising man, arrived in Paris today after two days' imprisonment in Naples, where the Fascisti arrested him on a charge of being a Bolshevist propagandist.</p> <p>Mr. Collier, for a long time associated with Upton Sinclair, Emma Goldman and other radicals, had proceeded to Italy, accompanied by his wife, for a quiet study, intending to remain and finish his novel, "The Search."</p> <p>"I had a book by Trotsky and other special articles by Russians to use as references," said Mr. Collier. "That aroused the suspicions of the Italian customs authorities and police. The officials examined a trunkful of liberal literature, called a carabinieri, who searched me from collar to socks and then locked me up, taking also \$1,000 in travelers checks."</p> <p>Mrs. Collier summoned the American consul and cabled to the U.S., and after forty-eight hours the Naples police released her husband.</p> <p>The American Consul advised me to take the first train from Italy and leave my papers behind said Collier.</p> <p>According to a dispatch from Milan on Feb. 4, Nelson A. Collier was arrested in Naples on that date because he had in his possession the books containing Bolshevist pamphlets.</p>			
<p>Washington 3; New York 2; (Copied-VD)</p>			

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 9-13-87 BY 87



MAR 1 1923

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FILE NO. 61-3381-9

RECORDED

MAR 16 1923

GENERAL INTELLIGENCE

MAR 3 1923

SECTION

[Signature]

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

Emma Goldman, Fired By Russia, Lights In Berlin — 28 cm. *In* [Indianapolis Star (March 10, 1923)] / [author unknown].

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: The *Indianapolis Star* reports that Goldman is living in Berlin and entertaining many radicals.

## EMMA GOLDMAN, FIRED BY RUSSIA, LIGHTS IN BERLIN

BERLIN, March 9.—(Universal Service)—Emma Goldman, deported by the soviet government because she attacked the Bolshevik system, has opened a political salon in Berlin. She has settled down and apparently feels much more at home here than either in the United States or Russia.

Emma's salon has a strong lure for the intellectual radicals and semi-radicals, particularly those from America and England, who visit her frequently. So far she has espoused no political party here nor has her activity been of a character to attract the attention of the political police.

*Ind Star*

*March 10 1923*

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1923 April? Berlin [to Thomas? H.? Keell?, London (excerpt, government transcript)] / [Emma Goldman]. — 1 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

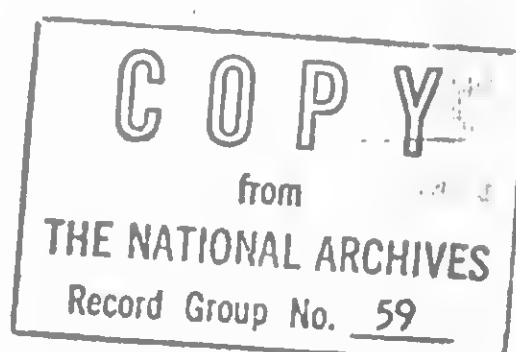
Summary: British Intelligence excerpts portions of Goldman's letter to the editor of *Freedom* to show her depression in exile.

Notes: Enclosed with 810409101, 810409102, and 880615404.

COPY.

We are all imprisoned now, each one in a different country. I myself feel perfectly desperate. The longer I live in Germany the less I see the possibility of my taking part in the movement, even if I had a legal right to remain here, and I have lost all hopes of returning to America. I depended much upon the publication of my book for a literary opening in the states. But even that seems remote. I have heard nothing definite from the McClure News Paper Syndicate although they have my Mss. five months. They have not even kept their part of the contract to pay the sum they agreed upon on the receipt of the Mss. In short the situation as far as I am concerned is desperate. It is no less so for comrade Berkman, except that for the present he is struggling with his book so he does not think of anything else. I dare say it will be as difficult to find a publisher for his Mss. as it is for mine. But at least B. is busy now, going through the same mental strain as I did last year.

I am so sorry that *Freedom* cannot be more at ease, it is dreadful and most discouraging that after so many years of struggle *Freedom* is still in such a precarious condition. I cannot understand what our people in America are doing, not a single paper there in the English language yet they do nothing, or very little for *Freedom*, it is very disheartening. I can fully understand how weary you must be from it all, yet you must continue dear comrade, there is no one else, at least you are on your own soil. I have come to realize that there is no greater punishment for an active spirit than to be torn out of one's sphere.



General Records of the Department of State  
Office of the Counselor, File No. 861.0-668

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report In re:] Union of Russian Anarchists, Cleveland, Ohio, 1923 April 2 / J.V. Ryan, Agent in Charge [Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].— 2 p.; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Agent Ryan describes the radical history of Bessie Kimelman, a friend of Goldman and Berkman who has recently moved to Cleveland.

LNK

Case originated at New York, — Journal Memo made ( ) originating office only.

REPORT MADE AT: Cleveland, Ohio	DATE WHEN MADE: 4-2-1923	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE: 4-2-1923	REPORT MADE BY: J. V. RYAN.
TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE: UNION OF RUSSIAN ANARCHISTS.			
FACTS DEVELOPED: ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 9-2-83 BY 362027104 At Cleveland, Ohio, Cleveland File No. 10,349			
<p>Reference is made to letter of Frank J. O'Donnell, Acting Special Agent in Charge of New York Office, dated March 20th, 1923, relative to the activities of a certain group of alleged Anarchists. The letter states that BESSIE KIMELMAN will be present at Cleveland, where her activities will be confined in rendering assistance to the UNION OF RUSSIAN ANARCHISTS.</p> <p>Through a reliable source I have learned that BESSIE KIMELMAN is at present residing at No. 1391 East 86th Street, Cleveland, Ohio; that she never made a speech in her life, but has been active in the past in organizing work for EMMA GOLDMAN, that in fact she is a niece of EMMA GOLDMAN, and previously lived as the common law wife with KARL, the mysterious Swede and manager of EMMA GOLDMAN's "Mother Earth" Book Shop, until KARL was deported to Sweden, in 1918 or in 1919. Her home was originally in Cleveland, where she lived at No. 2546 East 46th Street. She was very active as a trouble maker during the time that Dr. BEN REITMAN was incarcerated in the Warrensville Workhouse at Cleveland, and was one of the women arrested during a Garment Worker's strike in either 1918 or in 1919. She has been out of the lime light for about three years, and</p>			
REFERENCE: Hoover-2	COPIES OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO: Director 3: New York City 2: Cleveland 2:		

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FILE NO. 61-3692-1

BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
APR 2 - 1923  
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

ROUTED TO: HOOVER

GENERAL INTELLIGENCE  
APR 6 1923

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## The Emma Goldman Papers

890520000

[Agent Report In re:] Union of Russian Anarchists, Cleveland, Ohio, 1923 April 2 / J.V. Ryan, Agent in Charge [Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].— 2 p.; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Agent Ryan describes the radical history of Bessie Kimelman, a friend of Goldman and Berkman who has recently moved to Cleveland.

#2

Agent J.V.RYAN

4/2/1923

Cleveland File 10,349

it was generally understood that she went to Russia in company with MINNIE LOWINSON, another Anarchist, and the sweetheart of WILLIAM SHATTOFF.

The Cleveland Office is in receipt of a letter from BESSIE KIMELMAN, to ALEXANDER BERKMAN, dated August 4th, 1918, in which she bemoans the fate of her little cousin Carl, who has been detained in a house of correction on the Island. She also states that BEN MANIA was in Cleveland at that time, and sent his greetings. The letter was signed "Your friend BESSIE KIMELMAN."

It was also learned that the activities of the RUSSIAN ANARCHISTS in America are not aimed at committing any violence right now, but to raise a fund to smuggle through Russians, Italians, Spaniards, Germans and Bulgarian Anarchists into America, and after fifty to one hundred European Anarchists experienced in assassination work will have been smuggled into America, an attempt will be made to assassinate the President and other public men.

Up to this time this Office has been unable to ascertain the motive of BESSIE KIMELMAN's trip to Cleveland, but will endeavor to learn something of this trip and her object in coming to Cleveland.

Continued.

J. V. Ryan  
J. V. RYAN  
Special Agent in Charge

7-1169

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1923 April 17, London [to] W[illiam] L. Hurley [Office of the Under-secretary] Department of State, Washington, D.C. / B[oyston] A. B[eal, American Embassy, Department of State]. — 1 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.

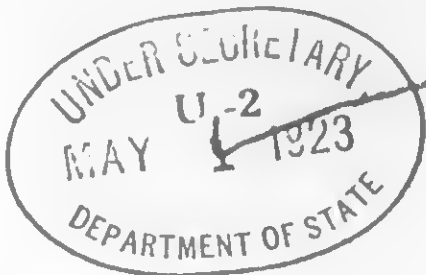
Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Beal sends Hurley an excerpt from one of Goldman's recent letters, demonstrating her depression.

Notes: For enclosure, see 900320001.

RETURN TO  
FILE

861.0-668



LONDON, April 17. 1923.

NO. 1934

Dear Bill:

Our friends have sent us an <sup>(enclosure)</sup> extract from a letter recently written by Emma Goldman. It may interest you as showing her present frame of mind.

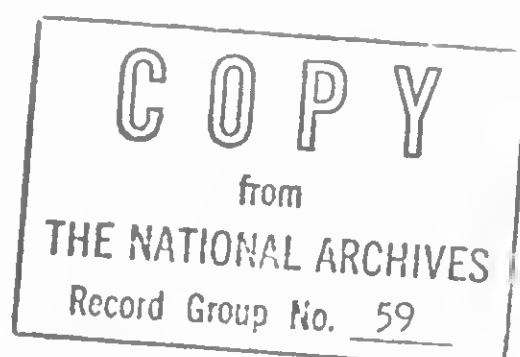
Yours ever,

B. A. B.

W.L. Hurley, Esq.,  
&c., &c., &c.,  
Department of State,  
Washington. DC.

To / 5-10-23  
D.J.

Enclosure.  
EXTRACT.



General Records of the Department of State  
Office of the Counselor, File No. 861.0-668

## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1923 May 8 [Washington, D.C. to] William J. Burns, Director, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. / W[illiam] L. H[urley, Office of the Undersecretary, Department of State]. — 1 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Hurley sends Burns a portion of a letter from Goldman, acquired from the American Embassy in London.

Notes: For enclosure, see 900320001. Copy of 880615404.

RETURN TO US  
FILE  
861.0-668

May 8, 1923.

In reply refer to  
U2

Dear Mr. Burns:

Our friends in London have sent us an extract  
from a letter recently written by Emma Goldman. It  
may interest you as showing her present frame of mind.

Very truly yours,

*WJH*

Enclosure:  
As above.

William J. Burns, Esquire,  
Director, Bureau of Investigation,  
Department of Justice,  
Washington, D. C.

U2-LAS/LBD-ss

COPY  
from  
THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES  
Record Group No. 59

General Records of the Department of State  
Office of the Counselor, File No. 861.0-668

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1923 May 8, Washington [D.C. to] William J. Burns, Director, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. / W[illiam] L. Hurley [Office of the Undersecretary] Department of State.— 1 p. ; 16 × 13 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the United States Library of Congress.  
Institutional Location: Paul Avrich Papers.

Notes: For enclosure, see 900320001. For copy, see 810409101.

31

DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
WASHINGTON

May 8, 1923.

In reply refer to  
U2

Dear Mr. Burns:

Our friends in London have sent us an extract from a letter recently written by Emma Goldman. It may interest you as showing her present frame of mind.

Very truly yours,  
*W. L. Hurley*

Enclosure:  
As above.

William J. Burns, Esquire,  
Director, Bureau of Investigation,  
Department of Justice,  
Washington, D. C.

61-291

61-291-10

RECEIVED  
MAY 12 1923 P. M.  
D. C.

RECEIVED  
MAY 15 1923

JUN 18 1923

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## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1923 May 18, Berlin [to] Herrn Staatskommissar der öffentlichen Ordnung,  
[Berlin] / [Emma Goldman].— 1 p. ; 27 × 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.  
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Summary: Goldman formally requests the Staatskommissar to extend her German visa for another year.  
She wants only to study the German social situation for a proposed book.

Notes: In German. Broken type.

3501

Berlin den 16ten Mai, 1923

Herrn Staatskommissar der öffentlichen Ordnung.  
Wilhelmstr. 64.

Sehr geehrter Herr Staatskommissar.

Ich erlaube mir Ihnen ein Schreiben datiert den den 27ten September 1922, unter Tages. N 19655/22, in dem Sie mir gutig mitteilten, dass Sie die nötigen Schritte getan haben um meine bitte auf eine Verlängerung meines Aufenthalts zu bewilligen. Dank Ihrer gutigen Veranlassung bekam ich von Polizeipräsidenten des ~~Auss~~Fremdenantes Abteilung, 12, die Genehmigung bis zum 31ten Mai 1923. Da nun diese Zeit bald abgelaufen ist, erlaube ich mir an Sie geehrter Herr Staatskommissar wieder mit einer Bitte heran zutreten.

Wie Sie aus der beiliegenden Abschrift meines Mandates von der N, Y World sehen werden beschäffte ich mich hier mit Studium sozialer und erzieherische Fragen für die N, Y World, Meine Studien sollen dann zu einem grössern Werk über Deutschland verarbeitet werden. Da ich diese Arbeit gründlich und gewissenhaft machen möchte brauche ich noch ziemlich lange Zeit zu meinem Aufenthalt in Berlin. Aus diesem wie Sie ersehen werden wichtigen Grund bitte ich Sie ergebenste mir meinen Aufenthalt auf ein Jahr zu verlängern. Ich möchte hinzufügen, dass ich schon ein Jahr in Deutschland bin und dass ich mich eben nur mit Studien von Deutschen Verhältnisse beschäffte.

In der Erwartung Ihrer gutigen Genehmigung eines längern Aufenthalts, verbleibe ich Herrn Staatskommissar hochachtungsvoll Ihre ergebenden.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

# The Emma Goldman Papers

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1923 May 29 / R.B. Spencer [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].—  
19 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT <b>Pittsburgh, Pa.</b>		JOURNAL TO BE MADE AT ORIGINATING OFFICE ONLY	
REPORT MADE AT: <b>Pittsburgh, Pa.</b>	DATE WHEN MADE: <b>May 29, 1923</b>	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE: <b>May 29, 1923</b>	REPORT MADE BY: <b>R. B. SPENCER.</b>
TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE: <b>JACOB MARGOLIS</b> Disbarred Anarchist Attorney.			
FACTS DEVELOPED: <b>AT PITTSBURGH, PA.</b>			
<p>Under date of April 26th, 1923, I forwarded to the Bureau information which came to me from a confidential source to the effect that JACOB MARGOLIS, prior to the date of my receiving this information, had gone to Detroit and worked on the Detroit Jewish Chronicle, but decided that because of some differences that MARGOLIS had with his brother-in-law, JOE KAMINSKY, alias JOE CUMMINS, who is also connected with the Detroit Jewish Chronicle, that he, MARGOLIS, would not become associated in the publication of this paper.</p> <p>This decision was influenced somewhat by a "tip" that MARGOLIS received from Milwaukee relative to the possibility of his being admitted to the bar in Wisconsin. As a result of this tip, he went to Milwaukee and spent some time there. He spoke at a couple of meetings, was in conference with VICTOR BERGER and a number of the leading Socialists in Milwaukee, and as a result of this conference, arrangements were made to have the Governor of the State, Bob LaFollette, VICTOR BERGER, and a number of other influential per-</p>			
REFERENCE: <b>Hoover-3</b>		COPIES OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO: <b>Bureau-3: Milwaukee-3: Detroit-3: File-1:</b>	

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE **SEP 8 1983** BY **367 921607**

**Office File No. 6-11W.**

DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES  
 JUL 2 1923  
 FILE NO. **61-3817-17**  
 BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
 JUN 7 1923 P.M.  
 DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
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 FILE **61-3817-17**

RECORDED  
 JUN 7 1923

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R.B. Spenoer,

May 29, 1923

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sons get behind MARGOLIS and arrange his re-admission to practice law in that State. To carry out this program, MARGOLIS will have to put in considerable time in Wisconsin for the next six months, which he intends to do.

In event of his being admitted, MARGOLIS stated that he did not intend to practice law very long in Wisconsin, but would move either to Chicago, New York or Detroit after his admission. His family will reside in Detroit for some time to come, having an apartment in the North Woodward district.

NOTE: This information in regard to MARGOLIS' plans should be handled with the utmost caution, as our informant must be protected in every way.

On receipt of this information, the Director of the Bureau instructed me to prepare a full and detailed memorandum on JACOB MARGOLIS, together with his past and present activities, proposed plans, etc., and forward same to the Milwaukee office in order that the latter office might avail themselves of this information and possibly bring the matter to the attention of the proper authorities. I was also instructed to forward a copy of this report to the Detroit office for their general information.

Attached to and made a part of this report will be found a memorandum covering the activities of JACOB MARGOLIS.

7-1109

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### MEMORANDUM.

In Re: JACOB MARGOLIS.

JACOB MARGOLIS is about forty years of age, is of Jewish nationality, and was born in Pittsburgh. As a boy, he sold newspapers on the streets of Pittsburgh and was admitted to practice as an Attorney-at-Law in the Court of Common Pleas of Allegheny County on March 13th, 1910.

During the late War, and since that time, he has been closely identified with the radical movement in this district and has made a number of trips to other districts for the purpose of making speeches at radical meetings. He was constantly under the observation of the Pittsburgh Bureau office during the War, and as will be seen in the report that follows.

During this time, much evidence as to MARGOLIS' disloyalty to the United States Government and hostility to all Governments was collected by this office, all of which was turned over to JOHN C. BANE and ARTHUR SOULLY, Attorneys-at-Law, representing the Allegheny County Bar Association, which presented it's petition for MARGOLIS' disbarment to the Court of Allegheny County on December 13th, 1919. On September 15th, 1920, the Court of Common Pleas ordered that



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MARGOLIS' name be stricken from the roll of attorneys in said Court, and although MARGOLIS appealed, his appeal was not upheld.

The specific charges against MARGOLIS have been summarized by MR. BANE and MR. SCULLY, attorneys for the Appellee, The Allegheny County Bar Association, in the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, No.6 October Term, 1921. A large number of the exhibits, however, which were turned over to MR. BANE by this office, were stolen when in the custody of the Court of Common Pleas of Allegheny County, and were never returned to MR. BANE. This theft took place before the argument upon appeal to the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania.

This brief contains specifically the charges against MARGOLIS looking to his disbarment, includes all information turned over to MR. BANE and MR. SCULLY by this office, and also embodies information from other Bureau offices and other sources which MR. BANE and MR. SCULLY availed themselves of.

1. In his testimony before the United States Senate Subcommittee, investigating the steel strike, MARGOLIS said, when asked to describe himself, "First, syndicalist; I put the syndicalist first, because it is the important thing; syndicalist-anarchist would be my position". He further

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stated that he was not opposed to the spirit of unrest—  
that he thought it helped to bring about the condition he  
desired; and that he favored every strike.

2. In the fall of 1908 or the winter of 1909, MARGOLIS  
stated to Assistant State's Attorney JOHN D. MEYER, of  
Allegheny County, Pa., that "he didn't believe in any form  
of government, he believed that it would be better for all  
of us if there was no government at all".

3. Prior to 1915, MARGOLIS was expelled from the  
Socialist Party for teaching radical doctrines, and when  
asked by GEORGE F. McCONNELL, of Pittsburgh, why he had  
joined that party, he said, "I only came to do some propa-  
ganda work".

4. On December 17th, 1918, MARGOLIS stated to JOHN W.  
MYLES and ALBERT W. SMITH, United States Internal Revenue  
Agents, of the Pittsburgh office, that he was "an I.W.W. and  
a Bolshevik".

5. In May, 1919, MARGOLIS stated to EDGAR B. SPEER,  
a former Special Agent of the Bureau office at Pittsburgh,  
in the presence of Charles B. Pritchard, Director of the  
Department of Public Safety of the City of Pittsburgh, that  
he, MARGOLIS, was an anarchist.

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6. In 1918, MARGOLIS explained his position in reference to the Government to United States Attorney E. Lowry Humes, of Pittsburgh, by saying that "we had two kinds of law, basic law and conventional law, and that no man was under any obligation to obey the conventional law," and that "by conventional law he meant statutory law."

7. A Socialist newspaper, called "Justice", was published in Pittsburgh. About 1912, the editor of this newspaper published certain syndicalist propaganda, recommending sabotage, crime and violence. These publications were induced by the I.W.W. McConnell and certain other men who disapproved of these publications, met for the purpose of preventing the continuation of them. MARGOLIS was present at this meeting; and McConnell testified that MARGOLIS "stated that if the stockholders took the action that was proposed and the Socialists who believed in the present form of government gained possession of "Justice", and changed the policy of that paper, that he represented a client--I think in Ohio by the name of Sterling--that he was representing that client, who was in possession of a judgment or mortgage or something, and that in case the policy of "Justice" was changed, that he would foreclose on "Justice" and sell the thing out." And following that "Justice" continued to advocate sabotage, crime and violence.

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8. In his testimony at the hearing of the Senate Sub-Committee, MARGOLIS was asked the following question: "It is charged here that you are a Communist. Are you or are you not?" He answered, "As stated in the answer. I believe in Communism. I believe that we can conduct society wherein each one produces according to his ability and each uses according to his need."

9. In his answer to the petition of the Allegheny County Bar Association, asking subject's disbarment, MARGOLIS said, "I do believe in a communism to be attained without resort to violence, where each will produce according to his ability, and each use according to his need and where compulsion and violence will be absent."

10. In his testimony before the Senate Sub-Committee, MARGOLIS stated that he was an Atheist, that he did not believe in God, that he did not believe in any churches, and that he did not believe in any government.

11. In his testimony before the Senate Sub-Committee, MARGOLIS stated that in August, 1919, he went to a meeting of the Union of Russian Workers in Youngstown, Ohio, and made a speech. He admitted in this testimony that members of the Union of Russian Workers "are really anarchists", and "believe in the organization of the industrial-soviet plant". Further, that he did not think that any of the members of the Union of Russian Workers were citizens of the United States.



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13. Showing his propaganda for the Union of Russian Workers, the tenets and principles of which are too well known to this Department to set out here, the official organ of the Union of Russian Workers, named Klebi Volia (meaning Bread and Freedom), under date of May 23rd, 1919, contained the following letter from MARGOLIS:

"Dear Friend:

The enclosed letter is an exact copy of one which I received on the 23rd day of May, 1919. This splendid evidence that we have made the world 'safe for democracy' and have saved civilization.

It is further evidence of the reactionary forces let loose by the war. To do anything for the American Workers, and particularly the I.W.W.'s, seems, in this district, to be the most serious crime one could possibly commit.

I wish you would (publish) this letter, as I feel that it should receive as much publicity among the revolutionary workers as possible.

Yours for Industrial Freedom,

JACOB MARGOLIS."

13. MR. McCONNELL, above referred to, in his testimony at the hearing on MARGOLIS' disbarment, swore that he had talked to MARGOLIS in regard to the Industrial Workers of the World, that MARGOLIS stated he believed in the principles of the I.W.W.; that he would be a member and would join the I.W.W. if it were not that the constitution of the I.W.W. prohibited professional men from becoming members; that he, MARGOLIS, was in hearty sympathy with the ideals, methods, and propaganda of the I.W.W., supported them actively, and did it because he believed in those principles.



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14. In his testimony before the Senate Sub-Committee, MARGOLIS testified that he had solicited money and collected Liberty Bonds for I.W.W. defense funds and for various anarchists and the I.W.W. movements which have been conducted in this country, collecting between two and three thousand dollars for these movements, and that he, MARGOLIS, had attended a meeting at Bentleyville, Pa., in company with Vincent St. John, former Secretary of the I.W.W., where bonds were procured by Vincent St. John for use as bail for members of the I.W.W.

15. In this connection, attention is here called to the pamphlet, The I.W.W., its History, Structure and Methods, by Vincent St. John, under the sub-heading "Our Tactics" reading in part as follows:

"As a revolutionary organization the Industrial Workers of the World aims to use any and all tactics that will get the results sought with the least expenditure of time and energy. The tactics used are determined solely by the power of the organization to make good in their use. The question of 'right' and 'wrong' does not concern us. . . . Failing to force concessions from the employers by the strike, work is resumed and 'sabotage' is used to force the employers to concede the demands of the workers. . . . In short, the I.W.W. advocates the use of militant 'direct action' tactics to the full extent of our power to make good."

16. MR. McCONNELL also testified before the Bar Association hearing that he, McCONNELL, had heard MARGOLIS speak a score or more times and that MARGOLIS in the course of some of these speeches stated that he, MARGOLIS, was opposed to

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organized government and that he advocated the workers ~~and~~ seize the industries by direct action; that MARGOLIS expressed himself as being opposed to the United States Government in particular, and any government in particular, and was in favor of the Anarchist Communist Society.

17. THOMAS C. WILCOX, Special Agent of the Bureau Office in Detroit, testified at the Bar Association hearing that he had heard MARGOLIS speak at Detroit on November 23rd and 26th, 1919, and March 4th, 1920. On November 23rd and November 26th, EMMA GOLDMAN and ALEXANDER BERKMAN appeared on the platform with JACOB MARGOLIS, and on each occasion MARGOLIS extolled GOLDMAN as being his, MARGOLIS', friend. It is well known that both BERKMAN and GOLDMAN have since been deported to Russia.

18. At the Bar Association hearing, JACOB HARRSHMAN testified that MARGOLIS on Sunday, February 2nd, 1919, was one of the speakers at a meeting held in Owl's Hall, near Millsboro, Washington County, Pa.; that a majority of the persons present at this meeting were foreigners and radicals of different nationalities; that the speakers were introduced by JOHN SHON, against whom deportation proceedings were subsequently entered; that on this occasion MARGOLIS stated that the profits derived from industries should go to the laborers and said "You men prepare and equip yourselves to take over these industries and these mines"; that MARGOLIS further stated at this meeting that the sabotage of the I.W.W. was more

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child's play in comparison to the sabotage of the United States Government.

19. L. B. SARGENT testified at the hearing before the Bar Association that he attended the meeting at Owl's Hall, near Millsboro, Washington County, Pa., on February 2nd, 1919; that MARGOLIS stated to his audience that they did not need to care for any government, that they should do as their brothers did in Soviet Russia, and then gave them an illustration about a rich man's house being taken over by the Russians without the consent of the owner of the house.

20. WILLIAM CROCKETT also testified that he attended the meeting at Owl's Hall, near Millsboro, Washington County, Pa., that the audience consisted largely of foreigners of three or four different nationalities, and that the speakers were introduced by JOHN SHON. MARGOLIS stated on this occasion that the sabotage of the I.W.W. is mere child's play to that of the United States Government; that MARGOLIS had explained to his audience that the workers in Russia had risen and put the man of money out and put them out of their homes, and that they had a perfect right to take this action. He further told his audience that no government was necessary.

21. DR. ALFRED J. BUKA, living on the North Side, Pittsburgh, testified at the Allegheny Bar Association hearing that he had known MARGOLIS for approximately five years; that he had at-



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tended a society or organization known as the University Circle, where he had heard MARGOLIS state that if a fleet should enter New York Harbor and land an army he would just as lief live under the Kaiser's rule as he would under the President's.

22. DR. CHARLES E. BRINKMAN, of Pittsburgh, corroborated in detail the testimony of DR. BUKA.

23. ROYAL ALLEN, former Special Agent of the Department, attached to the Chicago office, testified that on December 9th, 1919, he attended a meeting of the I.W.W. at Wicker Park Hall, Chicago, Ill., at which meeting MARGOLIS was the principal speaker.

24. On August 22nd, 1915, MARGOLIS addressed a meeting at Montifiore Hall, Pittsburgh. The other speakers were ALEXANDER BERKMAN, WILLIAM WYCIS and P. ZONOFF. This meeting was intended as a protest in the cases of Caplan and Schmidt, who had been indicted for participation with the McNamara Brothers in blowing up the Los Angeles Times. MARGOLIS said in part, "As to the question of whether they are guilty or innocent of the crime, they cannot be guilty. Men like that can't be guilty. Men like that who resist the violence of the present order can be guilty of no crime (applause). And sometimes you object; sometimes I think every one of you actually feels they would like to break those terrible chains that bind them, sometimes feels that he would like to tell his master to go to work, or to some other place. (Laughter and applause.) You feel that sometimes.

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Sometimes you, too, feel the terrible insolence of the state; sometimes you, too, feel the terrible insults of that bondage called the church."

25. Former Special Agent SPEER, of the Pittsburgh office, testified at the Bar Association hearing that he, SPEER, had visited MARGOLIS' office and seen the following radical papers at his office: "New Solidarity" - "Il Proletaria" - "Revolutionary Age" - "Freedom" and "The Rebel Worker"; that MARGOLIS told him, SPEER, that these papers came to his, MARGOLIS', office fairly regularly.

26. In his testimony before the Senate Sub-Committee, MARGOLIS admitted that he had received at his Pittsburgh office EMMA GOLDMAN'S "Mother Earth" in bundles. The bundle was made up of individual issues of "Mother Earth" already wrapped and stamped and he, MARGOLIS, had placed these copies in the mail at Pittsburgh. This action was taken although a fraud order had formerly been issued against "Mother Earth" by the Post Office Department, disbarring this publication from the mails. MARGOLIS stated that he did not know the date on which "Mother Earth" was disbarred from the mails. In view, however, of the surreptitious manner in which he received and mailed this publication in Pittsburgh, I believe it a fair inference that MARGOLIS knew a fraud order had been issued against this publication when he placed it in the mail.



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37. In his testimony before the Senate Committee, MARGOLIS testified as follows: By the Chairman - "Did you help circulate the 'Freedom'?" A - "Yes, sir." The following excerpt from an editorial published in "Freedom" under date of January 15th, 1919, gives a good idea of the character of this publication:

"Freedom enters upon the revolutionary field as the only English-speaking Anarchist publication of the western hemisphere. For its appearance we offer no apology, we are oppressed, depressed and suppressed--yet we carry our colors majestically amid the turbulent conditions of Law and Order.

For many years America has been void of a publication, whose voice spoke Revolution in every column. So it is to occupy this vacant space upon the intellectual rostrum that Freedom doth appear.

We intend to let Freedom's voice ring loud and clear throughout the length and breadth of the land. She will convey the revolutionary gospel, artistically, into the hearts of the great industrial hells--into the isolated camps--ah, and to the mind of every sane intelligent human being.

Its voice will shatter the foundation stones upon which human society now stands.

It advocates Destruction!

It advocates Construction!

Freedom's mission is not to patch up a worn out system along reform, or Socialist lines, but to abolish all existing institutions.

Revolution means Revolution--not reform!

It is only when Gods, Governments, Hypocrisy, Tyranny and Slavery crumble away into oblivion, that man will be able to assert himself. Man know thyself! Assert your individuality! Demand--work--and fight for individual freedom!"

38. Former Special Agent SPEER testified before the Bar Association hearing that in 1919 and prior thereto in Pittsburgh there existed an I.W.W. recruiting union, the Keystone Literary Society, which is said to be an open forum, but made up mostly of I.W.W.'s; and the Radical Library Group; that

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MARGOLIS was very active in the organizations just mentioned. In fact, MARGOLIS stated before the Senate Sub-Committee that he was very active in the Keystone Literary Society, and that "all radicals met there".

29. Former Chief of Police ALDERDICE, Pittsburgh, testified at the Bar Association hearing that he had known MARGOLIS for about ten years; that he knew of the existence of the Anti-Conscription League in Pittsburgh in 1917; that this league had headquarters in two places—one in the McGeagh Building and the other at 223 Fifth Avenue, Pittsburgh; that on May 23rd, 1917, he personally raided both of these places and arrested MARGOLIS and four or five others, and that he took all papers in their headquarters, and, on the following morning, delivered these papers to the United States Department of Justice.

30. R. S. JUDGE, former Agent in Charge of the Pittsburgh office of the Bureau of Investigation, testified at the Bar Association hearing that he had examined literature, circulars and cards delivered to his office by the police after their raid on May 23rd, 1917, and further that he had knowledge that the Anti-Conscription League prosecuted its operations after May 18th, 1917, the date of the passage of the Conscription Act.

31. Former Special Agent SPEER, in this connection, identified Exhibit #41, signed in printing "Anti-Conscription League of Pittsburgh", with the writing at the lower left-hand corner in red ink, pen writing "Do not register", as one of the pieces

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of literature or mail matter, or printed matter, that was delivered by the Police Department to the Department of Justice following said raid. Exhibit #41 read as follows:

"ANTI CONSCRIPTION LEAGUE  
of Pittsburgh  
Room No. 311 McGeagh Bldg.  
607 Webster Avenue  
Pittsburgh, Pa., May 18, 1917.

Dear Friend:

Some time ago you signed a card in which you pledged yourself, 'That under no circumstance would you become a conscript.' We are now face to face with the actual situation, and if you acted consciously when you signed the pledge, now is the time for united and determined action.

Under the Constitution of the United States, the Thirteenth Amendment, Section One, reads as follows;

'NEITHER SLAVERY NOR INVOLUNTARY SERVITUDE EXCEPT AS A PUNISHMENT FOR CRIME WHEREOF THE PARTY SHALL HAVE BEEN DULY CONVICTED, SHALL EXIST WITHIN THE UNITED STATES OR ANY PLACE SUBJECT TO THEIR JURISDICTION.'

If you are to be compelled to serve in the army of the United States, Against Your Will, that would undoubtedly be Involuntary Servitude, and if you have committed no crime nor been duly convicted thereof, there is no reason why you should not resist this involuntary servitude.

The League, at present, needs your financial and moral assistance. We propose no violence and insist that we will under no circumstance commit murder. We are enclosing herewith which you can distribute among your friends. Contributions for the continuance of this work will be appreciated.

Fraternally yours,

ANTI-CONSCRIPTION LEAGUE OF PITTSBURGH.

Do not Register"--(in red ink).

32. In his answer to the petition of the Bar Association, MARGOLIS said: "But as soon as the Conscription Act was passed, the Anti-Conscription League accepted the fact and went out of existence."



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33. In his testimony at said hearing, MARGOLIS said:  
"However, the organization went out of existence with the  
passage of the Conscription Act."

34. The attorneys for the Bar Association called attention,  
however, to that part of Exhibit #41, reading as follows:  
"We are now face to face with the actual situation, and if you  
acted consciously when you signed the pledge, now is the time  
for united and determined action." From this, it would appear  
strongly that the Act had been approved before the letters  
were circulated.

35. Postcards, being Exhibits 43, 44 and 46 for the  
petitioners in the Bar Association hearing, were addressed in  
print: "Anti-conscription League, Room 211, McGeagh Building,  
Webster Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pa." On the opposite sides of  
these cards, the following is printed:

"(Detach and mail this card).  
Anti-Conscription League  
Room 211 McGeagh Building  
807 Webster Avenue  
Pittsburgh, Pa.

I AM OPPOSED TO THE KILLING OF HUMAN BEINGS AND  
HAVE CONSCIENTIOUS SCRUPLES AGAINST THE TAKING OF  
HUMAN LIFE AND THEREFORE DO HEREBY PLEDGE MYSELF NOT  
TO BE CONSCRIPTED.

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Street and No. \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_

On the accompanying parts of these cards, detach-  
able therefrom by reason of perforations, the following is  
printed:

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report In re:] Jacob Margolis, Disbarred Anarchist Attorney, Pittsburgh, Pa.,  
1923 May 29 / R.B. Spencer [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice]. —  
19 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Page #18.

"All the traditions of this Country are against compulsory military service. It has been the Boast of America that it was a Nation of Free People and the cardinal principle of Freedom is that each man shall have the Right to determine What He Shall Do.

We Hold that Murder is Murder, no matter whether it is done by an individual or whether Commanded by the State or directed by the Government.

We have Conscientious Scruples against the Taking of Human Lives and therefore refuse to participate in any move that would ~~result~~ entail the Deprivation of the Life of a Single Human Being. Our scruples are such that we cannot honestly assent or agree to the conscripting of men for military service.

If You Too Have Honest Conscientious opinions which would not permit you to Take a Human Life, we ask you to sign the attached card and become a member of the Anti-Conscription League. If we are to effectively oppose the Taking Human Life, Unity and Solidarity are necessary.

Men and Women are eligible to membership in the Anti-Conscription League."

Exhibit #48, which is printed in English, reads as follows:

## "SLAUGHTER.

Seven Million workers have been slaughtered on the war fields of Europe, Fellow Worker, are you prepared to be one of the next 7,000,000 to be slaughtered?

In England 20,000 men have made their protest against conscription in the last half year by claiming exemption, based on Conscientious objections.

BE A CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTOR.

No not register. Do not enlist. Do not go to war.

Conscientious Objection Fellowship.  
If this interests you, pass it on."

36. In his testimony before the Senate Committee, MARGOLIS stated that his office is the rendezvous of the I.W.W.

37. A very important exhibit, a photostat copy of which is attached to the Milwaukee and Detroit copies of this memorandum,



## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report In re:] Jacob Margolis, Disbarred Anarchist Attorney, Pittsburgh, Pa.,  
1923 May 29 / R.B. Spencer [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice]. —  
19 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.

*Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.*

Page #17.

was undoubtedly caused to be printed by JACOB MARGOLIS, as it appears from the testimony of IRVING SIEGEL and WILLIAM SHIFF, who conduct the S. & S. Printing Company, at 1427 Fifth Ave., Pittsburgh. IRVING SIEGEL testified this exhibit, entitled "THE WORKERS OF THE WORLD" was printed by his company in February, 1919, and charged to the account of JACOB MARGOLIS; one thousand copies were printed. WILLIAM SHIFF testified that the copy for this exhibit was delivered to him, SHIFF, by MARGOLIS personally, and the printing ordered by MARGOLIS.

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1923 Sept. 1, New York [to William J. Burns] Director, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. / Edward J. Brennan, Agent in Charge, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice. — 1 p. ; 26 x 19 cm.

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: Brennan forwards the Special Report on Radical Activities for the New York area.

Notes: For enclosure, see 890414052.

OFFICE OF  
AGENT IN CHARGE

TELEPHONE, BARCLAY 8160  
POST OFFICE BOX 241  
CITY HALL STATION

## Department of Justice

### Bureau of Investigation

15 PARK ROW, 14TH FLOOR  
NEW YORK, N. Y.

Sept. 1, 1923.

Director,  
Bureau of Investigation,  
Department of Justice,,  
Washington, D. C.

Re: Special Report, on Radical  
Activities Covering Greater  
New York District - Period  
Ending Sept. 1, 1923. (N. Y.  
File No. R-100)

Dear Sir:

I am transmitting herewith in triplicate  
Special Report on Radical Activities Covering Greater New  
York District, Period Ending September 1, 1923.

Yours very truly,

*Edward J. Brennan*  
EDWARD J. BRENNAN,  
Special Agent in Charge.

249,870  
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 7-23-85 BY SP4 EFW/ew

1. 3.

(B)(7)(C)

GENERAL INTELLIGENCE

SEP 10 1923

61-23-244

BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
SEP 5 1923 A.M.  
LEAH  
HOOVER

OCT 16 1923

Deleted Copy Sent  
by Letter 2/11/25  
3/18/25

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

The Emma Goldman Papers

Special Report [on Radical Activities, New York] 1923 Sept. 1 [excerpt] / [Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice]. — 1 p. ; 26 x 20 cm.  
Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.  
Summary: The Bureau of Investigation reports that reactionary forces in Bavaria forced Goldman, Stella Ballantine, and the Moscow Art Theater to return to Berlin.  
Notes: Enclosed with 890414051.

15

(b)(7)(C) SPECIAL REPORT SEPT. 1, 1923

is stated to be 15.5 per cent greater than last year, while the increase in the area of spring-sown crops is estimated at 20 per cent. The total area under seed is given as 58,506,000 dessiatines (1 dess equals 2.7 acres) the principal crops being as follows:

Crop	Percentage area under seed.
Winter rye -----	31
Winter wheat -----	6.8
Spring wheat -----	11
Oats -----	15
Millet -----	8
Flax, hemp, sunflower and other crops ---	13.9

The total harvest is expected to amount to 2,400 million poods as compared with 2,103 million poods last year.

\*\*\*\*\*

According to a cable to "The New York World" dated Berlin, August 28th, Emma Goldman, her niece, Miss Stella Ballantine, and the Moscow Art Theatre have been the victims of a reactionary movement in Bavaria where there is now a strong anti-Russian feeling. It is stated that Emma Goldman was tolerated in Berlin because she had withdrawn from all anti-Government activities after her experiences in Russia and was staying in Bavaria with her niece who was under the care of physicians. Emma Goldman and her niece were forced to return to Berlin. It is stated that the Moscow Art Theatre incurred the antipathy of the Bavar-



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report In re:] Joseph Spivak—Anarchist Activities, Los Angeles, 1923 Sept.  
20 / E. Kosterlitzky [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].—  
2 p.; 27 x 20 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Agent Kosterlitzky compiles information about Joseph Spivak, a naturalized citizen under investigation due to his anarchist activities. The police seized letters between Spivak and Goldman when they raided Spivak's apartment.

Notes: Dark copy. For related documents, see 870708046 and 880615350.

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT <b>LOS ANGELES, Calif.</b>		JOURNAL TO BE MADE AT ORIGINATING OFFICE ONLY	
REPORT MADE AT <b>LOS ANGELES, Calif.</b>	DATE WHEN MADE <b>Sept. 20, 1923</b>	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE <b>Sept. 19th</b>	REPORT MADE BY <b>E. KOSTERLITZKY</b>
TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE <b>JOSEPH SPIVAK:</b>		<b># 2828 Wabash Ave., Los Angeles, California.</b>	
FACTS DEVELOPED: <b>At Los Angeles, Cal.-</b>		<b>ANARCHIST ACTIVITIES.</b>	
<p><b>ATTENTION: MR. HOOVER-#2</b> <b>Los Ang. file #180/1234</b></p> <p><b>REFERENCE</b> previous reports relative this subject, and also letter from the Director of the Bureau dated September 6th, 1923 initialed TFB-AS, bearing No. 61-2475.</p> <p>The matter has been taken up with the local Naturalization Examiner, who forwarded to the Chief Naturalization Examiner at San Francisco, Cal., the following letter, - copy of which was obtained this date:</p> <p style="text-align: center;">"U.S. Department of Labor, Naturalization Service Office of Examiner Room 613 Federal Bldg., Los Angeles, Calif.</p> <p style="text-align: right;">ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE <b>SEP 27 1983</b> BY <b>367</b></p> <p style="text-align: right;">Sept. 15, 1923</p> <p>Chief Naturalization Examiner San Francisco:</p> <p>1. The Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, has called my attention to one JOSEPH SPIVAK, a Russian, who it appears was naturalized in the Supreme Court, State of New York at New York on the 27th day of May, 1912, and holds certificate No. 490722.</p> <p>2. On October 4, 1922, the premises of said Spivak were raided and much anarchistic literature was seized. While acting under the advice of his attorney he refused to answer questions</p>			
REFERENCE	COPIES OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO:		
Prev.rpts.	WASH(3) FILE (1) New York (1) Chicago(1) San Foo(1)		

x-1

BEST COPY AVAILABLE



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report In re:] Joseph Spivak—Anarchist Activities, Los Angeles, 1923 Sept. 20 / E. Kosterlitzky [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].—  
2 p.; 27 x 20 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Agent Kosterlitzky compiles information about Joseph Spivak, a naturalized citizen under investigation due to his anarchist activities. The police seized letters between Spivak and Goldman when they raided Spivak's apartment.

Notes: Dark copy. For related documents, see 870708046 and 880615350.

E. KOSTERLITZKY: Los Angeles, Cal. Sept. 20, 1923 Page...2

RE: JOSEPH SPIVAK  
(ANARCHIST)

relative to his anarchistic affiliations and activities, but he did admit that he is a chemist and pharmacist by profession, born in Ukarane, Russia, March 15, 1882 of Jewish race, came to the United States in 1906, that he resided in New York until about two months ago, his last address in that city being 2970 West 28th St., Brooklyn, that he lived in New York continuously until coming to Los Angeles.

3. Among the papers seized was late correspondence between Spivak and Emma Goldman, then in Stockholm, Sweden. Also correspondence between Spivak and Alexander Berkman in Berlin. Of course the reputation of Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman is well known. It would also appear from a perusal of the correspondence seized that Spivak was one of the organizers of, and was financial secretary of the International Anarchists Aid Federation of New York City. Spivak does not deny that he was engaged in anarchistic propaganda and activities in New York, but for what length of time it is not known.

4. From correspondence in the Department of Justice file here, it would seem that Edward J. Brennan, Special Agent in Charge of Department of Justice, Bureau of Investigation, 15 Park Row, New York, could give the history of Spivak during his residence in New York. This letter is written for your consideration as to the advisability of steps being taken with a view to the cancelation of said Spivak's naturalization certificate, should the facts warrant such action.

J/W

This matter will receive further attention as soon as the local Naturalization Examiner is advised from the San Francisco office of the Chief Naturalization Examiner.

The local Police authorities have discontinued action in the case.

O P E N.

\* \* \* \* \*

APPROVED  
SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE  
LOS ANGELES

BEST COPY AVAILABLE



# The Emma Goldman Papers

Special Report [of Radical Activities, New York] 1923 Nov. 3 [excerpt] / [Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice]. — 1 p. ; 26 × 20 cm.

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

**Summary:** The Bureau of Investigation reports that Goldman's book, *My Disillusionment in Russia*, is ready for distribution.

**Notes:** Enclosed with 890414053.

SPECIAL REPORT

NOV. 3, 1923.

(b)(7)(C)

November 16, 17:	Cleveland, O.
November 18:	Lorain, O.
November 19:	Callinwood, O.
November 21, 25:	Detroit, Mich.
November 26:	So. Bend, Ind.
November 27:	Indiana Harbor.
November 28, 29:	Chicago, Ill.
November 30:	Milwaukee, Wisc.

## EMMA GOLDMAN

Doubleday, Page & Co., of this city have announced that  
 "My Disillusionment in Russia," written by Emma Goldman, is ready  
 for distribution. In this book Emma Goldman denounces Bolshevism.

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1923 Nov. 5, New York [to William J. Burns] Director, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. / Edward J. Brennan, Agent in Charge, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice. — 1 p.; 24 × 20 cm.  
Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

**Summary:** Brennan forwards the Special Report of Radical Activities for the New York area.  
**Notes:** Broken type. For enclosure, see 890414054.

TELEPHONE, BARCLAY 3160  
POST OFFICE BOX 248  
CITY HALL STATION

Department of Justice  
Bureau of Investigation  
15 PARK ROW, 14TH FLOOR  
New York, N. Y.

61-23  
19789

November 5th, 1923.

Director,  
Bureau of Investigation,  
Department of Justice,  
Washington, D.C.

Attention: J.E. Hoover, Esq.  
Re: Special Report of Radical  
Activities, Greater New York District,  
Covering Period Ending Nov. 3, 1923.  
N.Y. File No. R-100.

Dear Sir:

I am transmitting herewith in triplicate, Special  
Report of Radical Activities, Greater New York District, Covering  
Period Ending November 3, 1923.

Very truly yours

*Edward J. Brennan*  
EDWARD J. BRENNAN,  
Special Agent in Charge.

(8)(7)(C).  
244,870  
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 7/23/85 BY SP4 Bw/EW

Enclos.

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by Letter 3/21/75  
3/11/75

GENERAL INTELLIGENCE

NOV 5 1923

DIVISION

NOV 12 1923

61-23-259  
NOV 6 1923  
FILE

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1923 Nov. 30, New York [to William J. Burns] Director, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. / Edward J. Brennan, Agent in Charge, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice. — 1 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: Brennan sends Burns an article from the *New York American* about Goldman's new book.

Notes: Broken type; barely legible.

OFFICE OF  
SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

TELEPHONE, BARCLAY 2169  
POST OFFICE BOX 741  
CITY HALL STATION

## Department of Justice

Bureau of Investigation

15 PARK ROW, 14TH FLOOR  
NEW YORK, N. Y.

Nov. 30, 1923.

Director,  
Bureau of Investigation,  
Department of Justice,  
Washington, D. C.

Re: Emma Goldman - anarchist.  
Article appearing in "New York  
American" of November 25, 1923.

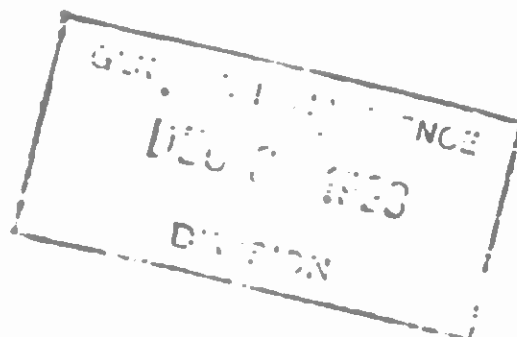
Dear Sir:

I am attaching a page taken from the above mentioned publication concerning the book written by Emma Goldman, which article is self explanatory.

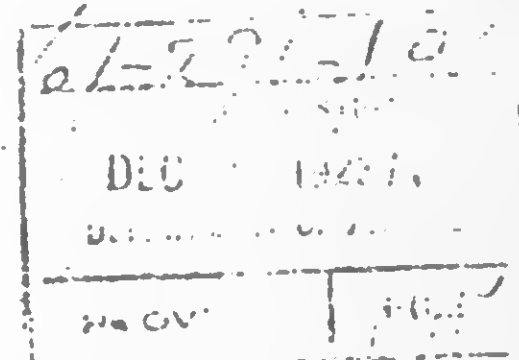
Very truly,

EDWARD J. BRENNAN,  
Special Agent in Charge.

CJB: PM  
R-115-1  
Enc.



RECORDED & INDEXED



DEC 5 1923

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123

# The Emma Goldman Papers

Special Report of Radical Activities, New York, 1923 Dec. 8 [excerpt] / [Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice]. — 3 p. ; 27 x 20 cm.

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: Using extensive quotes, the Bureau of Investigation reports on the publication of Goldman's *My Disillusionment in Russia*.

**SPECIAL REPORT**

**DEC. 8, 1923.**

**SPECIAL REPORT OF RADICAL ACTIVITIES  
IN THE NEW YORK DISTRICT, COVERING PERIOD  
ENDING DEC. 8, 1923.**

**ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 1-10-86 BY SP4 EWP/**

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2. Individuals	5, 6
3. Radical Meetings	7, 8
4. Unemployment	9
5. Negro Activities	10 to 13
7. Russian Affairs Abroad	14 to 19
8. Russian Affairs in the U.S.	20, 21
10. General	22, 24

**RECORDED & INDEXED**

**DEC 15 1923**

Deleted Copy Sent  
by Letter 2/21/75, 3/18/75

*Ed/jms*

**61-23-265**  
BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
DEC 11 1923 A.M.  
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

HOOVER	FILE
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*JGT-WED*

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

Special Report of Radical Activities, New York, 1923 Dec. 8 [excerpt] / [Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice]. — 3 p. ; 27 x 20 cm.

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: Using extensive quotes, the Bureau of Investigation reports on the publication of Goldman's *My Disillusionment in Russia*.

SPECIAL REPORT

DEC. 8, 1923.

## 7. RUSSIAN AFFAIRS ABROAD.

Emma Goldman, who was deported aboard the Transport "Buford", in 1920, has recently written a book on her experiences in an opinion of Russia, which is published by Doubleday, Page & Company, of New York.

In summing up the result of her two years experience under the Bolshevik Government she is quoted as saying:

"Two years of earnest study, investigation and research convinced me that the great benefits brought to the Russian people by Bolshevism exist only on paper, painted in glowing colors to the masses of Europe and America by efficient Bolshevik propaganda. As advertising wizards the Bolsheviks excel anything the world had ever known before. But in reality the Russian people have gained nothing from the Bolshevik experiment.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE



## The Emma Goldman Papers

Special Report of Radical Activities, New York, 1923 Dec. 8 [excerpt] / [Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice]. — 3 p. ; 27 x 20 cm.

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: Using extensive quotes, the Bureau of Investigation reports on the publication of Goldman's *My Disillusionment in Russia*.

SPECIAL REPORT

DEC. 8, 1923.

"The Russian workers soon were stripped of their power and placed under the industrial yoke of the Bolshevik State. Chattel slavery became the lot of the Russian proletariat. Try as I might I could find nowhere any evidence of benefits received either by the workers or the peasants from the Bolshevik regime.

"On the other hand, I did find the revolutionary faith of the people broken, the spirit of solidarity crushed, the meaning of comradeship and mutual helpfulness distorted.

"The argument that destruction and terror are part of revolution I do not dispute. I have never denied that violence is inevitable, nor do I gainsay it now.

"Yet, it is one thing to employ violence in combat, as a means of defence. It is quite another thing to make a principle of terrorism, to institutionalize it, to assign it the most vital place in the social struggle.

"The Bolshevik State - even as the bourgeois industrial master - uses the sword and the gun to keep to keep the people out. In the case of the Bolsheviks this tyranny is masked by a world-stirring slogan; thus they have succeeded in blinding the masses."

7-1100

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

870708051

[Letter] 1923 Dec. 31, Atlantic City, N.J. [to John G. Sargent] Attorney General, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. / Mary N. Hendrickson. — 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm. Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: Hendrickson objects strongly to the United States publication of Goldman's *My Disillusionment in Russia*.

Notes: Broken type; barely legible.



Galen Hall  
Atlantic City, N.J.

December 31, 1923.

61-291  
The Honorable,  
The Attorney General,  
Department of Justice,  
Washington, D. C.

61-291-1000	
BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION	
JAN 2 1924 P.M.	
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE	
MOORE	FILE

Dear Sir:

RECORDED & INDEXED

ack  
4/5/24  
In view of the fact that Emma Goldman was deported from the United States and, I understand, may never return, why is she allowed to go on spreading her doctrines in this country?

Doubleday, Page & Co., Garden City, N. Y., American publishers I suppose, are printing her book *My Disillusionment in Russia*. On the jacket, they print: "It might be run in headlines that EMMA GOLDMAN DENOUNCES BOLSHEVISM. . . . she has written a more sweeping and convincing indictment of Bolshevism than was ever conceived on this side of the water," and there is more of it.

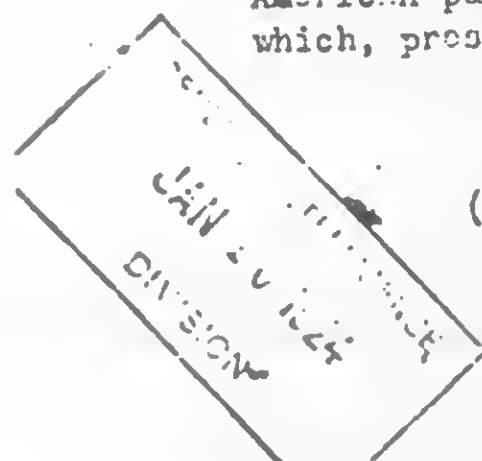
She does condemn the Bolsheviks, but only because she says they are the cause of the failure of the Revolution (always with a capital R); she is and repeatedly says she is, an Anarchist and a revolutionist, sometimes using the term a "conscious Anarchist."

I close as I began: In view of the fact that she was deported from this country, and may not return, why is she allowed to, and why do supposed American publishers, continue to spread the doctrines which, presumably, led to her deportation?

Yours very truly,

(Miss) Mary N. Hendrickson

Galen Hall,  
Atlantic City, N. J.



BEST COPY AVAILABLE

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Weekly Intelligence Report? 1924? (excerpt)] / [Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice]. — 1 p. ; 26 × 20 cm.

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: The Bureau of Investigation reports that an undisclosed individual discounts Goldman's anti-Soviet articles as out of date.

## RUSSIAN ACTIVITIES - - (Continued)

[REDACTED]

7  
outside  
of  
scope  
(b)(7)(c)

A good measure of [REDACTED]

(b)(7)(c)

attack was aimed at EMMA GOLDMAN'S anti-Soviet articles. He told his hearers that her denunciation of the Russian government is really without point, especially since it is two years since she has visited Russia and vast improvement has taken place in the life of the country in that period of time. He also stated that EMMA GOLDMAN was never an advocate of Sovietism, Communism or Socialism, but held rather to the Anarchist philosophy in its derision of all governments.

-----

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report In re:] Neie Gesellschaft, Free Workers Forum, Joseph Spivak – Russian (Jewish) Anarchist Activities, Los Angeles [19]24 Jan. 22 / A.A. Hopkins [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice]. – 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.  
Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.  
Summary: Agent Hopkins reports that the Neie Gesellschaft group is very anti-communist and is busy raising money for Goldman, Berkman, and other anarchist exiles.

INSTRUCTIONS RECEIVED FROM SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE L. C. WHEELER.

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA. JOURNAL TO BE MADE AT ORIGINATING OFFICE ONLY

REPORT MADE AT: <b>LOS ANGELES</b>	DATE WHEN MADE: <b>1/22/24</b>	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE: <b>1/22/24</b>	REPORT MADE BY: <b>A. A. HOPKINS /N</b>
TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE: <b>NEIE GESELSHAFT (New Society) : LOS ANGELES, : RUSSIAN (JEWISH)</b> <b>FREE WORKERS FORUM : CALIFORNIA. : ANARCHIST ACTIVITIES.</b> <b>JOSEPH SPIVAK</b> <b>APPROVED</b> <b>L. C. WHEELER</b>			
FACTS DEVELOPED: <b>At Los Angeles, California.</b> <b>Attention Mr. Hoover-No.2</b> <b>Los Angeles File 180/1234</b>			
Reference is made to report of this Agent under above title, dated January 9, 1924.			
Confidential Informant reports that the "NEIE GESELSHAFT" group are continuing their meetings. They meet at No. 2422 Fairmont Street, Los Angeles, California. This is the group organized by SPIVAK. Very little English is spoken at these meetings, the discussions being in Russian and Hebrew.			
Informant reports that the principal activities of the group appear to be collecting money for EMMA GOLDMAN, ALEXANDER BERKMAN, MOLLIE STIMER, ABE COHEN, and other Russian Jewish Anarchists now in Berlin; in circulating the attacks of Goldman, Berkman, et al, against the Russian Soviet government, and the distribution among the group, of Anarchist literature and pamphlets received from England and Germany. They are violently anti-Communist and the greater part of their efforts are directed against the Communists rather than against the Capitalist Governments".			
CONTINUED ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE <b>OCT 27 1983</b> BY <b>367</b>		DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES FILE NO. <b>61-4852-2</b> BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION JAN 24 1924 DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE ROUTED TO: <b>FILE</b> <b>2444</b>	
REFERENCE:	COPIES OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO: <b>Washington-3 San Francisco-1 New York-1 Seattle-1 File-1</b>		

# The Emma Goldman Papers

Weekly Intelligence Report, week ending Feb. 2, 1924, Seattle, Wash. [excerpt] / H.L. Scott, Agent in Charge [Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].— 4 p.; 28 x 20 cm.

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: Scott quotes extensively from an article in the *Russian Gazette* regarding Goldman's anti-Bolshevik campaign and her new book, *My Disillusionment in Russia*.

ORIGINAL

FEB 14 1924

WEEKLY INTELLIGENCE REPORT

SEATTLE

67-30-171	
BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION	
FEB. 9 1924 A.M.	
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE	
HOOVER	FILE

For the week ending  
February 2, 1924

Report Made by (b)(7)(C)  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

249,870  
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 6/11/85 BY SP4 Ely/aw

	PAGE
[REDACTED]	1-3
[REDACTED]	3-4
[REDACTED]	5-7
[REDACTED]	7-8
[REDACTED]	8-9
[REDACTED]	9-10
[REDACTED]	10-11
[REDACTED]	12

(b)  
(7)  
(d)  
outside  
of  
scope

## RUSSIAN ACTIVITIES

Emma Goldman on the Red Russia

[REDACTED]	13-15
[REDACTED]	15-18
[REDACTED]	19-20

Copies to:  
San Francisco  
Los Angeles

H. L. SCOTT  
Agent in Charge

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

890414039

Weekly Intelligence Report, week ending Feb. 2, 1924, Seattle, Wash. [excerpt] / H.L. Scott, Agent in Charge [Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].— 4 p. ; 28 x 20 cm.

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: Scott quotes extensively from an article in the *Russian Gazette* regarding Goldman's anti-Bolshevik campaign and her new book, *My Disillusionment in Russia*.

## RUSSIAN ACTIVITIES

### Emma Goldman on the Red Russia

7

The following article is quoted from the "Russian Gazette" from its January 26, 1924 issue, regarding EMMA GOLDMAN:

"You remember the name of Emma Goldman, a radical woman that preached from year to year the ideals of communism in New York and other cities of America, and many say, was a real apostle of the social revolution, converting to her religion many thousands thru her sincerity and wonderful oratory.

"In 1918 she was deported, with many other radicals, from the United States to Russia on a special steamboat. Emma was received at Petrograd by bolsheviki as a great ambassador of the communists living in America; she was treated by the bolshevik leaders as a comrade, as an equal. She could go anywhere she liked, there were no secrets hidden from her. Besides, she was born in Russia, she knew perfect Russian language, institutions, history, traditions. She could see and hear in the new Russia, and she could understand, analyze and appreciate all which she saw and heard much better than other investigators of Russia, reverend and honorable ones, whose investigations we read and hear so often. What could they see and hear, coming to Russia for a few weeks, remaining in every town one and two days and seeing only that which bolsheviki liked to show them? They, speaking only English, completely ignorant about history, life, people of Russia, they could get no more information on Russia than a pet dog accompanying her mistress in her visit to Paris would learn on that world's city.

"Emma Goldman remained in bolshevik Russia a few years and after her 'ghastly experiences', left Russia completely sick of what she saw there and disillusioned in her great religion. Recently she printed a book on the real bolshevism which she called, 'My Disillusionment in Russia'. This book has all kinds of data, statistics, facts and pictures. Taking into consideration

## The Emma Goldman Papers

Weekly Intelligence Report, week ending Feb. 2, 1924, Seattle, Wash. [excerpt] / H.L. Scott, Agent in Charge [Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].— 4 p.; 28 x 20 cm.

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: Scott quotes extensively from an article in the *Russian Gazette* regarding Goldman's anti-Bolshevik campaign and her new book, *My Disillusionment in Russia*.

### RUSSIAN ACTIVITIES - - (Continued)

"Who is the author, we should agree that her book has a special value and importance and must be recommended and read by every social student, by every friend of Russia and by every popular parlor and soap box Bolshevik.

"Some of Emma Goldman's remarks in her book are -  
'The rulers of Russia constituted a close corporation bolstered up by prosecution, summary arrests and sudden death. I had expected terrorism, but the bolshevik brand of violence was too much.

"The masters have everything, white bread, clothing, even chocolate, while we have nothing. Communism lies and deception. The soldiers watch the workmen as if they were galley slaves. I suggested that the workers might protest. 'To whom?' one workmen answered, 'We would be called speculators and counter revolutionists and we'd be arrested.'

"The well kept schools were for show, for the foreign missions and delegates who were visiting Russia. The number of officials and employees in the schools was nothing less than criminal.

"In one school, for instance, there were 138 of them to 125 children. In another, 40 to 25 children. All these parasites were taking the bread from the very mouths of the unfortunate children. The system of favoritism and graft prevailed in the schools as anywhere."

"In her book she calls the present Russia 'Dante's Inferno'. She speaks with the great despise of the travelling salesmen of the revolution in the United States, who lecture, preach and write about the great, free and prosperous soviet republics; she scorns these hot and cold, unscrupulous agents that lie without blushing and say nothing of millions and millions of Russians, starved and executed by the hands of Lenine and his comrades. This propaganda threatens this country, is full of dangers for the democracy. Not longer than today, a very prominent American business man dared

# The Emma Goldman Papers

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Summary: Scott quotes extensively from an article in the *Russian Gazette* regarding Goldman's anti-Bolshevik campaign and her new book, *My Disillusionment in Russia*.

## RUSSIAN ACTIVITIES - -(Continued)

"compare the honest, brave and loveable Lincoln, this great patriot, hero and martyr, with unspeakable Lenine, this crazy, sick, old man, this typical quack, who was a political tool in the hands of Kaiser, during the world war, and later in the hands of the profiteers, international communists and different enemies of Russia and the real Russian nation.

[REDACTED]

(b)  
(7)  
(c)  
outside  
of  
scope

# The Emma Goldman Papers

MS0712412

[Letter] 1924 Feb. 21 [New York to] Postmaster [Post Office Department], New York / [Harry Weinberger]. — 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Yale University Library. Institutional Location: Harry Weinberger Papers, Department of Manuscripts and Archives.

Summary: Weinberger tries to trace the delivery of *My Disillusionment in Russia*, which Goldman sent from Berlin.

Notes: Broken type; light copy; portions illegible.

February 21, 1924

Postmaster  
Madison Square Branch  
New York City

Dear Sir:

I am the attorney for Emma Goldman, author of "My Disillusionment in Russia", the manuscript of which was sent in two installments to Clinton T. Brainerd, c/o McClure Newspaper Syndicate, 375 Fourth Avenue.

This letter is written for the purpose of ascertaining all the particulars of delivery to Mr. Brainerd, the date of delivery, to whom it was delivered, etc. The packages were sent registered mail from Berlin, Germany, on December 8, 1922, the receipts bearing printed numbers 038 and 032, and written numbers 7649 and 7650, respectively.

Any information that you can give in reference to the receipt of this manuscript will be greatly appreciated.

Very truly yours

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

880311000

Lozovsky Lets the Cat out of the Bag / Emma Goldman.— Berlin, 1924 March [government transcript]. — 5 p. ; 35 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Goldman demonstrates that the Red Trade Union International is a tool of the Soviet state, quoting A. Lozovsky, the head of the Union. She exhorts the workers to reject such control.

Notes: Broken type; light copy; barely legible. Enclosed with 810409108 and 810409104. For copy, see 880615403.

COPY

Lozovsky Lets the Cat out of the Bag.

During the first Congress of the Red Trade Union International, A. Lozovsky, chief of that organization and his side used every device to impress the foreign delegates, especially the French delegation that the III International had no intention whatsoever to control the Red Trade Union International. Far from making it an adjunct, the Comintern welcomes the Profintern as an autonomous sister organization and will work with it harmoniously side by side.

We who lived at the time in Russia and were in close touch with the preparatory work for the forthcoming trade union congress know better. We know that the new born babe was to serve for blood transfusion into the anaemic body of the Comintern composed of a handful of intellectuals. In Russian Communist circles no secret was made of the intent and purpose to which the Comintern destined the Red Labor International. But it was necessary to make the foreign delegates, especially the French-Anarcho-Syndicalists, always opposed to any political sponsorship of their organization, believe that the Comintern was free from such designs, at least, until they will have been lured into the R.T.U.I.

I well remember my talk with the Russian-American D. Leonide, Reinstein, apropos of the relation between the Comintern and Profintern. For many years he had lived and had been active in the States as a rabid opponent of the Industrial Workers of the World and the Anarcho-Syndicalists. In 1917 Reinstein went to Russia and there was constantly paraded as the "Delegate of the American Proletariat". That was during  
the

COPY  
from  
THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES  
Record Group No. 59

General Records of the Department of State  
Office of the Counselor, File No. 861.0-668

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135



# The Emma Goldman Papers

880311000

Lozovsky Lets the Cat out of the Bag / Emma Goldman. — Berlin, 1924 March [government transcript]. — 5 p. ; 35 x 22 cm.

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-2-

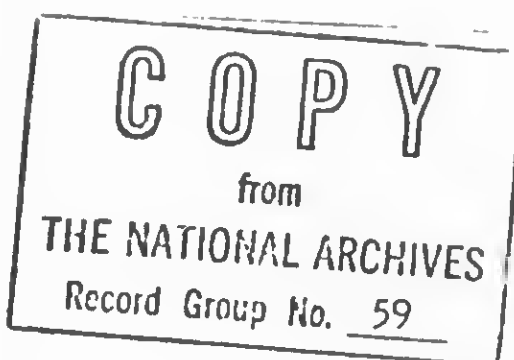
the blockade when it was very hard to enter Russia and other self-appointed American delegates had not yet found out how profitable it is to serve Moscow. Poor old Reinstein, what must he be doing now with so much American competition.

In 1921 Reinstein was head of the Anglo-American Department of the preparatory work for the Labour Congress. In speaking of it Reinstein said that it was really his suggestion which induced the Comintern in 1920 to take up the initiative of calling into life a new trade union International. It was indispensable to the Comintern if it is not to remain a mere political debating club, composed largely of Russians or such foreign Communists who had lived in Russia since 1917 and had been cut off from the rest of the world. "An organised workmen's body of International scope" Reinstein said, "would give new, vigorous blood to the III International, thus making it a world power." The fate and function of the R.T.U.I. had been decided upon and carefully mapped out long before its birth.

It must be said, the Profintern does justice to its creators. It is not only in their image, it is the reflex of all the dreams and schemes of the Comintern. And those dreams are the dominion over the workers and their subjection to the political state now known as "Leninism". And the Profintern is the medium which is to help secure that world dominion.

The delegates at the first Red Labour congress easily fell into the trap laid for them by Moscow. Some owing to their naive fate that the III International actually symbolised the Russian Revolution. Others, and they were in the majority, were shrewd enough to see the trick but decided it was wiser to serve the Moscow masters, than their organisations whom they had come

to



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Office of the Counselor, File No. 861.0-668

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

Lozovsky Lets the Cat out of the Bag / Emma Goldman.— Berlin, 1924 March [government transcript]. — 5 p. ; 35 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Goldman demonstrates that the Red Trade Union International is a tool of the Soviet state, quoting A. Lozovsky, the head of the Union. She exhorts the workers to reject such control.

Notes: Broken type; light copy; barely legible. Enclosed with 810409108 and 810409104. For copy, see 880615403.

-3-

to represent against an attempt to hitch the Red Labour International to the political cart. Besides all these, there were earnest men in the delegation who refused to be cajoled, mesmerized, or bribed, but they had very little chance to make themselves felt in the convention packed by fake delegates from such ultra industrial centers as Palestine, for instance, Bokhara, or Adjerbedzhan.

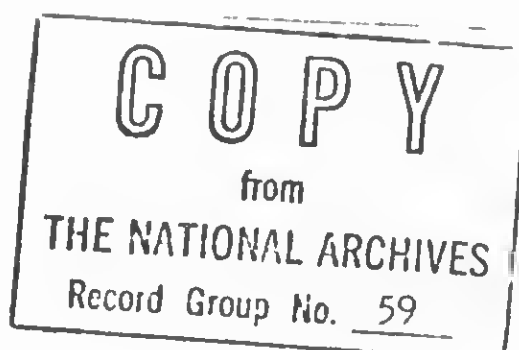
Since then three years have passed. Again and again the Red Labor International has demonstrated who is master in its house and whose direction it must follow, directions which have brought chaos, confusion and distrust in the ranks of the International proletarian. Still, there are credulous people who hold tenaciously to the superstition that the Comintern is only the kind brother of the R.T.U.I. guiding and protecting his yet frail sister against her enemies. It may, therefore, be of interest to them to learn from the most authoritative Communist source and the head of the Profintern, A. Lozovsky, just what part the Comintern has already played and will play in the life of its "sister" organization.

The "PRAVDA" dedicated to the fifth anniversary of the III International contains an article by Lozovsky an exaltant tribute to the birthday child for its share and work of the Profintern. He writes among other things:

" In throwing out the slogan that the existing labour unions must be borned from within instead of forming new small revolutionary organizations, the Comintern has saved the entire trade union movement from complete ruin and extinction.....

The III International deserves the great credit not only for being the initiator of the Profintern but also for being the

Director



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## The Emma Goldman Papers

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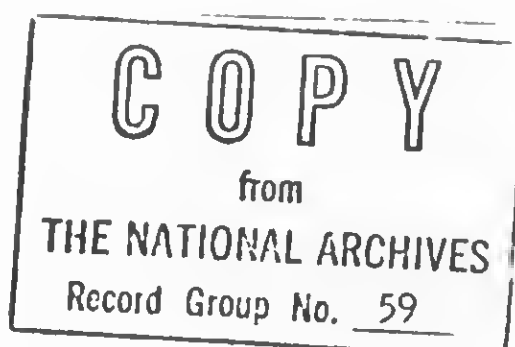
-1-

Director of its course and its activities.....

It is only necessary to examine carefully the work done by the Profintern since its inception, the resolutions and decisions of the Central Soviet and its Politbureau to realize at once how interwoven the two Internationals are. In fact, all the resolutions were conceived by the Comintern in line with its aims and methods..... Just as the Profintern could not have been born without its parent who gave it life, so too, it could not continue to exist and function without the directing force behind it, namely, the III International and the Communist Party in every country..... It is precisely this close inter-relation of political concepts and ideas between the two organizations which calls forth the attacks of the Anarchists upon the Comintern..... But we have no time to listen to reformist and Anarchist babblers. The Comintern is too busy creating a united(?) revolutionary fist against the reformist block of Amsterdam and the II International.

The Comintern has never considered the labour movement a prohibited field which communists may enter only by giving up their programs and methods..... The Reformists and Anarchists constantly demand that of us. But the Comintern can and will never comply with such a proposition. The aim of our party is to capture the majority of the working class and to organize the revolution for which the trade unions are indispensable. But the latter are not considered by the Comintern as an end, they are merely the means to the end, the end being the overthrow of Capitalism and the establishment of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. It is for this very reason that the Comintern

must



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## The Emma Goldman Papers

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-5-

must wage war on the slogan of the French Anarcho-Syndicalists, the slogan, "All Power to the Syndicalists."....."

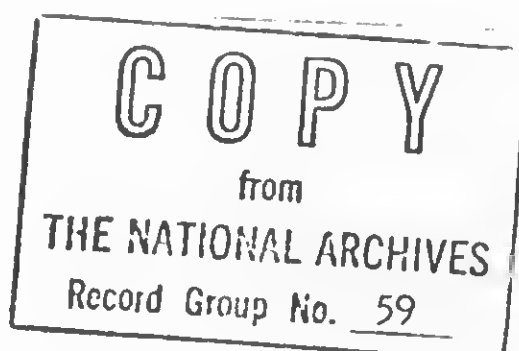
Since 1921 Lozovsky has learned to tell the truth sometimes. He has let the cat out of the Communist bag. In other words he openly declares that the Comintern never entertained the slightest idea of recognizing the aims and activities of the Profintern as anything separate and distinct from its own aims, to which everything else must be subordinated. And that aim is, as Lozovsky himself emphasises, the capture of political power and the establishment of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

Some day the workers are sure to wake up to the full meaning of this dictatorship. They will then see that they have been serving as marionettes on the Communist stage which is rehearsing the repetition of the Russian drama, the drama that has crushed the revolution, has stifled thought and actions of the masses, created a system of political persecution hardly known in the world before - the tragedy of Capitalism reinstated and triumphant in Russia once more.

One would have to despair utterly in the possibilities of the masses if one did not believe fervently that that awakening will come.

Emma Goldman.

BERLIN, March, 1924.



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# The Emma Goldman Papers

Lozovsky Lets the Cat out of the Bag / Emma Goldman.— Berlin, 1924 March [government transcript].— 3 p.; 17 x 27 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the United States Library of Congress.

Institutional Location: Paul Avrich Papers.

Notes: Three shots of five pages. Enclosed with 880615431. Copy of 880311000.

COPY

Lozovsky Lets the Cat out of the Bag.

During the first Congress of the Red Trade Union International, A. Lozovsky, chief of that organization and his aide used every device to impress the foreign delegates, especially the French delegation that the III International had no intention whatsoever to control the Red Trade Union International. Far from asking it to adjourn, the Comintern welcomed the Profintern as an autonomous sister organization and will work with it harmoniously side by side.

He who lived at the time in Russia and was in close touch with the preparatory work for the forthcoming trade union congress know better. We know that the new born babe was to serve for blood transfusion into the emaciated body of the Comintern composed of a handful of intellectuals. In Russian Communist circles no secret was made of the intent and purpose to which the Comintern destined the Red Labor International. But it was necessary to make the foreign delegates, especially the French-Anarcho-Syndicalists, always opposed to any political sponsorship of their organization, believe that the Comintern was free from such designs, at least, until they will have been lured into the R.T.U.I.

I well remember my talk with the Russian-American R. Locaitz, Reigstele, apropos of the relation between the Comintern and Profintern. For many years he had lived and had been active in the States as a rabid opponent of the Industrial Workers of the World and the Anarcho-Syndicalists. In 1917 Bernstein went to Russia and there was constantly paraded as the "Mole of the American Proletariat". That was during the

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Notes: Three shots of five pages. Enclosed with 880615431. Copy of 880311000.

18792

the blockade when it was very hard to enter Russia and other self-appointed American delegates and yet get paid out how profitable it is to serve Moscow. Your old Bolshevik, what must he be doing now with so much American competition.

In 1921 Belaieff was head of the Anglo-American Department of the preparatory work for the Labour Congress. In speaking of it Belaieff said that it was really his suggestion which induced the Comintern in 1920 to take up the initiative of calling into life a new trade union International. It was indispensable to the Comintern if it is not to remain a mere political debating club, composed largely of Russians or such foreign Communists who had lived in Russia since 1917 and had been cut off from the rest of the world. "An organized workmen's body of International scope" Belaieff said, "would give new, vigorous blood to the III International, thus making it a world power." The fate and function of the R.T.U.I. had been decided upon and carefully mapped out long before its birth.

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Page 2

to represent against an attempt to hitch the Red Labour International to the political cart. Besides all these, there were earnest men in the delegation who refused to be misled, unmarried, or better, but they had very little chance to make themselves felt in the convention packed by false delegates from such ultra industrial centers as Palestine, for instance, Baku, or Azerbaijan.

Since then three years have passed. Again and again the Red Labour International has demonstrated who is master in its house and whose direction it best follows, directions which have spread chaos, confusion and distrust in the ranks of the International proletarian. Still, there are credulous people who hold tenaciously to the superstition that the Comintern is only the kind brother of the R.T.U.I. guide; and protesting his yet frail sister against her enemies. It may, therefore, be of interest to them to learn from the most authoritative Comintern source and the head of the Profintern, A. Lozovsky, just what part the Comintern has already played and will play in the life of its "elder" organization.

The "PRAVDA" dedicated to the fifth anniversary of the III International contains an article by Lozovsky an excellent tribute to the birthday child for its share and work of the Profintern. He writes among other things:

"In throwing out the slogan that the existing labour unions were to be born from within instead of foreign new small revolutionary organizations, the Comintern has saved the entire trade union movement from complete ruin and extinction...."

The III International deserves the credit not only for the title of the Profintern but also for being the

director

Page 3

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Lozovsky Lets the Cat out of the Bag / Emma Goldman.— Berlin, 1924 March  
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It is only necessary to glance carefully at the work done by the Proletariat since its inception, the resolutions and decisions of the Central Soviet and its Politbureau to realize at once how interwoven the two Internationals are. In fact, all the resolutions were conceived by the Comintern in line with its aims and methods..... Just as the Proletariat could not have been born without its parent who gave it life, so too, it could not continue to exist and function without the directing force behind it, namely, the III International and the Communist Party in every country..... It is precisely this close inter-relationship of political concepts and ideas between the two organizations which calls forth the attacks of the Anarchists upon the Comintern..... But we have no time to listen to reformist and Anarchist babbles. The Comintern is too busy creating a united(?) revolutionary line against the reformist block of Anarchism and the II International.

The Comintern has never considered the labour movement a prohibited field which communists may enter only by riving up their programme and methods..... The Reformists and Anarchists constantly demand that of us. But the Comintern can and will never comply with such a proposition. The aim of our party is to capture the majority of the working class and to organize the revolution for which the trade unions are indispensable. But the latter are not considered by the Comintern as an end, they are merely the means to the end, the end being the overthrow of Capitalism and the establishment of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. It is for this very reason that the Comintern

—END—

Page 4

must wipe out the slogan of the French Anarcho-Syndicalists, the slogan, "All Power to the Syndicates....."

Since 1917 Lozovsky has fought to kill the truth some times. He has let the cat out of the Communist bag. In other words he openly declares that the Comintern never entertained the slightest idea of recognizing the aims and activities of the Proletariat as anything separate and distinct from its own aims, to which everything else must be subordinated. And that aim is, as Lozovsky himself emphasizes, the capture of political power and the establishment of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

Some day the workers are sure to wake up to the full meaning of this dictatorship. They will then see that they have been serving as executioners on the Communist stage which is rehearsing the repetition of the Russian drama, the drama that has crowned the revolution, has stifled thought and actions of the masses, created a system of political persecution hardly known in the world before — the tragedy of Stalinism repeated and triumphant in Russia once more.

One would have to despair utterly to the possibilities of the masses if one did not believe fervently that that awakening will come.

Emma Goldman.

BERLIN, March, 1924.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

810409107

[Memorandum, 1924] April? 1? [Washington, D.C. to Norman] Armour [Office of the Undersecretary, Department of State, Washington, D.C.] / E[van] E. Y[oung, Department of State]. — 1 p. ; 22 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Young believes that Goldman's article is very good.

Notes: For related documents, see 810409106, 810409108, and 880311000.

Wm. Armour.  
This is very  
good. E.E.Y.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

810409108

[Letter] 1924 April 4, London [to] Norman Armour [Office of the Undersecretary]  
Department of State, Washington [D.C.] / B[oyston] A. B[eal] American Embassy  
[Department of State]. — 1 p. ; 31 x 22 cm.  
Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.  
Summary: Beal sends Armour a copy of Goldman's article, "Lozovsky Lets the Cat out of the Bag,"  
criticizing the subjugation of the Red Trade Union International to the Soviet state.  
Notes: Light copy; barely legible. For enclosure, see 880311000. For reply, see 810409105. For related  
documents, see 810409104 through 810409107.

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from  
**THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES**  
Record Group No. 59

General Records of the Department of State  
Office of the Counselor, File No. 861.0-668



EMBASSY OF THE  
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA  
LONDON, April 4, 1924.

RETURN TO U.S.  
FILE  
861.0-668

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
No. 3370.

OFFICE OF  
EASTERN AFFAIRS.  
4 APR 11 1924  
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

UNDER SECRETARY  
APR 12 1924  
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Dear Norman:

Our friends have sent me an article by EMMA GOLDMAN,  
which they think may eventually find its way into some  
anarchist publication in the United States. They feel  
that her arguments are sound.

I am attaching the article to this letter.

Yours ever,

*B. C. J.*

Norman Armour, Esq.,

&c., &c., &c.,

Department of State,

Washington.

Enclosure.

Lozovsky Lets the Cat out of the Bag, by E. Goldman, dated  
March, 1924.

*To J. J.  
Ack to Beal  
4-16-24  
Law*

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Memorandum, 1924] April 12 [Washington, D.C. to] E[van] E. [Young, Department of State, Washington, D.C.?] / N[orman] A[rmour, Office of] the Undersecretary, Department of State. — 1 p. ; 23 × 21 cm.

*Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.*

**Summary:** Armour thinks Goldman's article is interesting.

**Notes:** Light copy. For article mentioned, see 880311000. For related documents, see 810409104, 810409105, 810409107, and 810409108.

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**THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES**  
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DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
THE UNDERSECRETARY

EE Apr 12  
An interesting  
article  
AA

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1924 April 16 [Washington, D.C. to] William J. Burns, Director, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. / Norman Armour [Office of the Undersecretary, Department of State].— 1 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.

*Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.*

**Summary:** Armour sends Burns a copy of an article by Goldman.

**Notes:** For enclosure, see 880311000. Copy of 880615431.

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**THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES**  
Record Group No. 59

General Records of the Department of State  
Office of the Counselor, File No. 861.0-668

RETURN TO WH  
FILE

861.0-668

April 16, 1924.

Dear Mr. Burns:

As of possible interest, I am enclosing herewith a copy of an article by Emma Goldman received from a reliable source in London.

I understand that British officials feel that this article may eventually find its way into some anarchist publication in the United States. Furthermore, they are inclined to feel that her arguments are sound.

Very truly yours,

~~Norman~~ Armour.

William J. Burns, Esquire,  
Director, Bureau of Investigation,  
Department of Justice,  
Washington, D. C.

Enclosure.

U-2

NA/LAE

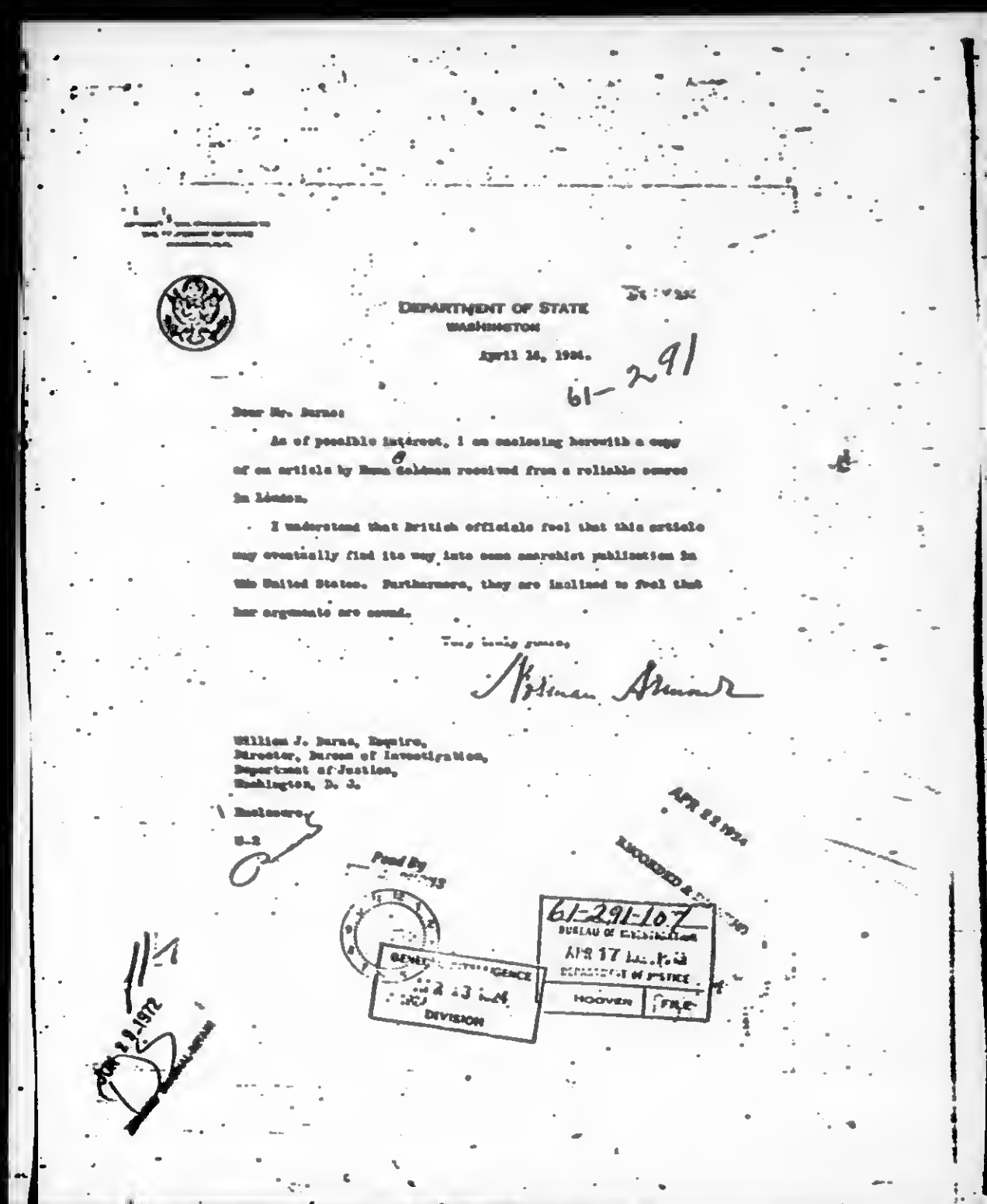
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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1924 April 16, Washington [D.C. to] William J. Burns, Director, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. / Norman Armour [Office of the Undersecretary] Department of State. — 1 p.; 16 × 13 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the United States Library of Congress.  
Institutional Location: Paul Avrich Papers.

Notes: For enclosure, see 880615403. For copy, see 810409104.



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# The Emma Goldman Papers

810409105

[Letter] 1924 April 16 [Washington, D.C. to] Boylston A. Beal, American Embassy [Department of State], London / Norman Armour [Office of the Undersecretary, Department of State]. — 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

*Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.*

**Summary:** Armour is pleased to see that Goldman is attacking Soviet Russia.

**Notes:** Reply to 810409108. For reply, see 810409112. For article mentioned, see 880311000.

**COPY**  
from  
**THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES**  
Record Group No. 59

General Records of the Department of State  
Office of the Counselor, File No. 861.0-668

RETURN TO U-H  
FILE  
861.0-668

April 16, 1924.

Dear Boylston:

We were all very much interested in reading the article by Emma Goldman, transmitted under cover of your confidential letter No. 3070 of April 4, last.

In this connection, have you seen Emma Goldman's recent book published by Doubleday, Page & Co., of New York, entitled "My Disillusionment in Russia"? In case your friends are not in possession of a copy, I should be glad to procure one and send it over to you. It is certainly a cause for some satisfaction to see such an old war horse as Emma condemn the failure of the Great Experiment.

Yours as ever,

Norman Armour.

Boylston A. Beal, Esquire,  
etd., etc., etc.,  
American Embassy,  
London.

U-2

EA/IAK

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

148

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1924 April 26, New York [to William J. Burns] Director, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. / Edward J. Brennan, Agent in Charge, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice. — 1 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: Brennan forwards the Special Report of Radical Activities for the New York area.

Notes: For enclosure, see 890414065.

OFFICE OF  
SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

TELEPHONE, BARCLAY 8160  
POST OFFICE BOX 241  
CITY HALL STATION

## Department of Justice

Bureau of Investigation

15 PARK ROW, 14TH FLOOR  
NEW YORK, N. Y.

April 26th, 1924.

Director,  
Bureau of Investigation,  
Department of Justice,  
Washington, D.C.

Attention: J.E. Hoover Esq.,  
Re: Special Report of Radical Activities  
in the New York District Covering Period  
Week Ending April 26, 1924. N.Y. File  
No. R-100.

Dear Sir:

I am transmitting herewith in triplicate Special Report of  
Radical Activities in the New York District Covering Period Week Ending  
April 26, 1924.

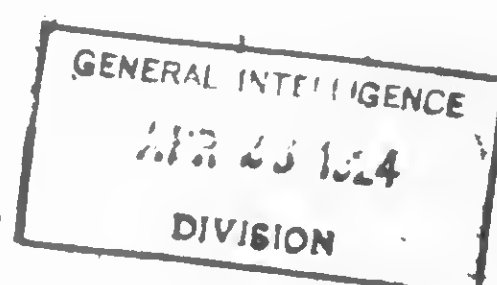
Very truly yours,

*Edward J. Brennan*  
EDWARD J. BRENNAN  
Special Agent in Charge.

249,870  
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 7-9-85 BY SP4 E/W/ew

Enclos. 3

(u)(7)(c)



RECORDED & INDEXED

61-23-285	
BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION	
APR 28 1924 A.M.	
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE	
HOOVER	FILE

MAY 2 1924

# The Emma Goldman Papers

Special Report [of Radical Activities, New York] 1924 April 26 [excerpt] / [Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice]. — 1 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: The Bureau of Investigation reports that Goldman gave a strongly anti-Bolshevik speech to five thousand workers in Berlin.

Notes: Enclosed with 890414064.

SPECIAL REPORT

APRIL 26, 1924.

(b)(7)(c)

## 2. INDIVIDUALS

EMMA GOLDMAN

X

The above individual was reported by cable to have addressed a mass meeting at Berlin on the 24th instant at which 5,000 workers were said to have been present. The report states that she flayed the Soviet Government for being "capitalists in workers' clothing and restraining free speech through the terror of the worst and darkest days of the Czarist regime."

The purpose of the meeting is said to have been to organize workers, anarchists and revolutionists of the world to fight capitalism and Bolshevism. According to the report, Berlin is designated as headquarters of the new anarchist organization.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

7  
(b)(7)(c)

outside of

A



# The Emma Goldman Papers

810409112

[Letter] 1924 May 3, London [to] Norman Armour [Office of the Undersecretary]  
Department of State, Washington [D.C.] / B[oyston] A. B[eal] American Embassy  
[Department of State]. — 1 p. ; 31 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Beal asks Armour to send him Goldman's *My Disillusionment in Russia* as he offered.  
Notes: Reply to 810409105.

**COPY**  
from  
THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES  
Record Group No. 59

General Records of the Department of State  
Office of the Counselor, File No. 861.0-668



No. 3098  
CONFIDENTIAL.

EMBASSY OF THE  
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA  
LONDON, May 3, 1924.

RETURN TO  
FILE

861.0-668



Dear Norman:

In your letter of April 16, 1924, you very  
kindly offered to send our friends a copy of EMMA  
GOLDMAN's recent book, entitled MY DISILLUSIONMENT  
IN RUSSIA. I have communicated your offer to them  
and they tell me they will be delighted to have a  
copy of this book.

Yours ever,

B. A. B.

Norman Armour, Esq.,

&c., &c., &c.,

Department of State,

Washington.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

151

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1924 May 15 [Washington, D.C. to] J. E[dgar] Hoover, Acting Director, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. / A[rthur] B[liss] L[ane, Department of State].— 1 p.; 28 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Lane asks Hoover for a copy of Goldman's *My Disillusionment in Russia*.

Notes: For reply, see 810409110. Copy of 880615400.

**COPY**  
from  
THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES  
Record Group No. 59

General Records of the Department of State  
Office of the Counselor, File No. 861.0-668

RETURN TO U-H  
FILE  
861.0-668

May 15, 1924.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

I am very anxious to send a copy of Emma Goldman's book "My Disillusionment in Russia", to London where I believe it will be of great interest to one of our sources of information.

Have you an available copy which you could let me have for this purpose? If so, I would greatly appreciate your sending it to me.

Very truly yours,

*ADS*

J. E. Hoover, Esquire,  
Acting Director, Bureau of Investigation,  
Department of Justice,  
Washington, D. C.

U-2

ABL/LAW

*ADS*

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1924 May 15, Washington [D.C. to] J. E[dgar] Hoover, Acting Director, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. / Arthur Bliss Lane, Department of State. — 1 p. ; 16 × 13 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the United States Library of Congress.

Institutional Location: Paul Avrich Papers.

Notes: For copy, see 810409111.

61-291

DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
WASHINGTON  
May 15, 1924.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

I am very anxious to send a copy of Emma Goldman's book  
"My Disillusionment in Russia", to London where I believe it  
will be of great interest to one of our sources of information.

Have you an available copy which you could let me have  
for this purpose? If so, I would greatly appreciate your  
sending it to me.

Very truly yours,  
*Arthur Bliss Lane*

J. E. Hoover, Esquire,  
Acting Director, Bureau of Investigation,  
Department of Justice,  
Washington, D. C.

U-2

ask  
5/22/24

GENERAL INTELLIGENCE  
DIVISION  
MAY 24 1924

61-291-108  
BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
MAY 16 1924 A.M.  
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
HOOVER FILE

MAY 27 1924

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1924 May 23, Washington, D.C. [to] Arthur Bliss Lane, Department of State, Washington, D.C. / J. Edgar Hoover, Acting Director, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice. — 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Hoover does not have a copy of Goldman's *My Disillusionment in Russia* to send Lane.

Notes: Reply to 810409111.

**COPY**  
from  
THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES  
Record Group No. 59

General Records of the Department of State  
Office of the Counselor, File No. 861.O-668

WM. J. DUNN  
DIRECTOR



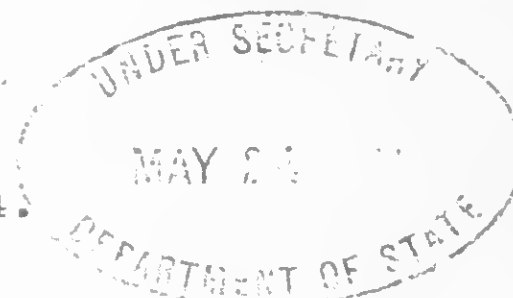
TFB:JWM  
61-291

Department of Justice  
Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D.C.

May 23, 1924.

RETURN TO U-H  
FILE

861.O-668



Mr. Arthur Bliss Lane,  
Department of State,  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir:

Receipt is acknowledged of your letter of the 15th instant, referring to Emma Goldman's book "MY DISILLUSIONMENT IN RUSSIA".

*file*

I do not have a copy of this book, but should copies be secured in any manner, in the future, I will be very glad to forward one to you.

Very truly yours,

*J. E. Hoover.*  
Acting Director.

*Copy in Library of Dept  
13  
11  
26*

**Summary:** Brennan forwards the Special Report of Radical Activities for the New York area.  
**Notes:** For enclosure, see 890414013.

Flw. J. Brennan  
Spec. Agt. in Chgo.

Phone: Barolay 8160  
P.O. Box #241.  
City Hall Station  
New York City

Department of Justice,  
Bureau of Investigation.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

15 Park Row, New York City.

DATE 2/23/84 BY 8269 lwd/jpm  
comp 235,055

July 26th, 1924.

11/12/64 SD. L. BIA/PSK  
23542- Director.

Director,  
Bureau of Investigation,  
Department of Justice,  
Washington, D.C.


Re: Special Report of Radical  
Activities - In Greater New  
York District For Period  
Week Ending July 26th, 1924.  
N.Y. File No. R-100

Dear Sirs:

I am transmitting herewith in triplicate

Special Report of Radical Activities in the Greater New  
York District for Period Week Ending July 26th, 1924. . .

~~Very truly yours,~~

Very truly yours,  
  
EDWARD J. BRENNAN  
SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE.

Encl.

DELETED COPY SENT [REDACTED]  
BY LETTER 4-27-76  
PER FOIA REQUEST 10

GENERAL INTELLIGENCE  
JUL 31 1964  
DIVISION

RECORDED & INDEXED

AUG 4 - 1924

61-23-247  
BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
JUL 29 1924 A.M.  
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
HOOVER  
FILE

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

Special Report of Radical Activities, week ending July 26, 1924, New York [excerpt] /  
Joseph G. Tucker [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].—  
2 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: Agent Tucker reports that Goldman has received permission to live in England.

Notes: Enclosed with 890414012.

JOSEPH G. TUCKER

SPECIAL REPORT

JULY 26 1924

SPECIAL REPORT OF RADICAL ACTIVITIES  
IN THE GREATER NEW YORK DISTRICT FOR PERIOD  
WEEK ENDING JULY 26, 1924.

INDEX

1. Radical Organizations - - - - -	1 - 2
2. Individuals - - - - -	3
3. Radical Meetings - - - - -	4
4. Unemployment - - - - -	5
5. Negro Activities - - - - -	6 - 9
6. Japanese Activities - - - - -	10 - 11
7. Russian Affairs Abroad - - - - -	12 - 18
10. General - - - - -	19

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 7/23/84 BY 8263 uwh/lr/pc  
comp 235,055

10/12/84 SP-6014/PC  
25842

(4)(7)(c)

Deleted Copy Sent  
by Letter 2/1/81

RECORDED & INDEXED

AUG 4 1924

61-23-297	
BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION	
JUL 29 1924 A.M.	
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE	
HOOVER	FILE

(4)(7)(c)

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

Special Report of Radical Activities, week ending July 26, 1924, New York [excerpt] / Joseph G. Tucker [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].— 2 p.; 27 × 21 cm.

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: Agent Tucker reports that Goldman has received permission to live in England.

Notes: Enclosed with 890414012.

SPECIAL REPORT

JULY 26TH, 1924.

(b)(7)(c)

## 2. INDIVIDUALS

### EMMA GOLDMAN

According to a London dispatch to the New York Daily News, EMMA GOLDMAN, the anarchist, who was deported from this country in December, 1919, on the transport "Buford", has obtained permission from the British Home Office to reside in England.

\*\*\*\*\*

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

(b)(7)(c)  
outside  
of  
scope)

\*\*\*\*\*

7-1182

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

890414119

[Agent Report In] re: Union of Russian Anarchists, New York, 1924 Sept. 6 / [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice]. — 2 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.  
Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: An undisclosed agent reports that Goldman plans to publish a radical magazine in London.  
Notes: Dark copy; barely legible.

OK J.P.S.

N.Y. File No. 61-6

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT: **New York, N.Y.** JOURNAL TO BE MADE AT ORIGINATING OFFICE ONLY

REPORT MADE AT: <b>New York, N.Y.</b>	DATE WHEN MADE: <b>Sept. 6, 1924</b>	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE: <b>8/31-9/3/24</b>	REPORT MADE BY: [REDACTED]
--	---	--	-------------------------------

TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE:  
**RE: UNION OF RUSSIAN ANARCHISTS;** **Alleged Anarchist Activities.**

FACTS DEVELOPED:  
**SYNOPSIS OF FACTS**

b7d  
b2

61-2311

q/s, b7d

[REDACTED]

Info. that Emma Goldman will go to London, Eng. where she will publish radical magazine, asking Anarch. in this country to finance same. Not expected she will receive financial aid from here.

**DETAILS:**

b2  
b7d

Attached is report of [REDACTED] entitled as above, dated for period Aug. 31 to Sept. 3, 1924.

The out of town offices have not been notified of the activities reported as being planned to take place in their respective cities, and it is requested that instructions be given as to whether, in the future, out of town offices should be so notified.

CONTINUED.

w/c 9/17/24

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 1-8-86 BY SP4 E/W/EW

SEP 22 1924

APPROVED AND FORWARDED: <i>[Signature]</i> SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES 61-2311-251	RECORDED AND INDEXED: SEP 9 1924
REFERENCE: COPIES OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO: Washington 2; New York 2;	BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION SEP 8 - 1924 A.M. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE	GENERAL INVESTIGATIVE DIVISION
(GJS:VD)	ROUTED TO: HOOVER	FILE

7-1222

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158



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report In] re: Union of Russian Anarchists, New York, 1924 Sept. 6 / [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice]. — 2 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.  
 Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: An undisclosed agent reports that Goldman plans to publish a radical magazine in London.  
 Notes: Dark copy; barely legible.

In re: Union of Russian Anarchists

Emma Goldman will go to London again this month. There she intends to publish radical magazine and wants the anarchists in this country to finance this undertaking. It will be published once every month and about two thousand copies are to be sent to this country for distribution.

It is expected that Emma Goldman will not receive any financial help from the anarchists in this country at this time because they are concerned more about relief of imprisoned anarchists in Russian prisons and also with support of their own literature here.

246,890  
 ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
 DATE 1-8-86 BY SP4EJW/JEW

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report In] re: Emma Goldman, New York, 1924 Nov. 13 / [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice]. — 2 p. ; 28 x 20 cm.

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

**Summary:** An undisclosed agent discovers that Goldman wants to publish a paper in Mexico City. She hopes to visit the United States from Mexico.

**Notes:** Dark copy; barely legible.

THE CASE ORIGINATED AT <b>New York, N.Y.</b>		DATE WHEN MADE: <b>Nov. 13, 1924</b>	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE: <b>Nov. 9-12, 1924</b>	REPORT MADE BY: <b>[REDACTED]</b>
TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE: <b>RE: EMMA GOLDMAN;</b>		<b>Alleged Anarchist Activities</b>		
FACTS DEVELOPED: <b>SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:</b>				
<p>letter from subj. expressing desire to go to Mexico City. There she intends to publ. a paper. She intends from there to make frequent visits to this country particularly Los Angeles, Cal. Now in Eng. carrying on fight against persecution of Anarchists by Sov. Gov. of Russia.</p>				
<b>DETAILS:</b>				
<p>Attached is report of [REDACTED] entitled as above, dated for the period Nov. 9-12, 1924.</p>				
<p>An extra copy of this report is being forwarded to Washington so that it may be forwarded to the State Department, if so desired.</p>				
CONTINUED.				
<p>ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 1-8-86 BY SP4 E/W/ew</p>				
<p>DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES</p>				
APPROVED AND FORWARDED: <i>[Signature]</i>	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	61-2311-273		RECORDED AND INDEXED: NOV 17 1924
REFERENCE:	COPIES OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO: Washington 3; New York 2;	BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION NOV 15 1924 A.M. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE		CHECKED OFF: JAN 6 - 1925 JACKETED:
#2	(Copied-VD)	ROUTED TO: Division 2	FILE <i>[Signature]</i>	

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report In] re: Emma Goldman, New York, 1924 Nov. 13 / [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice]. — 2 p. ; 28 x 20 cm.

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

**Summary:** An undisclosed agent discovers that Goldman wants to publish a paper in Mexico City. She hopes to visit the United States from Mexico.

**Notes:** Dark copy; barely legible.

Report [REDACTED] New York, Nov. 13, 1924.

In re: Emma Goldman.

[REDACTED] letter from Emma Goldman in which she expressed desire to go to Mexico City, Mexico.

The administration of that country will permit her to live in Mexico where Emma together with other anarchists will publish a newspaper. From Mexico it will be easy to make frequent visits of this country and especially Los Angeles, Cal. where many of her friends are living.

Emma Goldman is living now in England and will carry on vigorous fight there against persecution of anarchists by the Soviet government of Russia.

249, 570  
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 1-8-86 BY SP4 EHV/ew

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

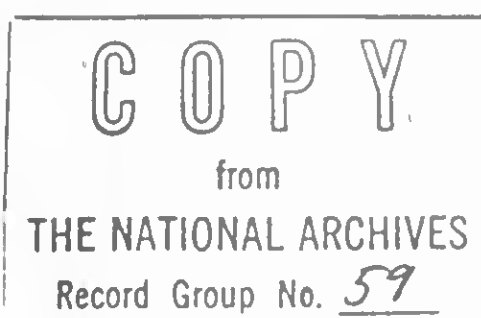
# The Emma Goldman Papers

Report on the Radical Press, Oct. 15 to Nov. 15, 1924 [excerpt] / [Department of Justice]. — 2 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: The Justice Department's Report on the Radical Press mentions a New York Times article on Goldman.

Notes: Broken type. Enclosed with 820331003.



General Records of the Dept. of State  
Office of the Counselor, 1918-1927  
File Number 861.0-2417

## REPORT ON THE RADICAL PRESS

October 15 - November 15

1924.

The Daily Worker, Communist, of Chicago, of October 15th, takes up both editorially and in articles the discussion of the Spolansky Reds and Red Plots, now running in the Chicago Daily News and the Washington Star. One of the articles is by C. E. Ruthenberg, and, of course, articles and editorial alike discredit Spolansky and all he stands for and ever stood for. As an antidote to these "disclosures" the Daily Worker announces a series of come-back articles from day to day, the first being that one in this issue by Manuel Gomez - The Truth About the Reds - which will "expose the would-be expositors." The articles in this issue are of little moment except as "placing" Spolansky in the estimate of the writers. The editorial, while decriing the "red terror" of Spolansky is optimistic of the ultimate coming of that red revolution which it sees successful in Russia and growing in Germany and China -- and, presumably, elsewhere, for "even in the United States the red nightmare haunts the couch of the capitalist class." It is to be noted that notwithstanding the contempt with which Spolansky is treated a great part of the issue is given over to the expression of that contempt.

A column news article dealing with an address by Robert Minor to negroes gives renewed assurance of Communist

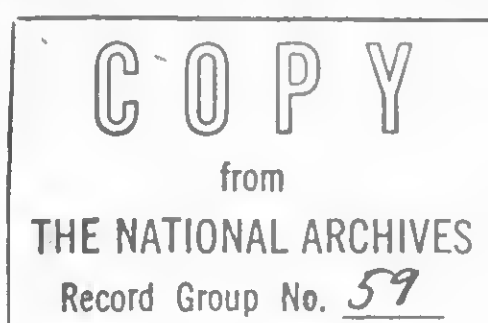
# The Emma Goldman Papers

Report on the Radical Press, Oct. 15 to Nov. 15, 1924 [excerpt] / [Department of Justice]. — 2 p. ; 34 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: The Justice Department's Report on the Radical Press mentions a New York Times article on Goldman.

Notes: Broken type. Enclosed with 820331003.



*General Records of the Dept. of State  
Office of the Counselor, 1918-1927  
File Number 861.0-2417*

*REPORT ON THE RADICAL PRESS, OCT. 15 TO NOV. 15, 1924*

## CORRELATED ITEMS IN THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE PRESS.

- Says Soviet Holds Big Credits Abroad - Times, October 22, 1924.
- Italian Communists for Rump Parliament - Times, October 22, 1924.
- Britain Denounces Soviet Propaganda in Note to Moscow - Times, Oct. 25, 1924
- Denies LaFollette Is Linked with Reds - Times, October 24, 1924.
- Littleton Seeks to Link LaFollette with Russian Reds: - Times, October 23, 1924
- Red Plot Confuses British Government: Soviet Sees Forgery - Times, Oct. 26, 1924
- Soviet Repudiates Propaganda Letter - Times, October 27, 1924
- Soviet Propaganda Abroad - Suppl. Times, October 27, 1924.
- Mr. Zinoviev's Letter - Suppl. Times, November 5, 1924.
- Trotsky Denounces Our Imperialism - Times, November 6, 1924
- Soviet 'At Home' in London - Times, November 8, 1924.
- Soviet Takes Over Old Embassy in Paris - Times, November 8, 1924.
- 12,000 Red Recruits Reviewed in Moscow - Times, November 8, 1924.
- Reds Abandon Display at our Paris Embassy - Times, November 8, 1924.
- Patriotism That Pays - by Will Irwin
- The Nation, Nov. 12, 1924. (Being an expose of the 100% Red baiting individuals and organizations with a word in passing for the Dept. of Justice files on radicalism.)
- English in the Foreign Language Press - Times, November 12, 1924.
- Emma Goldman in Her New Role: Times, November 13, 1924.
- Hughes' Retirement Hoped for in Russia - Times, November 13, 1924.

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1924 Dec. 8, Washington, D.C. [to] Arthur Bliss Lane, Department of State, Washington, D.C. / J. Edgar Hoover, Acting Director, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice. — 1 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Hoover sends a report on the radical press to the State Department.

Notes: For enclosure, see 820331004.

COPY

from  
THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES  
Record Group No. 59

General Records of the Dept. of State  
Office of the Counselor, 1918-1927  
File Number 861.0-2417

OFFICE OF DIRECTOR

Department of Justice

Bureau of Investigation

Washington, D. C.

December 8, 1924.

Division of  
FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS,

DEC 9 1924

Department of State.

UNDER SECRETARY

DEC - 9 1924

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Mr. Arthur Bliss Lane,  
Department of State,  
Washington, D.C.

My dear Mr. Lane:

As of possible interest to you, I am enclosing herewith a copy of the report upon the radical press from October 15th to November 15th.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DEC 9 1924

DIVISION OF  
FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

Very truly yours,



E. Hoover

Acting Director.

Encl. 121275,



# The Emma Goldman Papers

Report on the Communist Press, Nov. 15 to Dec. 15, 1924 [excerpt] / [Department of Justice]. — 2 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: The Justice Department's Report on the Communist Press lists a *New York Times* article on Goldman's anti-Bolshevism.

Notes: Bleedthrough; dark copy. Enclosed with 820331010.

COPY

from

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

Record Group No. 59

General Records of the Dept. of State  
Office of the Counselor, 1918-1927  
File Number 861.0-2417

## REPORT ON THE COMMUNIST PRESS

November 15 - December 15

1924.

The Daily Worker of November 15, in its magazine supplement, publishes an article by Max Shachtman - Keeping them Young and Red. This is the first of a series of three articles to be published dealing with the Communist children's movement, already numbering almost five thousand members. The purposes of the training in the schools are thus set forth:

"The junior groups are not intended to give the workers' children a 'liberal' education, with a so-called broad-minded, tolerant view of things. Not at all. They are formed for the purpose of making working class, revolutionary fighters out of the children, teaching them to regard all things from the point of view of the working class. The aim of the Communist children's groups is to make the proletarian child a participant in the class struggle! Not merely one who understands what the class struggle is all about, not one who can repeat a few well-learned revolutionary phrases, but one who forms as definite and important a part of the working class as the adult Communist does among the adult workers.

The practical steps taken to bring this desired end about are then outlined. They are the familiar ones of taking the children through the wealthy residence districts and then thru the slums, and these other instructions calculated to off-set the poison of bourgeois miseducation.



# The Emma Goldman Papers

Report on the Communist Press, Nov. 15 to Dec. 15, 1924 [excerpt] / [Department of Justice]. — 2 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: The Justice Department's Report on the Communist Press lists a *New York Times* article on Goldman's anti-Bolshevism.

Notes: Bleedthrough; dark copy. Enclosed with 820331010.

**C O P Y**  
from  
THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES  
Record Group No. 59

General Records of the Dept. of State  
Office of the Counselor, 1918-1927  
File Number 861.0-2417

- Herriot Opens War on Reds in France.  
Times, December 7, 1924.
- French Loan now Soviet's Only Hope.  
Times, December 7, 1924.
- Economic Policy in Russia, Editorial  
Times, December 7, 1924.
- Emma Goldman Weary of Bolshevism. Finds new Autocracy more  
oppressive than old.  
Times, December 7, 1924.
- Moscow Ridiculous, G. B. Shaw Declares.  
Times, December 8, 1924.
- Moscow Now Fears Anti-Soviet Union.  
Times, December 8, 1924.
- Outburst of Reds May Upset Herriot  
Times, December 8, 1924.
- Estonians Fighting Fugitive Red Bands.  
Times, December 9, 1924.
- Belittle Agitation of Reds in France.  
Times, December 9, 1924.
- Bill Would Force Aliens to Register.  
Times, December 9, 1924.
- Hibben's Counsel Quizzed on Reds.  
Times, December 9, 1924.
- Red Intrigues in Balkans.  
Times, December 9, 1924.
- The Revolt in Estonia. Letter.  
Times, December 11, 1924.
- Ruthenberg Loses Appeal.  
Times, December 11, 1924.
- Old Bronchial Ailment Seizes Trotsky. He will leave Moscow for  
Caucasus.  
Times, December 11, 1924.

**EXPLANATORY NOTE**  
**J.EDGAR HOOVER MEMORABILIA COLLECTION,**  
**DEC. 21, 1924**

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After the death of J. Edgar Hoover, his personal scrapbooks were transferred to the National Archives. These scrapbooks contain newspaper clippings tracing Hoover's career with the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Volume one of this collection contains the clippings which mention Goldman. The complete citation to the collection is: National Archives Record Group 65, Records of FBI, J.E. Hoover Memorabilia, Scrapbook of Newspaper Articles 1913-1924.

The Government Documents collection contains thirty-eight clippings from volume one, which reflect the prominent part Goldman played in Hoover's early career. The scrapbook begins with three clippings describing Hoover as captain of his high school cadets in May 1913. The next clippings refer to Goldman's deportation. Approximately twenty percent of the clippings describing Hoover's appointment as director of the FBI mention his role in Goldman and Berkman's deportation.

Most of the clippings from this collection cluster around both the time of Goldman's deportation on December 22, 1919 and the date when Hoover took over as the Director of the FBI, in December 1924.

# The Emma Goldman Papers

J.E. Hoover, 30, Chief U.S. Sleuth — 28 cm. In [(New York) World (Dec. 21, 1924)] / [author unknown].

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: When Hoover is named director of the Bureau of Investigation, the New York World summarizes his career.

Notes: From FBI, J. Edgar Hoover Memorabilia Collection.

New York World,  
December 21, 1924.

## J. E. HOOVER, 30, CHIEF U. S. SLEUTH

Taking W. J. Burns's Place, He  
Is the Youngest Secret  
Service Chief

HAS BEEN ACTING DIRECTOR

Success as Detective Lies in His  
Remarkable Memory.

From The World's Bureau

Special Despatch to The World

WASHINGTON, Dec. 20. — John Edgar Hoover was sworn in to-day as chief of the Department of Justice, being the Director of the Bureau of Investigation, youngest man ever appointed chief of the Government's biggest secret service agency.

Hoover has been acting director since the resignation of William J. Burns, under whom he served as assistant director. He came to the Department of Justice seven years ago as special assistant to the Attorney General. He is thirty.

In making Hoover chief of the bureau Attorney General Stone followed the policy of promoting an official familiar with the Government's inquisitorial and detective work, rather than going to the outside, as Attorney General Daugherty did, and bringing to the department one who had obtained prominence as a private detective.

Hoover began his services with the bureau as an attorney. During the incumbency of Attorney General Palmer he handled the legal end of the radical deportations and had charge of the Government cases against Emma Goldman, Alexander Berkman and Ludwig Martens, official Ambassador of the Russian Soviet.

Those who have worked with Hoover say his success in investigation work lies in a remarkably good memory. He is a native of the District of Columbia, was graduated from the George Washington Law School, is a member of the District of Columbia Bar and has appeared before the Supreme Court.

When Burns resigned shortly after Attorney General Stone took office it was reported he would be succeeded by William J. Flynn, formerly director of the bureau, whose retirement was followed by Burns's appointment. The Attorney General left Hoover in charge as acting director and remarked occasionally he was well satisfied with the manner in which the bureau was being conducted.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

Who's Who in The Day's News: John Edgar Hoover — 28 cm. *In* [unknown periodical (Dec. 21? 1924)] / [author unknown].

*Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.*

**Summary:** An unknown periodical reports that J. Edgar Hoover was named director of the Bureau of Investigation.

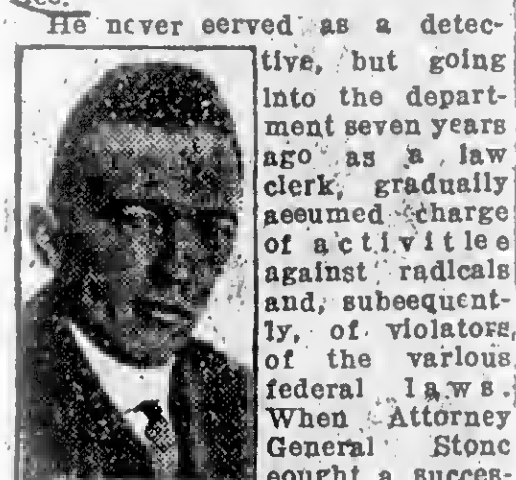
**Notes:** From FBI, J. Edgar Hoover Memorabilia Collection.

December, 1924

## WHO'S WHO IN THE DAY'S NEWS

John Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover, 30, of Washington, has reached one of the most responsible inquisitorial positions in the country, directorship of the U. S. bureau of investigation, department of justice.



J. E. HOOVER

He never served as a detective, but going into the department seven years ago as a law clerk, gradually assumed charge of activities against radicals and, subsequently, of violators of the various federal laws. When Attorney General Stone sought a successor for William J. Burns he picked Hoover as the man best equipped for the place.

After several months' service as acting director, Hoover now has been sworn in as director, thereby obtaining the full authority and pay of the position. Among the cases he handled were the deportation proceedings against Emma Goldman, Alexander Berkman and Ludwig Mathews.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

Youth Honored in U.S. Service — 28 cm. In [Washington Herald (Dec. 23, 1924)] / [author unknown].

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: The Washington Herald reports J. Edgar Hoover's promotion to head of the Bureau of Investigation. The article mentions his role in Goldman's deportation.

Notes: From FBI, J. Edgar Hoover Memorabilia Collection.

Washington Herald,  
December 23, 1924.

## YOUTH HONORED IN U. S. SERVICE

Washington Herald  
J. E. Hoover, 30, Named for  
Burns' Post, and A. W. Hall,  
36, Made Kirby's Successor

Two Cabinet officers yesterday chose young men to fill responsible posts in the Government service, when J. Edgar Hoover, thirty years old, was made director of the Bureau of Investigation of the Department of Justice, and Alvin W. Hall, thirty-six, was appointed director of the Bureau of Engraving and Printing.

Hoover succeeds William J. Burns, to whom he was assistant before Burns resigned, May 10. He is a Washingtonian, a graduate of Central High School.

### SUCCEEDS KIRBY.

Hall succeeds Major W. W. Kirby, who was forced to resign his position as head of the Engraving Bureau because of the expiration of his leave from the army. Congress refused to extend the leave, necessitating his return from civil to military duties.

For four years Hall has been connected with the Bureau of Efficiency. For the last two years he has been stationed at the Bureau of Engraving as an efficiency expert and head of the planning unit. Prior to July, 1920, when he became associated with the Bureau of Efficiency, Hall was chief of the cost accounting section of the Ordnance Bureau of the War Department.

He was born August 23, 1888, at Harleigh, Pa. He is married and lives with his wife and two children in Washington.

### KIRBY PRAISED.

Yesterday he declined to comment on any possible changes in the organization of the bureau. Secretary Mellon's statement, announcing the appointment of Hall, states:

"Major Kirby, with Mr. Hall's assistance, has helped to complete the economies in the bureau made possible by the legislation sponsored by Chairman Madden, of the Appropriations Committee, and to restore the former good morale in the organization. The Treasury is sorry to part with Major Kirby, but believes that Mr. Hall will prove a capable successor."

Director Hoover, of the Bureau of Investigation, has been acting director since Burns' resignation. His succession to the position of director was not a surprise to Department of Justice officials. Hoover's record in the department, made since his entry there as a young lawyer in 1919, has been notable.

### HANDLED DEPORTATIONS.

He was in charge of the Government's deportation proceedings against political agitators in 1921. It was Hoover who handled the legal end of the proceedings resulting in the deportation of Emma Goldman, anarchist; Alexander Berkman, anarchist; and L. C. A. K. Martens, who represented himself as the Soviet Ambassador in Washington, shortly after the Red revolution in Russia. Until yesterday, Hoover's official designation at the Department of Justice has been special assistant to the Attorney General.

Hoover is a graduate of George Washington University. He holds the degrees of LL. B. and LL. M. He is a member of the Kappa Alpha fraternity, Columbia Country Club, University Club, is a Mason and a member of the National Geographic Society.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

Stone and Mellon Announce Selection of 2 Bureau Chiefs — 28 cm. In [Washington Post (Dec. 23, 1924)] / [author unknown].

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: The Washington Post notes that the new director of the Bureau of Investigation, J. Edgar Hoover, handled Goldman's deportation.

Notes: From FBI, J. Edgar Hoover Memorabilia Collection.

## STONE AND MELLON ANNOUNCE SELECTION OF 2 BUREAU CHIEFS

Wash Post 12/23/24  
Alvin W. Hall Named Director  
of Engraving and Print-  
ing Office.

J. E. HOOVER SELECTED  
AS INVESTIGATION HEAD

Youthful Successor to William  
J. Burns Handled Bol-  
shevik Cases.

Two important government of-  
fices were filled yesterday. Secre-  
tary of the Treasury Mellon named  
Alvin Williams Hall to be director  
of the bureau of engraving and  
printing and Attorney General  
Stone named John Edgar Hoover  
to be director of the bureau of in-  
vestigation of the Department of  
Justice.

Mr. Hall fills the vacancy occa-  
sioned by the reassignment of Maj.  
W. W. Kirby to military service  
and immediately succeeds Paul  
Twyman, assistant director of the  
bureau, who has been acting direc-  
tor since Maj. Kirby left.

In announcing Mr. Hall's ap-  
pointment, Secretary Mellon called  
attention to the fact that Mr. Hall  
had been of material assistance to  
Maj. Kirby in effecting many econ-  
omies in the operation of the bu-  
reau.

The Treasury is sorry to part  
with Maj. Kirby, but believes that  
Mr. Hall will prove a capable suc-  
cessor," Mr. Mellon said.

When Major Kirby, in compliance  
with orders from the War Depart-  
ment, left the bureau on December  
10, to report to the Engineers' bar-  
racks here, it was hoped that he  
would be able to return as director  
of the bureau. In fact, agitation  
for special Congressional action was  
begun.

Being an army officer it was  
necessary for Major Kirby to be  
specifically designated to a civilian  
post by Congress if he wished to re-  
tain his commission. This was ef-  
fected in the instance of his first as-  
signment, but Congress has not yet  
reassigned him. Major Kirby,  
whose father was a major in the  
army, has refused to accept the posi-  
tion for another term at the cost of  
his commission.

It was hoped Congress would re-  
appoint Major Kirby and for this  
reason Mr. Twyman was appointed  
to fill the vacancy only temporarily.  
Yesterday's permanent appointment  
of Mr. Hall indicates that hope for  
Major Kirby's return has been  
abandoned.

Mr. Hall, the new director is a  
native of Hazleton, Pa., where he  
was born in 1887. After complet-  
ing his education he engaged in ef-  
ficiency work and following a resi-  
dence in Harleigh, Pa., was at-  
tracted to Washington in 1918 to  
accept a position with the bureau  
of efficiency. In less than two  
years he was assigned by the ef-  
ficiency bureau to the head of the  
planning unit of the bureau. Mr.  
Hall is married and lives at 1210  
Floral avenue northwest.

Mr. Hoover, who is but 30 years  
old, began his career as a lawyer  
in this city, practicing before all  
the local courts, the Supreme  
Court of the United States and the  
Court of Claims. He was appointed  
to the Department of Justice in  
1919 as special prosecutor in de-  
portation cases. In this capacity he  
handled the cases of Emma Gold-  
man, Alexander Borkman and Lud-  
wig Martens, so-called bolshevik  
ambassadors to the United States.

He was later assigned to the bu-  
reau of investigation to handle le-  
gal questions and was serving as  
assistant director when Mr. Burns  
resigned.

He is a native of this city and a  
graduate of Central High school,

where he was captain of company  
A, of the high school cadets. He  
later attended George Washington  
University, where he received the  
degree of bachelor of legal law  
and master of legal law. He re-  
sides at 413 Seward square south-  
east, and is unmarried.

Mr. Hoover is a member of the  
University and Columbia Country  
clubs, the Masonic fraternity, the  
Kappa Alpha fraternity and the  
National Geographic society.

Washington's "Who's Hoover"  
grows apace. Three Hoovers now oc-  
cupy high station. In term of ser-  
vice, "Ike" Hoover, chief doorkeeper  
of the White House, heads the dy-  
nasty. Then there's Herbert Hoover,  
Secretary of Commerce, and now  
comes 30-year-old J. Edgar Hoover,  
the new director of Attorney Gen-  
eral Stone's Bureau of Investigation. The  
Davises still are our ruling family,  
with the Secretaryship of Labor, the  
Assistant Secretaryship of War, the  
director-generalship of the Railroad  
Administration, the adjutancy-gen-  
eral of the Army and any number of  
minor billets in their possession.

\* \* \* \*

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

Successor to Burns — 28 cm. In [Boston Transcript (Dec. 26, 1924)] / [author unknown].

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: The Boston Transcript gives the highlights of J. Edgar Hoover's career, newly named director of the Bureau of Investigation.

Notes: From FBI, J. Edgar Hoover Memorabilia Collection.

Boston Transcript,  
December 26, 1924.

## Successor to Burns



*Boston Transcript*  
12-26-24 (E. & A. Photo)  
J. E. Hoover

MR. HOOVER, thirty years old, a Washingtonian, who has been acting director of the Bureau of Investigation of the Department of Justice since the resignation of William J. Burns, has been appointed director of the bureau by Attorney General Stone. Mr. Hoover has been prominent in some of the Government's deportation cases, having investigated Emma Goldman, Alexander Berkman and Ludwig Martens, so-called Bolshevik ambassador to the United States. The photo shows Mr. Hoover at his desk in the Department of Justice.

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## The Emma Goldman Papers

Young Man Gets Highest Detective Post in America — 28 cm. In [Louisville Courier-Journal (Dec. 26, 1924)] / [author unknown].

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

**Summary:** The *Louisville Courier-Journal* summarizes the career of J. Edgar Hoover, newly appointed director of the Bureau of Investigation.

**Notes:** Light copy. From FBI, J. Edgar Hoover Memorabilia Collection.

Courier-Journal,  
Louisville, Kentucky,  
December 26, 1924.

### Young Man Gets Highest Detective Post In America



J. E. HOOVER  
*Courier-Journal*  
Hoover, Burns Successor  
Secret Service Head, Was  
Never Sleuth

Special to The Courier-Journal  
Washington, Dec. 25.—John Edgar Hoover, 30 years old, Washington, has reached one of the most responsible and inquisitorial positions in the country, the directorship of the Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice.

He never served as a detective, but came to the department seven years ago as a law clerk, gradually assumed charge of activities against radicals. When Attorney General Stone sought a successor for William J. Burns, he picked Hoover. Among the cases he handled were deportation proceedings against Emma Goldman, Alexander Berkman and Ludwig Marx.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

Washington Man Appointed New Head of Secret Service — 28 cm. In [Pittsburgh Sun (Dec. 26, 1924)] / [author unknown].

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

**Summary:** The Pittsburgh Sun notes that the new director of the Bureau of Investigation, J. Edgar Hoover, handled Goldman's deportation.

**Notes:** From FBI, J. Edgar Hoover Memorabilia Collection.

Pittsburgh Sun,  
December 26, 1924.

## Washington Man Appointed New Head Of Secret Service



J. E. Hoover, 30 years old, a Washingtonian, who has been acting director of the bureau of investigation of the department of justice since the resignation of William J. Burns, has been appointed director of the bureau

by Attorney General Stone. Mr. Hoover, prominent in some of the Government's most noted deportation cases, having investigated Emma Goldman, Alexander Berman and Ludwig Martens, so-called Bolshevik ambassador to the United States.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

Law Clerk Gains High Distinction — 28 cm. *In* [Detroit Free Press (Dec. 27, 1924)] / [author unknown].

*Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.*

**Summary:** *The Detroit Free Press* notes that the new director of the Bureau of Investigation, J. Edgar Hoover, handled Goldman's deportation.

**Notes:** From FBI, J. Edgar Hoover Memorabilia Collection.

Detroit Free Press,  
December 27, 1924.

## LAW CLERK GAINS HIGH DISTINCTION

*Detroit Free Press*

Given Position Once Held by  
William J. Burns

Special to Free Press and New York World.  
Washington, Dec. 24.—John Edgar Hoover, 30, of Washington, has reached one of the most responsible inquisitorial positions in the country, the directorship of the bureau of investigation, department of justice.

He never served as a detective, but, coming to the department seven years ago as a law clerk, he gradually assumed charge of activities against radicals and subsequently violators of the various federal laws the department of justice enforces. When Attorney General Stone sought a successor for William J. Burns, he picked Hoover as the man best equipped for the place.

After several months' service as acting director, Hoover now has been sworn in as director, thereby obtaining the full authority and pay of this position. Among the cases he handled were the deportation proceedings against Emma Goldman, Alexander Berkman and Ludwig Martens.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

Mason Made Chief of Investigation — 22 cm. *In* [Fellowship Forum (Dec. 27, 1924)]  
/ [author unknown].

*Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.*

**Summary:** The *Fellowship Forum*, a Masonic publication, notes that J. Edgar Hoover, a Mason and a Protestant, is the new director of the Bureau of Investigation.

**Notes:** From FBI, J. Edgar Hoover Memorabilia Collection.

Fellowship Forum,  
Washington, D. C.,  
December 27, 1924.

## Mason Made Chief of Investigation

For the first time in many years a Protestant and member of the Masonic fraternity has been appointed director of the Bureau of Investigation of the Department of Justice.

This appointment was made this week by Attorney General Stone when he named John Edgar Hoover to this important position. Mr. Hoover is but 30 years of age. He began his career as a lawyer, practicing in the courts in Washington for a few years before he was appointed special prosecutor in deportation cases for the Department of Justice. While occupying this position, he handled the cases of Emma Goldman, Alexander Berkman and Ludwig Martens, the last of whom was the reputed Ambassador of the Bolsheviks to the United States.

Mr. Hoover is a native of Washington, D. C., and a graduate of the public high school. He received his degree from George Washington University Law Department.

Besides holding membership in a number of clubs and fraternities, the newly-appointed director of the Bureau of Investigation is an active Mason.

William J. Burns, an ardent Roman Catholic, preceded Mr. Hoover in the position, and before Mr. Burns another Romanist, W. J. Flynn, held the office. Other Catholics preceded Mr. Flynn.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

Succeeds Burns in Justice Department — 28 cm. *In* [Dallas News (Dec. 28, 1924)] / [author unknown].

*Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.*

**Summary:** The *Dallas News* summarizes the career of J. Edgar Hoover, newly named director of the Bureau of Investigation.

**Notes:** Copy of 890814011. From FBI, J. Edgar Hoover Memorabilia Collection.

Dallas, Texas, News,  
December 28, 1924

## Succeeds Burns in Justice Department



*Dallas News - Dec. 28, 1924*  
— P. & A. Photo.  
J. EDGAR HOOVER.

Mr. Hoover, 30 years old, a Washingtonian, who has been acting director of the bureau of investigation of the Department of Justice since the resignation of William J. Burns, has been appointed director of the bureau, it was announced on Monday, Dec. 22, by Attorney General Stone. Mr. Hoover, prominent in some of the Government's most noted deportation cases, having investigated Emma Goldman, Alexander Bergman and Ludwig Martens, so-called Bolshevik Ambassadors to the United States. Above photo shows Mr. Hoover at his desk in the Department of Justice, Washington, D. C., on Monday, Dec. 22.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

Another Hoover — 28 cm. In Time [(Dec. 29, 1924)] / [author unknown].  
Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Time magazine gives a brief biography of the new director of the Bureau of Investigation, J. Edgar Hoover.

Notes: From FBI, J. Edgar Hoover Memorabilia Collection.

Time Magazine,  
December 29, 1924

Published weekly by TIME, Incorporated,  
at 236 East 39th Street, New York, N. Y.  
Subscription, \$5 per year. Entered as second-  
class matter February 28, 1923, at the post  
office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of  
March 3, 1879.

## Another Hoover

Hoover is a name in high standing at the Capital—*vide* the Secretary of Commerce, *vide* the chief doorkeeper at the White House. But there is a younger Hoover than either of these—a man only 30, gifted with an unusually accurate and comprehensive memory, who is also winning prominence. Attorney General Stone picked him out and promoted him, last week. Now the chair that was Flynn's and the chair that was Burns' is the chair of Hoover—the chair of the Director of the Bureau of Investigation of the Department of Justice.

John Edgar Hoover, born in the District of Columbia, was graduated from George Washington Law School; a member of the District bar, he was called upon seven years ago, when only 23, to be a special assistant to the Attorney General. That was in the day of a Democratic Administration. Working under Attorney General Palmer, young Hoover handled the legal arrangements of the cases by which the Government secured the deportation of Emma Goldman, of Alexander Berkman, of Ludwig Martens (the "Ambassador" of Soviet Russia).

Later, he was transferred to the Bureau of Investigation where his remarkable memory was a great asset. When William J. Burns resigned as Director of the Bureau of Investigation, Mr. Hoover was made Acting Director. Attorney General Stone, casting about for a new Director, decided that he preferred a man trained in the Government service rather than one of the great private sleuths who have usually been given the place.

So, last week, John Edgar Hoover

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

890814017

Days of "Old Sleuth" Gone Forever In Department of Justice Activities / Robert T. Small. — 28 cm. In [unknown periodical (Dec. 29, 1924)].

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Small reports that the new director of the Bureau of Investigation, J. Edgar Hoover, will usher in a new age of legitimacy and scientific investigation.

Notes: From FBI, J. Edgar Hoover Memorabilia Collection.

December 29, 1924

## Days of "Old Sleuth" Gone Forever In Department of Justice Activities

Science and Idealism Combined by New Investigation  
Chief, Marking New Order

By ROBERT T. SMALL

(Special Correspondent.)  
Washington, Dec. 29.—The days of "Old Sleuths" are over so far as the present administration of the United States department of justice is concerned. The old time detective, the man of "shadows" and "frame ups" and "get the goods" in any way you can is a thing of the past. There is a new order.

It is an interesting experiment that Attorney-General Stone is making. He has cast aside all of the ancient notions of how a bureau of investigation, which is the department of justice name for secret service, should be conducted.

Detectives of the old school the whole world over, from Scotland Yard to Tokio, will be watching this new idea in Washington. Naturally they are skeptical. They look askance at the appointment of a young lawyer, 30 years of age, to head one of the most important branches of the government's system for the control and apprehension of criminals.

But John Edgar Hoover, the disciple of "Blackstone," who has succeeded Billy Burns, the reincarnation of Old Sleuth, has gone calmly about his work in a manner which has given the justice officials a feeling that they need worry no more about the proper conduct of the affairs of the investigation bureau. Burns unquestionably was a great detective. He knew the ways and the wiles of criminals as well as any man in the world. He had been brought up with his nose to the ground. As a kid he used to hand around the police station at Columbus, Ohio. He came by his detective instincts naturally.

In appointing Burns to head his bureau of investigation, former Attorney-General Daugherty thought to still in advance any criticism as to the manner that branch of the government secret service was to be handled. He wanted to assure the world that no malefactor, however small or great, would escape the eagle eye and massive brains of the great detective. But Burns' appointment caused a great deal of heart burning among all the

There was the head of a private agency, and the other agency heads thought his government position was giving him an unfair advantage over them.

Young Mr. Hoover, of the new school of crime detection, has no entangling alliances. Among his friends he is known to be as clean as a hound's tooth. He looks at detective work from a new angle. He sees the evidence side. Instead of merely "getting the goods," he is concerned with making the "goods" stick in a court of law.

And with all his scarcity of years and legal training, he is no novice at the detecting game. He went in to the department of justice under Mitchell Palmer just about the time that Mr. Palmer's house was being blown up here in Washington by the "Reds," and the whole country was accusing the Wilson attorney-general of seeing the red things at night.

Mr. Hoover found there was something in the "Red" business after all for it was he who worked up the cases and obtained the deportation of the leading Reds of their day—Emma Goldman, Alex Berkman and Ludwig Martens, the latter the representative of the Bolsheviks. Hoover gave Goldman and Berkman a hard ride. Even the Soviets cast them out of Russia. Nobody wanted this fine duo after Hoover got through with them.

As an assistant to Burns, young Hoover got some education in the arts of the old school. But most of these he is casting aside. He is striking out along new and clean lines. He is not going on any wild goose chases. He is not going to have men snooping around the offices of senators or representatives. He is going to try to do his government work in a big and legitimate way.

Perhaps that sort of thing is too idealistic. Perhaps the old third degree style will come back. But anyway, we will see.

Hoover is a homebred here in Washington. He was a high school cadet and used to march to the tunes of Sousa's famous march dedicated to these boys. He is also in the military intelligence division of the officers reserve corps. Furthermore, he plays golf. Whoever could picture Old Sleuth doing that?

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

Days of "Old Sleuth" Are Ended, Justice Department's Verdict / Robert T. Small. — 28 cm. In [Washington Star (Dec. 29, 1924)].

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Small reports that the new director of the Bureau of Investigation, J. Edgar Hoover, will usher in a new age of legitimacy and scientific investigation.

Notes: Copy of 890814017. From FBI, J. Edgar Hoover Memorabilia Collection.

Washington Star,  
December 29, 1924.

## Days of "Old Sleuth" Are Ended, Justice Department's Verdict

Attorney General Abolishes "Man of Shadows," Together With "Frame-Ups" and "Get-the-Goods"

Mandate, as Department Method,  
Washington, B. C. Star December 29, 1924.

BY ROBERT T. SMALL.

The days of "Old Sleuth" are over so far as the present administration of the United States Department of Justice is concerned. The old-time detective, the man of "shadows" and "frame-ups" and "get the goods" in any way you can, is a thing of the past. There is a new order.

It is an interesting experiment that Attorney General Stone is making. He has cast aside all of the ancient notions of how a bureau of investigation, which is the Department of Justice name for secret service, should be conducted.

Detectives of the old school the whole world over, from Scotland Yard to Tokio, will be watching this new idea in Washington. Naturally, they are skeptical. They look askance at the appointment of a young lawyer, 30 years old, to head one of the most important branches of the Government's system for the control and apprehension of criminals.

Hoover Inspires Confidence.

But John Edgar Hoover, the disciple of Blackstone, who has succeeded William J. Burns, the reincarnation of Old Sleuth, has gone calmly about his work in a manner which has given the Justice official a feeling that they need worry no more about the proper conduct of the affairs of the Investigation Bureau. Burns unquestionably was a great detective. He knew the ways and wiles of criminals as well as any man in the world. He had been brought up with his nose to the ground. As a kid he used to hang around the police station at Columbus, Ohio. He came by his detective instinct naturally.

In appointing Burns to head his bureau of investigations former Attorney General Daugherty thought to still in advance any criticism as to the manner in which that branch of the Government secret service was to be handled. He wanted to assure the world that no malefactor, however small or great, would escape the eagle eye and massive brains of the great detective. But Burns' appointment caused a great deal of heart-burning among all the other professional detectives of the day. Burns was the head of a private agency and the other agency heads thought his Government position was giving him an unfair advantage over them.

ernment position was giving him an unfair advantage over them.

Sees New Angle of Duty.

Young Mr. Hoover of the new school of crime detection has no entangling alliances. Among his friends he is known to be as clean as a hound's tooth. He looks at detective work from a new angle. He sees the evidence side. Instead of merely "getting the goods," he is concerned with making the "goods" stick in a court of law.

And with all his scarcity of years and legal training he is no novice at the detecting game. He went into the Department of Justice under Mitchell Palmer just about the time that Mr. Palmer's house was being blown up here in Washington by the "reds" and the whole country was accusing the Wilson Attorney General of seeing red things at night.

Mr. Hoover found there was something in the "red" business after all, for it was he who worked up the cases and obtained the deportation of the leading reds of their day—Emma Goldman, Alex. Berkman and Ludwig Martens, the last the representative of the Bolsheviks. Hoover gave Goldman and Berkman a hard ride. Even the Soviets cast them out of Russia. Nobody wanted the fine duo after Hoover got through with them.

Men No Longer Snoop Around.

As an assistant to Burns, young Hoover got some education in the arts of the old school. But most of these he is casting aside. He is striking out along new and clean lines. He is not going on any wild goose chases. He is not going to have men snooping around the offices of Senators and Representatives. He is going to try to do his Government work in a big and legitimate way.

Perhaps that sort of thing is too idealistic. Perhaps the old third Reges style will come back. But anyway, we shall see.

Hoover is a homebred here in Washington. He was a High School Cadet, and used to march to the tunes of Sousa's famous march dedicated to these boys. He is also in the military intelligence division of the Officers' Reserve Corps. Furthermore, he plays golf. Whoever could picture Old Sleuth doing that?

(Copyright, 1924.)

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

Hard-Boiled Secret Service Tactics Banished By Hoover / Robert T. Small. — 28 cm.  
In [Baltimore Evening Sun (Dec. 30, 1924)].

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Small reports that the new director of the Bureau of Investigation, J. Edgar Hoover, will usher in a new age of legitimacy and scientific investigation.

Notes: Portions illegible. Copy of 890814017. From FBI, J. Edgar Hoover Memorabilia Collection.

Evening Sun,  
Baltimore, Maryland  
December 30, 1924.

## Hard-Boiled Secret Service Tactics Banished By Hoover

Successor To Daugherty Appointee Has Cast Aside  
"Get The Goods Any Way You Can" Formula,

Small Declares.

Baltimore, Md. — Col. Small

By Robert T. Small.

12-30-24

[Special Dispatch to The Evening Sun.]

Washington, Dec. 30.—The days of "old sleuth" are over so far as the present Administration of the United States Department of Justice is concerned. The old-time detective, the man of "shadowing" and "frame-ups" and "get the goods in any way you can," is a thing of the past. There is a new order.

It is an interesting experiment that Attorney-General Stone is making. He has cast aside all of the ancient notions of how a Bureau of Investigations, which is the Department of Justice name for Secret Service, should be conducted.

Old Detectives Skeptical On Young Man's Appointment.

Detectives of the old school the whole world over, from Scotland Yard to Tokio, will be watching this new idea in Washington. Naturally they are skeptical. They look askance at the appointment of a young lawyer, 30 years of age, to head one of the most important branches of the Government's system for the control and apprehension of criminals.

But John Edgar Hoover, the disciple of Blackstone, who has succeeded Billy Burns, the reincarnation of "old sleuth," has gone calmly about his work in a manner which has given the justice officials a feeling that they need worry no more about the proper conduct of the affairs of the Investigation Bureau. Burns unquestionably was a great detective. He knew the ways and wiles of criminals as well as any man in the world. He had been brought up with his nose to the ground. As a boy he used to hang around the police station at Columbus, Ohio. He came by his detective instinct naturally.

Daugherty's Alleged Aim.

In appointing Burns to head his Bureau of Investigations, former Attorney-General Daugherty thought to still in advance any criticism as to the manner that branch of the Government Secret Service was to be handled. He wanted to assure the world that no malefactor, however small or great, would escape the eagle eye of the great detective. But Burns' appointment had a great deal of heart-burning among all the other professional detec-

position was giving him an unfair ad-

Young Mr. Hoover, of the new school of crime detection, has no entangling alliances. Among his friends he is known to be as clean as a hound's tooth. He looks at detective work from a new angle. He sees the evidence side. Instead of merely "getting the goods," he is concerned with making the "goods" stick in a court of law.

Worked Under Palmer.

And with all his scarcity of years and legal training he is no novice at the detecting game. He went into the Department of Justice under Mitchell Palmer just about the time that Mr. Palmer's house was being blown up here in Washington by the "reds" and the whole country was accusing the Wilson Attorney-General of seeing red things at night. Mr. Hoover found there was something in the "red" business after all, for it was he who worked up the cases and obtained the deportation of the leading reds of their day—Emma Goldman, Alexander Berkman and Ludwig Martens, the latter the representative of the Bolsheviks. Hoover gave Goldman and Berkman a hard ride. Even the soviets cast them out of Russia. Nobody wanted this fine line after Hoover got through with them.

As an assistant to Burns' young Hoover got some education in the arts of the old school. But most of these he is casting aside. He is striking out along new and clean lines. He is not going on any wild goose chases. He is not going to have men snooping around the offices of Senators or Representatives. He is going to try to do his Government work in a big and legitimate way.

Result Is Awaited.

Perhaps that sort of thing is too idealistic. Perhaps the old third-degree

ington. He was a high school cadet march to the tunes of

Sousa's famous march dedicated to these boys. He is also in the military intelligence division of the Officers Reserve Corps. Furthermore, he plays golf. Whoever could picture "old sleuth" doing that?

# The Emma Goldman Papers

New Type of Detectives / Robert T. Small. — 28 cm. In [Charleston Post (Dec. 30, 1924)].

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Small reports that the new director of the Bureau of Investigation, J. Edgar Hoover, will usher in a new age of legitimacy and scientific investigation.

Notes: Copy of 890814017. From FBI, J. Edgar Hoover Memorabilia Collection.

Charleston, S.C., Post, December 30, 1924

## NEW TYPE OF DETECTIVES

Young Lawyer at Head of  
Justice Department  
Secret Service

By ROBERT T. SMALL.

(Copyright, 1924, by The Evening Post)  
Washington, Dec. 30.—The days of "Old Sleuth" are over so far as the present administration of the United States department of justice is concerned. The old time detective, the man of "shadows" and "come-ups" and "get the goods" in any way you can, is a thing of the past. There is a new order.

It is an interesting experiment that Attorney General Stone is making. He has cast aside all of the ancient notions of how a bureau of investigations, which is the department of justice, name for secret service, should be conducted.

Detectives of the old school the whole world over, from Scotland Yard to Tokyo will be watching this new idea in Washington. Naturally they are skeptical. They look askance at the appointment of a young lawyer, 30 years of age, to head one of the most important branches of the government's system for the control and apprehension of criminals.

But John Edgar Hoover, the disciple of Blackstone, who has succeeded Billy Burns, the reincarnation of Old Sleuth, has gone calmly about his work in a manner which has given the justice officials a feeling that they need worry no more about the proper conduct of the affairs of the investigation bureau. Burns unquestionably was a great detective. He knew the ways and the wiles of criminals as well as any man in the world. He had been brought up with his nose to the ground. As a kid he used to hang around the police station at Columbus, Ohio. He came by his detective instinct naturally.

In appointing Burns to head his bureau of investigations former Attorney General Daugherty thought to still in advance any criticism as to the manner that branch of the government secret service was to be handled. He wanted to assure the world that no malefactor, however small or great, would escape the eagle eye and massive brains of the great detective. But Burns' appointment caused a great deal of heart burning among all the other professional detectives of the day. Burns was the head of a private agency and the other agency heads thought his government position was giving him an unfair advantage over them.

Young Mr. Hoover, of the new school of crime detection has no entangling alliances. Among his friends he is known to be as clean as a hound's tooth. He looks at detective work from a new angle. He sees the evidence side. Instead of merely "getting the goods" he is concerned with making the "goods" stick in a court of law.

No Novice at Game.

And with all his scarcity of years and legal training, he is no novice at the detecting game. He went into the department of justice under Mitchell Palmer just about the time that Mr. Palmer's house was being blown up here in Washington by the "reds" and the whole country was accusing the Wilson attorney general of seeing red things at night. Mr. Hoover found there was something in the "red" business after all, for it was he who worked up the case and obtained the deportation of the leading reds of their day—Emma Goldman, Alex. Berkman and Ludwig Martens, the latter the representative of the bolsheviks. Hoover gave Goldman and Berkman a hard ride. Even the soviet cast them out of Russia. Nobody wanted this fine duo after Hoover got through with them.

As an assistant to Burns young Hoover got some education in the arts of the old school. But most of these he is casting aside. He is striking out along new and clean lines. He is not going on any wild goose chase. He is not going to have men snooping around the office of senators or representatives. He is going to try to do his government work in a big and legitimate way.

Perhaps that sort of thing is too idealistic. Perhaps the old third degree style will come back. But anyway we shall see.

Hoover is a homebred here in Washington. He was a high school cadet and used to march to the tunes of Sousa's famous march dedicated to these boys. He is also in the military intelligence division of the officers reserve corps. Furthermore he plays golf. Who ever could picture Old Sleuth doing that?

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

Days of "Old Sleuth" In The Justice Department Are Over / Robert T. Small. — 28 cm. In [The Charlotte Observer (Dec. 30, 1924)].

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Small reports that the new director of the Bureau of Investigation, J. Edgar Hoover, will usher in a new age of legitimacy and scientific investigation.

Notes: Copy of 890814017. From FBI, J. Edgar Hoover Memorabilia Collection.

The Observer,  
Charlotte, North Carolina,  
December 30, 1924

## DAYS OF 'OLD SLEUTH' IN THE JUSTICE DEPARTMENT ARE OVER

BY ROBERT T. SMALL,  
Special Correspondent of The Observer—Copyright, 1924.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 29. — The days of "old sleuth" are over so far as the present administration of the United States department of justice is concerned. The old time detective, the man of "shadows" and "frame ups" and "get the goods in

any way you can," is a thing of the past. There is a new order. It is an interesting experiment that Attorney General Stone is making. He has cast aside all of the ancient notions of how a bureau of investigations, which is the department of justice name for secret service, should be conducted. Detectives of the old school the

whole world over, from Scotland Yard to Tokio, will be watching his new idea in Washington. Naturally they are skeptical. They look askance at the appointment of a young lawyer, 39 years old, to head one of the most important branches of the government's system for the control and apprehension of criminals.

### Need Worry No More.

But John Edgar Hoover, the disciple of Blackstone, who has succeeded Billy Burns, the reincarnation of Old Sleuth, has gone calmly about his work in a manner which has given the justice officials a feeling that they need worry no more about the proper conduct of the affairs of the investigation bureau. Burns unquestionably was a great detective. He knew the ways and the wiles of criminals as well as any man in the world. He had been brought up with his nose to the ground. As a kid he used to hang around the police station at Columbus, O. He came by his detective instinct naturally.

In appointing Burns to head his bureau of investigation, former Attorney General Daugherty thought to still in advance any criticism as to the manner that branch of the government secret service was to be handled. He wanted to assure the world that no malefactor, however small or great, would escape the eagle eye and massive brains of the great detective. But Burns' appointment caused a great deal of heart-burning among all the other professional detectives of the day. Burns was the head of a private agency and the other agency heads thought his government position was giving him an unfair advantage over them.

Young Mr. Hoover, of the new school of crime detection, has no entangling alliances among his friends. He is known to be as clean as a hound's tooth. He looks at detective work from a new angle. He sees the evidence side. Instead of

stick in a court of law.

### He Is No Novice.

And with all his scarcity of years and legal training, he is no novice at the detecting game. He went into the department of justice under Mitchell Palmer just about the time that Mr. Palmer's house was being blown up here in Washington by the "reds" and the whole country was screaming for Wilson

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

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Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

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attorney general of seeing "red" things at night. Mr. Hoover found there was something in the "red" business after all, for it was he who worked up the cases and obtained the deportation of the leading "red" of their day—Emma Goldman, Alex Berkman and Ludwig Martens, the latter the representative of the bolshevik.

Hoover gave Goldman and Berkman a hard ride. Even the Soviets cast them out of Russia. Nobody wanted this fine duo after Hoover got through with them.

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Hoover is a home bred in Washington. He was a high school cadet and used to march to the tones of Sousa's Famous March dedicated to these boys. He is also in the military intelligence division of the officers reserve corps. Furthermore he plays golf. Whoever could picture Old Sleuth doing that?

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

Revolution in U.S. Detective Methods Effected By Stone / Robert T. Small. — 28 cm. In [The Telegram (Dec. 30, 1924)].

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Small reports that the new director of the Bureau of Investigation, J. Edgar Hoover, will usher in a new age of legitimacy and scientific investigation.

Notes: Copy of 890814017. From FBI, J. Edgar Hoover Memorabilia Collection.

The Telegram,  
December 30, 1924

## REVOLUTION IN U. S. DETECTIVE METHODS EFFECTED BY STONE

Burns, the Old Sleuth, Gives  
Place to Young Lawyer  
Using Direct Means

HOOVER HAS EXPERIENCE

Instrumental in Causing De-  
portation of Emma Goldman  
and Ludwig Martens

By ROBERT T. SMALL  
(Copyright 1924 by The Telegram.)  
Special to The Telegram

WASHINGTON, D. C., Dec. 30.—The days of "old sleuth" are over so far as the present administration of the United States Department of Justice is concerned. The old-time detective, the man of "shadows" and "frame-ups" and "get the goods" in any way you can, is a thing of the past. There is a new order.

It is an interesting experiment that Attorney General Stone is making. He has cast aside all of the ancient notions of how a Bureau of Investigations, which is the Department of Justice name for secret service, should be conducted.

Detectives of the old school the whole world over, from Scotland Yard to Tokio will be watching this new idea in Washington. Naturally they are skeptical. They look askance at the department of a young lawyer, 30 years of age, to head one of the most important branches of the government's system for the control and apprehension of criminals.

But John Edgar Hoover, the disciple of Blackstone, who has succeeded Billy Burns, the reincarnation of Old Sleuth, has gone calmly about his work in a manner which has given the justice officials a feeling that they need worry no more about the proper conduct of the affairs of the Investigation Bureau.

Burns unquestionably was a great detective. He knew the ways and the wiles of criminals as well as any man in the world. He had been brought up with his nose to the ground. As a kid he hung around the police station at Columbus, Ohio. He came by his detective instinct naturally.

In appointing Burns to head his bureau of investigations former Attorney General Daugherty thought to still in advance any criticism as the manner that branch of the government secret service was to be handled. He wanted to assure the world that no malefactor, however small or great, would escape the eagle eye and massive brains of the great detective. But Burns' appointment caused a great deal of heart-burning among all the other professional detectives of the day. Burns was the head of a private agency and the other agency heads thought his government position was giving him an unfair advantage over them.

Young Mr. Hoover, of the new school of crime detection, has no entangling alliances. Among his friends he is known to be as clean as a hound's tooth. He looks at detective work from a new angle. He sees the evidence side. Instead of merely "getting the goods" he is concerned in making the "goods" stick in a court of law.

And with all his scarcity of years and legal training, he is no novice at the detecting game. He went into the Department of Justice under Mitchell Palmer just about the time that Mr. Palmer's house was being blown up here in Washington by the "Reds" and the whole country was accusing the Wilson Attorney General of seeing Red things at night. Mr. Hoover found there was something in the "Red" business after all, for it was he who worked up the cases and obtained the deportation of the leading Reds of their day—Emma Goldman, Alex Berkman and Ludwig Martens, the latter the representative of the Bolsheviks. Hoover gave Goldman and Berkman a hard ride. Even the Soviets east them out of Russia. Nobody wanted this fine pair after Hoover got through with them.

As an assistant to Burns young Hoover got some education in the arts of the old school. But most of these he is casting aside. He is

striking out along new and clean lines. He is not going on any wild goose chases. He is not going to have men snooping around the offices of Senators or Representatives. He is going to try to do his government work in a big and legitimate way.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

New Type Secret Service Watched By "Old Sleuths" / Robert T. Small. — 28 cm. In [Scranton Republican (Dec. 30, 1924)].

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

**Summary:** Small reports that the new director of the Bureau of Investigation, J. Edgar Hoover, will usher in a new age of legitimacy and scientific investigation.

**Notes:** Copy of 890814017. From FBI, J. Edgar Hoover Memorabilia Collection.

## New Type Secret Service Watched By "Old Sleuths"

Scranton, Pa. Republican, December 30, 1924.

Young Lawyer Heads Important Division and Announces a Big Change In Methods of Handling Crime

By ROBERT T. SMALL

Copyright, 1924, Consolidated Press Association. WASHINGTON, Dec. 29.—The days of "Old Sleuth," are over so far as the present administration of the United States Department of Justice is concerned. The old time detective, the man of "shadowy" and "frame-ups" and "get the goods" in any way you can, is a thing of the past. There is a new order.

It is an interesting experiment that Attorney General Stone is making. He has cast aside all the ancient notions of how a bureau of investigations, which is the department of justice name for secret service, should be conducted.

Detectives of the old school the whole world over, from Scotland Yard to Tokio, will be watching this new idea in Washington. Naturally they are skeptical. They look askance at the appointment of a young lawyer, thirty years of age, to head one of the most important branches of the government's system for the control of apprehension of criminals.

**Burns Great Detective**

But John Edgar Hoover, the disciple of Blackstone, who has succeeded Billy Burns, the reincarnation of Old Sleuth has gone calmly about his work in a manner which has given the justice officials a feeling that they need worry no more about the proper conduct of the affairs of the investigation bureau. Burns unquestionably was a great detective. He knew the ways and the wiles of criminals as well as any man in the world. He had been brought up with his nose to the ground. As a kid he used to hang around the police station at Columbus, Ohio. He came by his detective instinct naturally.

In appointing Burns to head his bureau, former Attorney General Daugherty thought to still in ad-

vance any criticism as to the manner that branch of the government secret service was to be handled. He wanted to assure the world that no malefactor, however small or great, would escape the eagle eye and massive brain of the great detective. But Burns' appointment caused a great deal of heart burning among all the other professional detectives of the day. Burns was the head of a private agency and the other agency heads thought his government position was giving him an unfair advantage over them.

**Sees Evidence Side**

Young Mr. Hoover, of the new school of crime detection, has no entangling alliances. Among his friends he is known to be as clean as a hound's toph. He looks at detective work from a new angle. He sees the evidence side. Instead of merely "getting the goods," he is concerned with making the "goods" stick in a court of law. He doesn't believe in "sleuthing."

And with all his scarcity of years and legal training, he is no novice at the detecting game. He went into the department of justice under Mitchell Palmer just about the time that Mr. Palmer's house was being blown up here in Washington by the "Reds" and the whole country was accusing the Wilson attorney general of seeing red things at night. Mr. Hoover found there was something in the "red" business after all. For it was he who worked up the cases and obtained the deportation of the leading Reds of their day—Emma Goldman, Alex Borkman and Ludwig Martens, the latter the representative of the Bolsheviks. Hoover gave Goldman and Borkman a hard ride. Even the Soviets cast them out of Russia. Nobody wanted this fine duo after Hoover got through with them.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

Succeeds Burns in Justice Department — 28 cm. *In* [unknown periodical (Dec. 30, 1924)] / [author unknown].

*Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.*

**Summary:** An unknown newspaper summarizes the career of J. Edgar Hoover, newly named director of the Bureau of Investigation.

**Notes:** Copy of 890814011 and 890814016. From FBI, J. Edgar Hoover Memorabilia Collection.

December 30, 1924

## Succeeds Burns in Justice Department



A. A. Photo.  
J. EDGAR HOOVER.

Mr. Hoover, 30 years old, a Washingtonian who has been acting director of the bureau of investigation of the Department of Justice since the resignation of William J. Burns, has been appointed director of the bureau, it was announced on Monday, Dec. 22, by Attorney General Stone. Mr. Hoover prominent in some of the Government's most noted deportation cases, having investigated Emma Goldman, Alexander Bergman and Ludwig Martens, so-called Bolshevik Ambassadors to the United States. Above photo shows Mr. Hoover at his desk in the Department of Justice, Washington, D. C., on Monday, Dec. 22.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

New Secret Service Head at Washington — 28 cm. In [Omaha World-Herald (Dec. 30, 1924)] / [author unknown].

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: The Omaha World-Herald summarizes the career of J. Edgar Hoover, newly named director of the Bureau of Investigation.

Notes: Copy of 890814011, 890814016, and 890814020. From FBI, J. Edgar Hoover Memorabilia Collection.

World Herald,  
Omaha, Nebraska,  
December 30, 1924

## NEW SECRET SERVICE HEAD AT WASHINGTON



*Dec 30-24*  
J. E. Hoover, 30, a Washingtonian, who has been acting director of the bureau of investigation of the department of justice since the resignation of William J. Burns, has been appointed director of the bureau, it was announced by Attorney General Stone. Mr. Hoover was prominent in some of the government's most noted deportation cases, having investigated Emma Goldman, Alexander Bergman and Ludwig Martens, so-called bolshevik ambassador to the United States. Above photo shows Mr. Hoover at his desk in the department of justice, Washington, D. C., immediately following the announcement of his succession to the permanent place.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

J.E. Hoover Given W.J. Burns' Place — 28 cm. In [Washington Star (Dec. 30, 1924)]  
/ [author unknown].

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: The Washington Star summarizes the career of J. Edgar Hoover, newly named director of the Bureau of Investigation.

Notes: From FBI, J. Edgar Hoover Memorabilia Collection.

Washington Star,  
December 30, 1924.

## J. E. HOOVER GIVEN W. J. BURNS' PLACE

Appointment Puts 30-Year-  
Old Man at Head of Bu-  
reau of Investigation.

J. E. Hoover, 30 years old, a Washingtonian, who has been acting director of the Bureau of Investigation of the Department of Justice since the resignation of William J. Burns, has been appointed director of the bureau. It was announced today by Attorney General Stone.

Mr. Hoover was prominent in some of the Government's most noted deportation cases, having investigated Emma Goldman, Alexander Berkman and Ludwig Martens, so-called Bolshevik ambassador to the United States.

### Native of Washington.

Born in Washington, Mr. Hoover graduated at Central High School, where he was captain of Company A Cadets. He took the degrees of bachelor of law and master of law at George Washington University and shortly thereafter entered the Government service in the Department of Justice, doing legal work in the alien enemy division. He was later transferred to the Bureau of Investigation, and since the retirement of William J. Burns, last May, has served as acting director of that bureau.

The position is one of major responsibility among the Government's investigating agencies, and the appointment of Mr. Hoover at the age of 30 is considered by officials as an unusual, but merited tribute to his ability. He is understood to be one of the youngest men ever to hold the post.

Mr. Hoover is a major in the Military Intelligence Division of the Officers Reserve Corps, and is a member of the University Club, Columbia Country Club, the Masonic lodge and Kappa Alpha Fraternity.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report In re: Subject Deleted, 1925? (excerpts)] / [Agent? Bureau of Investigation? Department of Justice]. — 2 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: A Bureau of Investigation report mentions Goldman.

Notes: Censored by FBI.

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and was now back in this country associating with prominent people, a situation had been created which should be brought to the attention of this Bureau to be well informed about the revolutionary activities of the subject friendship with EMMA GOLDMAN and other prominent Communists

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

- 2 -

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**Summary:** A Bureau of Investigation report mentions Goldman.  
**Notes:** Censored by FBI.

[REDACTED] said that the persons who are getting the most money in Russia today are the specialists. EUGIA GOLIMAN has not been in Russia for three years. Along certain lines there is more government in Russia to the square foot than anywhere in the world. I am not saying there is nothing to criticize in Russia.

The foregoing background data is furnished for your information in this case.

- REFERRED UPON COMPLETION TO THE OFFICE OF ORIGIN -

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1925 Jan. 6, Washington, D.C. [to] Arthur Bliss Lane, Department of State, Washington, D.C. / J. Edgar Hoover, Director, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice. — 1 p. ; 31 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

**Summary:** Hoover notifies the State Department that Goldman hopes to go to Mexico City to publish a newspaper.

**COPY**  
from  
THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES  
Record Group No. 59

General Records of the Department of State  
Office of the Counselor, File No. 861.0-668

ADDRESS REPLY TO  
DIRECTOR, BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
AND REFER TO  
INITIALS AND NUMBER

TFB:JVM

RECEIVED  
DIVISION OF  
EASTERN EUROPEAN AFFAIRS  
JAN 7 1925  
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Department of Justice  
Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D. C.

January 6, 1925.

DIVISION OF  
EASTERN EUROPEAN AFFAIRS.  
JAN 7 1925  
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

RECEIVED TO U-2  
FILE  
861.0-668

Mr. Arthur Bliss Lane,  
Department of State,  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Lane:

I am in receipt of information from a confidential source to the effect that M. RUBEZHANIN alias GAIDUK who was editor of the "AMERIKANSKYA IZVESTIA" an anarchist publication published in New York City has stated that he has received a letter from Emma *file* Goldman in which was expressed a desire to go to Mexico City, Mexico where together with certain other persons she will assist in the publishing of a newspaper.

Very truly yours,

*J. E. Hoover*  
Director.

# The Emma Goldman Papers

820331010

[Letter] 1925 Jan. 17, Washington, D.C. [to] Evan E. Young, Chief, Division of Eastern European Affairs, Department [of] State, Washington, D.C. / J. Edgar Hoover, Director, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice. — 1 p. ; 32 x 22 cm.  
Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Hoover sends Young a report on the radical press.

Notes: For enclosure, see 820331011.

COPY

from

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

Record Group No. 59

General Records of the Dept. of State  
Office of the Counselor, 1918-1927  
File Number 861.0-2417

Department of Justice

Bureau of Investigation

Washington, D. C.

January 17, 1925.

U 2

DIVISION OF  
EASTERN EUROPEAN AFFAIRS.

JAN 19 1925

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Mr. Evan E. Young,

Chief, Division of Eastern  
European Affairs,

State Department,

Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Young:

I am enclosing herewith a copy of the review  
of the ultra-radical press for November 15th to De-  
cember 15th.

Very truly yours,

J. E. Hoover.

Director.

Encl. 34308.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

193

# The Emma Goldman Papers

Report on the Radical Press, March 15 to April 15, 1925 [excerpt] / [Department of Justice]. — 2 p. ; 34 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: The Justice Department's Report on the Radical Press lists a *New York Times* article on Goldman's attacks on Soviet Russia.

Notes: Light copy. Enclosed with 820331007.

COPY

from

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

Record Group No. 59

General Records of the Dept. of State  
Office of the Counselor, 1918-1927  
File Number 861.0-2417

## REPORT ON THE RADICAL PRESS

March 15 - April 15, 1925.

The Daily Worker, English language official Communist organ of Chicago, in the issue of March 19th, publishes as the regular contribution by J. Louis Engdahl an article on the housing outlook in New York. This is based on the statement of the State Housing Committee recently made to the Albany legislature, and there is no question that it furnishes an excellent text for a Communist sermon. As usually is the case the concluding paragraph is typical of the whole while also giving in capsule form the lesson of the full article. It reads as follows:-

"The real housing problem before the American Workers and poor farmers to-day is the tearing down of the capitalist structure and the building of the new social edifice - COMMUNISM. That will be the first effective step in the effort to solve the question of suitable shelter for all. Filling Madison Square Garden the second time almost within a month, on the occasion of the "Paris Commune" anniversary would indicate that New York's workers are moving in this direction. Labor everywhere over the land wishes them speed."

The same issue of the Daily Worker contains an early May Day statement of counsel by the C.E.C. of the Workers' Party. It does not differ from the usual familiar collection of "slogans"

1.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

194

# The Emma Goldman Papers

Report on the Radical Press, March 15 to April 15, 1925 [excerpt] / [Department of Justice]. — 2 p. ; 34 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: The Justice Department's Report on the Radical Press lists a *New York Times* article on Goldman's attacks on Soviet Russia.

Notes: Light copy. Enclosed with 820331007.

COPY

from

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

Record Group No. 59

General Records of the Dept. of State  
Office of the Counselor, 1918-1927  
File Number 861.0-2417

Communist Fishing in Russia. Editorial.  
Times, April 4, 1925.

New Trade Policy Starts in Russia.  
Times, April 4, 1925.

Emma Goldman Denounces Rule of Soviet.  
Times, April 5, 1925.

Say Reds Floated \$500,000 fake money.  
Times, April 5, 1925.

Hostility to Poland Growing in Russia.  
Times, April 6, 1925.

Sees Peril in Soviet.  
Times, April 6, 1925.

Radek Now Follows Trotsky to Oblivion.  
Times, April 7, 1925.

Religion in Russia. Editorial.  
Times, April 10, 1925.



# The Emma Goldman Papers

820331007

[Letter] 1925 May 8, Washington, D.C. [to] Arthur Bliss Lane, Department of State, Washington, D.C. / J. Edgar Hoover, Director, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice. — 1 p. ; 33 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Hoover sends the State Department a report on the radical press.

Notes: For enclosure, see 820331009.

COPY

from  
THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES  
Record Group No. 59

General Records of the Dept. of State  
Office of the Counselor, 1918-1927  
File Number 861.0-2417

ADDRESS REPLY TO  
DIRECTOR, BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
AND REFER TO  
INITIALS AND NUMBER

TFB:JWM

Department of Justice  
Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D. C.

RETURN TO U-2  
FILE

861.0-2417

EE  
U2

Mr. Arthur Bliss Lane,  
Department of State,  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Lane:

I am enclosing herewith for your information,  
copy of a report upon the radical press, for the month  
ending April 15th, 1925.

Very truly yours,

J. E. Hoover  
Director.

encl.  
37750

GPO

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196

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Certificate of Marriage] 1925 June 27 [between Emma Goldman and James Colton],  
London / Frank Bethall, Registrar. — 1 p. ; 22 x 36 cm.  
Obtained from the General Register Office, London.  
Summary: The marriage certificate of Goldman and James Colton is recorded in London.

CERTIFIED COPY OF AN ENTRY OF MARRIAGE



GIVEN AT THE GENERAL REGISTER OFFICE, LONDON

Application Number G-12167

1925. Marriage solemnized at the Register Office  
in the District of St Marylebone in the County of London.

1 No.	2 When Married.	3 Name and Surname.	4 Age.	5 Condition.	6 Rank or Profession.	7 Residence at the time of Marriage.	8 Father's Name and Surname.	9 Rank or Profession of Father.
69	Twenty seventh June 19 <u>25</u> .	James Colton	65 years	Widower	Colliery Repairs	Station Colliery Stanhamman	Archus Colton deceased	Stone Mason
		Emma Hersknes	55 years	Widow		3. Titchfield Terrace St Marylebone	Abraham Goldman deceased	Furniture Dealer

Married in the Register Office according to the  rites and ceremonies by Licence before me,

This Marriage was solemnized between us, James Colton in the Presence of us, E. Hersknes J. Sweetlove M. Sweetlove Frank Bethall, Registrar Hugh Seabrook, Superintendent Registrar

CERTIFIED to be a true copy of an entry in the certified copy of a register of Marriages in the Registration District of Saint Marylebone  
Given at the GENERAL REGISTER OFFICE, LONDON, under the Seal of the said Office, the 23rd day of September 19 25

MX 925074

This certificate is issued in pursuance of section 65 of the Marriage Act 1949. Sub-section 3 of that section provides that any certified copy of an entry purporting to be sealed or stamped with the seal of the General Register Office shall be received as evidence of the marriage to which it relates without any further or other proof of the entry, and no certified copy purporting to have been given in the said Office shall be of any force or effect unless it is sealed or stamped as aforesaid.

CAUTION:—It is an offence to falsify a certificate or to make or knowingly use a false certificate or a copy of a false certificate intending it to be accepted as genuine to the prejudice of any person, or to possess a certificate knowing it to be false without lawful authority.

Form A513MX Dd.8923930 20M 7/85 Mcr(730600)



SMS

# The Emma Goldman Papers

890414126

[Letter] 1925 Oct. 5, Philadelphia [to] J. Edgar Hoover [Director] Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. [excerpt] / [author unknown]. — 1 p.; 28 x 21 cm.

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: An undisclosed correspondent sends Hoover extracts from *Freedom*, November and December 1919. He incorrectly identifies Goldman as the organizer of a large Mooney defense meeting in Chicago.

Notes: For enclosure, see 890414127. For related document, see 890414123.

TELEPHONES

(b)(7)(c)

RECORDED &amp; INDEXED

26114 OCT 3 0 1925

Philadelphia October 5, 1925



J. E. Hoover, Esq.,  
c/o Bureau of Investigation,  
Department of Justice, Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

61-103-168	
BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION	
OCT 9 1925 P.M.	
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE	
Div. Two	FILE

Enclosed is some ancient history but at the same time it may be of interest.

61-103

It consists of memoranda about Ben Newman and Norman Hapgood, the original Workers' International Defense League of Los Angeles and extracts from *Freedom* of November-December 1919. Harry Kelly was editor of *Freedom* at that time and stated that Hutchins Hapgood, Norman's brother, wrote for it.

You will note that the "little woman" who got up the Mooney meeting in Chicago was Emma Goldman herself. This was pulled off as an AFL affair. The Chairman of the meeting was Edward D. Nolan of the Moulders Union, AFL, and indicted with Tom Mooney for the Preparedness Day bombings. He was the most intimate friend that Alexander Berkman had and was the chief go-between of the Berkman anarchist gang and William B. Wilson while Secretary of Labor. The Vice-Chairman was James H. Maurer, President of the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor, AFL, and a notorious disloyalist. The Secretary was Hockles, who was secretary of the Chicago Federation of Labor, AFL, with IWW leanings. A delegate to the convention was

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 1-7-86 BY SP-10/10/86

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

890414127

Extracts from Freedom of Nov.-Dec. 1919 [compiled 1925 Oct. 7 57, Philadelphia] / [author unknown].— 2 p. ; 32 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: An anonymous author excerpts articles by Goldman, Berkman, Harry Weinberger, and others printed in *Freedom* of November and December 1919. He adds his own comments on the writers' associations.

Notes: Broken type; barely legible. Enclosed with 890414126.

Extracts from

26115

"Freedom"

A Monthly Journal of Constructive Anarchism (of Nov.-Dec. 1919)

Harry Kelly, Editor; Leonard D. Abbott, Associate Editor, both of the Berkman gang, and Abbott is a close friend of John B. Densmore, through whom he is in touch with William B. Wilson.

Constructive Anarchism.--Laws, codes, or rules of conduct have no justification except as they appear ethical or beneficial to the individual affected by them. Constitutions and statutory laws constrain humanity and are destructive of human liberty; they are matters of expediency to be abridged or abrogated by the individuals living under them whenever and wherever they see fit.

Boston Police Strike.--Even the most peaceful trade unionist knows that in the last analysis strikes and violence, or the threat of them, will be resorted to before defeat is accepted or submitted to. Trade unionists may assume a he-doth-protest-too-much attitude as to their love of peace and abhorrence of violence. But it deceived no one, for friend and foe alike know that violence will be practiced, if in the judgment of the opposing parties that is the only to stave off defeat.

Emma Goldman writes: "Strange, is it not, that whenever Socialists cease theorizing and begin to act, they become unscientific and imbued with the emotional evangel spirit of Anarchism? When the Bolsheviks, a minority at the time (they are that even now) disposed of the Provisional Government, did they go about it according to prescribed scientific socialist rules, or did they use the much-tabooed Anarchist direct action?...Far be it from me to claim the Bolsheviks as Anarchists, but that they used anarchistic methods only those will deny who are blind to the facts...The General Strike, persecuted, maligned and ridiculed by leading Socialists for years as general nonsense, now accepted by labor as its most powerful economic weapon, was first propagated and applied by Anarchists...And the Mooney-Billings campaign, now of world-wide importance...The first three hundred dollars was raised for it at an Anarchist meeting. The first steps were taken by Anarchists at a time when everyone else kept aloof...The work was kept up incessantly by Anarchists, aided by some personal friends of Mooney and Billings, Alexander Berkman, J.B. Minor, (protégé of House, Baker and Creel), M. Eleanor Fitzgerald...When the demonstration for Mooney in Petrograd, which gave the case international momentum, was organized by Anarchists. The Mooney convention which you, dear Crystal, describe so admirably in the March issue, was conceived by Anarchists two years ago and made possible largely through the indefatigable work of a little woman--an Anarchist...I wish to add that it is very likely that without the co-operation of the Anarchists, the Bolshevik revolution would certainly not have been quite so successful...And here I will say that the Anarchists left this country with the determination to help the Bolsheviks, which will doubtless surprise X. They came to this decision after a truly marvelous speech by Leon Trotsky on the eve of his departure at the Harlem River Casino. Many Anarchists, including Alexander Berkman and myself, were present at that meeting...Shatoff became a member of the famous Military Revolutionary Committee, organizer of the Printers' Union and of the Factory Shop Committee. Louise fails to state that Shatoff is an anarchist. What is more, William Shatoff in America was the leading spirit in many important strikes. In a letter Louise Bryant wrote, she states that Shatoff succeeded in swinging the majority of the Anarchists over to the Bolsheviks." ("Dear Crystal" is Crystal Eastman, of ACLU).

Corham P. Hanson writes: "But behind our laugh there is a determination. That laws shall prevail less and less."

In Notes: The economic power of the workers nullifies constitutions and makes the profundities of judges grotesque in their ineffectiveness.

At the dinner to Berkman and Emma Goldman, Leonard Abbott, friend of Densmore, Hoxey, Walsh, etc., said: "We are here tonight to pay a public tribute to two of the bravest and most idealistic fighters that the cause of freedom has in the world today. The object of this dinner, as I understand it, is to welcome Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman."

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

# The Emma Goldman Papers

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Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: An anonymous author excerpts articles by Goldman, Berkman, Harry Weinberger, and others printed in Freedom of November and December 1919. He adds his own comments on the writers' associations.

Notes: Broken type; barely legible. Enclosed with 890414126.

26110

--2--

back from their two years' imprisonment...The Constitution of America, so far as it relates to free speech and free press, is a dead letter."

Harry Kelly said, "Out of about, perhaps, sixty labor organizations I visited, not one single one of them repudiated the action of Berkman in the Homestead strike (the attempt to murder Frick) in private. And yet they had officially repudiated it...When the government of the United States imprisoned Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman, they were quite logical. They recognized self-preservation as the first law of nature, and, being the government, sought to preserve themselves in the same way that tyrants have done at all times and in all ages. Three or four years ago, NEWTON BAKER would have scorned any such argument. Today, his answer to a threat to strike is to send telegrams to various officials that the United States army is at their disposal...I am of the opinion that stupid as SECRETARY OF WAR BAKER is, and as recreant to his principles as SECRETARY OF LABOR WILSON is, they know perfectly well that they do not seriously intend to deport Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman...I may be wrong, but as far as my knowledge goes, not one single Russian has yet been deported from the United States...I am sure that if the government was intelligent, they would certainly find some way of interfering with us. But they don't...Some thirty years ago August Spies said, 'We are birds of the coming storm.' Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman are birds of the coming storm. They think the time is close at hand when we will put the relics that are now called governmental institutions in museums."

Harry Weinberger, attorney for Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman said: "It seemed to me almost as if I could hear the strains of liberty coming over from blood torn Russia...They are sent to Ellis Island, where you have the new Spanish inquisition."

Berkman said, "For the benefit of the representatives of the Department of Injustice who are present here tonight, let me say they need not look for the sources of a coming revolution. We are in the midst of it right now in this country. Very few realize it...The very foundations of present-day society are seen to be rotten. This, to me, is a significant symptom, highly encouraging and rich in possibilities...I find that you can talk to common soldiers, to conductors and trainmen, talk to them upon the fundamental evils of society--not about a little higher wage, not about the attitude of this country to the Bolsheviks and all that--but talk to them with a critical attitude to authority as such, with a mind and a purpose toward the abolition of all capitalism and private property, and you find a sympathetic, even if not a thoroughly understanding, ear. You find a sympathetic ear, and that means that the minds of the people are now ready to accept new ideas, new ideals. Let me warn you against a merely formal change of social, or governmental life. Don't let us go through the same experiences that characterized the French revolution. Let us first get clear as to what will constitute a real revolution...I think and hope that Socialists, Anarchists, IWW's and other radicals can find at least a few points of common interest and purpose...Why not join hands, for instance, in the demand for amnesty, or in a nation-wide protest against the principle of deportation?"

Emma Goldman said: "But if they have not the courage (to rebel against government), I can assure them that there are enough foreigners in the United States who have that courage...About fifteen years ago, when Russian revolutionists came to America to ask help to free Russia, Ernest Crosby said at a meeting in Carnegie Hall: 'Friends, today the Russians have come to us to ask us for our help to free Russia. The time is coming when we Americans will have to go to Russia to ask the Russians to help us free America.'...But the time has come when we Americans must go to the Russians and say to them, 'Help us free our country!'"

From G. Louis Dickinson's "A Modern Symposium." "Anarchy is identified with violence; and I will not be hypocritical and base as to deny that violence must be one of our means of action. Force is the midwife of society, and never has radical change been accomplished without it. Yes, I will go further and confess, since here if anywhere we are candid, that it is the way of violence to which I feel called myself, and that I will die as I have lived, an active revolutionary."

"Freedom" has been forbidden the mails by the Post Office authorities but is regularly mailed surreptitiously and has quite a list of subscribers from New York to California.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

870708054

[Letter] 1925 Nov. [8?] Manhattan Beach, N.Y. [to] J. E[dgar] Hoover [Director, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice], Washington, D.C. / Cope. — 1 p.; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: Cope, who earlier warned Hoover of Goldman's plans to marry an American citizen and return to the United States, notifies Hoover that Goldman is now a British citizen.

HOTEL BLACKSTONE

Manhattan Beach N.Y.

TELEPHONES: ESPLANADE 3000-3001-3002

Friday

RECORDED

NOV 8 - 1925

61-255-111

NOV 8 1925 E.H.

Div. One

FILE

Mr. J. E. Hoover,

Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir:

You remember I told you about six years ago about Emma Goldman trying to induce a man, Gay, to go to Norway to marry her so she could return?

I also worked with some others on this - especially Hon. J.C. Bone the pgh lawyer. Result, change in law.

Now she is "British"

Yours.  
Cope

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1926 Oct. 21, Kingston, Canada [to Alexander C. Kirk, Assistant to the Undersecretary, Department of State], Washington [D.C.] / Felix S.S. Johnson, American Consul [Department of State]. — 1 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

**Summary:** Johnson warns the State Department that Goldman is in Canada and will try to re-enter the United States.

**Notes:** Enclosed with 810409115 and 810409116.

Division of  
Western European Affairs.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
OCT 27 1926  
AMERICAN CONSULATE  
WESTERN EUROPEAN AFFAIRS

No. 1027

INDEX BUREAU  
OCT 25 1926  
DEPT. OF STATE

VISA OFFICE  
OCT 27 1926  
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Kingston, Canada, October 21, 1926.

SUBJECT: Emma Goldman

THE HONORABLE  
THE SECRETARY OF STATE,  
WASHINGTON.

UNDER SECRETARY  
U-2  
OCT 27 1926  
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

NOV 1 1926  
INDEX BUREAU  
311.6124 - Goldman, Emma et al.

SIR:

I have the honor to state that my attention has been directed to the recent arrival in this Country of Emma Goldman, a notorious anarchist. Emma Goldman, whose home was in Rochester seven years ago and was deported by the United States Government, will, it is stated, make an attempt to re-enter the United States, claiming she is now a British subject by virtue of her marriage to one James Colton, a coal miner of Scotland. In all probability Emma Goldman will try to have her name entered on the waiting list of an American Consulate along the border or seek to have her British passport visaed.

CR

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

Felix S. S. Johnson  
Felix S.S. Johnson,  
American Consul.

File No. 855

NOV 4 1926

# The Emma Goldman Papers

Report re Emma Goldman, Winnipeg, 1926 Oct. 21 / [Agent] 142, Royal Canadian Mounted Police. — 1 p. ; 27 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the National Archives of Canada. Institutional Location: Record Group 18.

Summary: Agent 142 describes Goldman's Canadian lecture plans.

Notes: Upper document only. Enclosed with 850128043 and 850128070.

ROYAL CANADIAN MOUNTED POLICE

"D" VISION  
MANITOBA DISTRICT

*Secret. - dm*  
Man. Dist. 100 Z-126.

R E P O R T  
re

EMMA GOLDMAN (Emma Goldman Colton)  
Former Anarchist.

Winnipeg, Man.,  
October 21, 1926.

R.C.M. POLICE  
HEADQUARTERS  
159572 OCT 25 26

OTTAWA

*170/4414*

The above named is the famous Anarchist, who in the beginning of the Bolshevik Revolution went to Russia and agitated for the revolution, but she went so far in her Anarchistic doctrines that it was too much even for the Bolshevik Government and she was expelled from the territory of the Soviet Republics.

At present, according to a notice in the Israelite Press of October 19th, she arrived in Montreal where she will hold a series of lectures. From Montreal she will go to Toronto and Winnipeg for the same purpose and may also go further West if arrangements will be made. Her lectures she will give in English and Yiddish.

She is expected here about the 1-7th of November.

"142"

The Commissioner,  
R.C.M. Police,  
Ottawa, Ont.

*W*  
Forwarded for your information, 22-10-26. I see from the Press Reports that Emma Goldman has been delivering lectures in Montreal on her impressions of Soviet Russia, which undoubtedly you will have read. Should she visit Winnipeg her lectures will be reported on and particular care taken to see if she comes in friendly contact with the Communists at this point.

C/H. **OCT 23 1926**

*Dann*  
T. Dann,  
Inspector,  
Commanding Manitoba District.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]26 Oct. 22, Winnipeg [to Cortlandt Starnes] Commissioner, Royal Canadian Mounted Police, Ottawa / T. Dann, Inspector, Manitoba District, Royal Canadian Mounted Police. — 1 p.; 34 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the National Archives of Canada. Institutional Location: Record Group 18.

Summary: Dann forwards an agent's report on Goldman's travel plans in Canada. He promises to watch her when she is in Winnipeg.

Notes: Lower document only. For enclosure, see 850128048.

## ROYAL CANADIAN MOUNTED POLICE

"D" DIVISION  
MANITOBA DISTRICT

Secret. *dm*  
Man. Dist. 100 Z-126.

### REPORT re

EMMA GOLDMAN (Emma Goldman Colton)  
Former Anarchist.

Winnipeg, Man.,  
October 21, 1926.

C.M. POLICE  
HEADQUARTERS  
159572 OCT 25 26

OTTAWA

170/4414

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R.C.M. Police,  
Ottawa, Ont.

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C/H. OCT 23 1926

*Dann*  
T. Dann,  
Inspector,  
Commanding Manitoba District.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1926 Oct. 25, Montreal [to Cortlandt Starnes] Commissioner, Royal Canadian Mounted Police, Ottawa / J.W. Phillips, Insp[ector] Quebec District, Royal Canadian Mounted Police. — 1 p.; 27 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the National Archives of Canada. Institutional Location: Record Group 18.

Summary: Phillips informs Starnes that he will report on Goldman's upcoming lecture in Montreal on the Russian situation.

Notes: Enclosed with 850128043. For report mentioned, see 850128044.

## Royal Canadian Mounted Police

QUEBEC DISTRICT.

Ref. No. 175/4414

Montreal, Oct. 25th. 1926.

Atl. Ref. No.

The Commissioner,  
R.C.M. Police,  
Ottawa, Ont..

R.C.M. POLICE  
HEADQUARTERS

151782 OCT 27 26

OTTAWA, C.

Sir:-

Re: Emma Goldman.

I have the honour to advise you that the above named woman is at present in this City, having recently arrived from Russia. I understand that in 1919 she was deported by the States for her revolutionary opinions. After living in Russia for a number of years her views regarding Communism apparently are reversed, and she now appears to be a strong anti-Communist.

She is advertised as addressing a meeting in the Princess Theatre next Sunday, on conditions in the Russia of to-day. Report will be submitted covering this meeting.

I have the honour to be,  
Sir,  
Your obedient servant,

OCT 27 1926

J. W. Phillips INSP.  
(J. W. Phillips).  
COMMANDING QUEBEC DISTRICT.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1926 Oct. 27 [Washington, D.C. to] J. E[dgar] Hoover, Director, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. / Alexander C. Kirk [Assistant to the Undersecretary, Department of State]. — 1 p. ; 31 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Kirk notifies Hoover that the American consul in Canada expects Goldman to try to enter the United States.

Notes: For enclosure, see 810617042. Copy of 880615401.

COPY

from

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

Record Group No. 59

General Records of the Department of State  
Office of the Counselor, File No. 861.O-668

RETURNED  
861.O-668

October 27, 1926.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

I am sending you herewith a copy of a despatch dated October 21, which has been received from the American Consul at Kingston, Canada, regarding Emma Goldman who may apply for a visa to enter the United States.

Very truly yours,

J. E. Hoover, Esquire,  
Director, Bureau of Investigation,  
Department of Justice,  
Washington, D. C.

Enclosure.  
311.6124 Goldman, E.

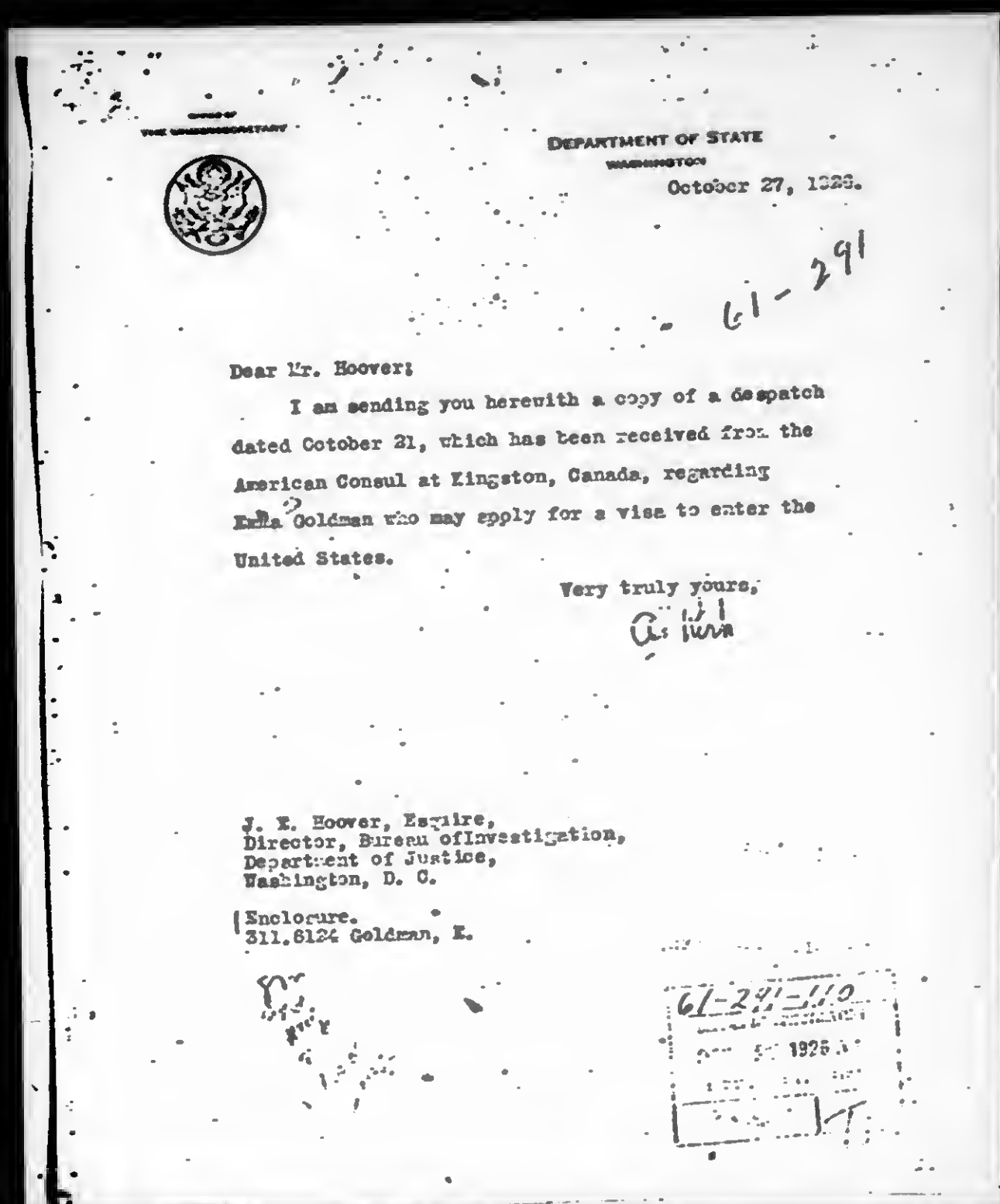
AK/LAW

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1926 Oct. 27, Washington [D.C. to] J. E[dgar] Hoover, Director, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. / A[lexander C.] Kirk [Assistant to the Undersecretary] Department of State. — 1 p. ; 16 × 13 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the United States Library of Congress.  
Institutional Location: Paul Avrich Papers.

Notes: For enclosure, see 810617042. For copy, see 810409115.



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# The Emma Goldman Papers

810409116

[Letter] 1926 Oct. 27 [Washington, D.C. to] W[alter] W. Husband, Assistant Secretary of Labor [Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / [Alexander C. Kirk, Assistant to the Undersecretary, Department of State]. — 1 p. ; 31 x 22 cm.

*Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.*

**Summary:** Kirk notifies Husband that the American consul in Canada expects Goldman to try to enter the United States.

**Notes:** For enclosure, see 810617042.

COPY

from

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

Record Group No. 59

General Records of the Department of State

Office of the Counselor, File No. 861.0-668

861.0-668

October 27, 1926.

Dear Mr. Husband:

I am sending you herewith a copy of a despatch dated October 21, which has been received from the American Consul at Kingston, Canada, regarding Emma Goldman who may apply for a visa to enter the United States.

Very truly yours,

The Honorable  
W. W. Husband,  
Assistant Secretary of Labor,  
Washington, D. C.

Enclosure.

AK/LAW

# The Emma Goldman Papers

891218035

[Letter] 1926 Oct. 30, St. Tropez [to] Préfet du Var, Draguignan, France / Milelli, Commissaire de Police de St. Tropez. — 1 p.; 29 x 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Archives Nationales de France, Paris. Institutional Location: Records of the Sûreté Générale, F7 13060.

Summary: Milelli reports that the anarchist, Marius Verdame, was in St. Tropez recently trying to buy property for others.

Notes: In French. Enclosed with 891218034.

RÉPUBLIQUE FRANÇAISE

## Préfecture du Département du Var

Saint-Tropez, le 30 octobre 1926



Le Commissaire de Police de St-Tropez  
à Monsieur le Préfet du Département du  
Var à Draguignan.

J'ai l'honneur de vous faire connaître, à  
titre de renseignement, ce qui suit :



Le nommé VENDAME, Marius, dit "MAURICIUS"  
âgé de 36 ans environ, propagandiste anarchiste  
notoire, a séjourné en dernier lieu à l'hôtel Sube  
à St-Tropez, du 15 août au 14 octobre dernier. Au  
cours de son séjour dans cette ville, VENDAME, s'est  
rendu acquéreur d'un terrain de cinq hectares, sis  
en bordure de mer, au lieu dit "Les Salins" à sept  
kilomètres environ du Phare de Camarat. Il est actuel-  
lement en procès avec son vendeur. VENDAME, qui ne  
disposerait pas de ressources personnelles, agit  
pour le compte d'un autre. Vers la même époque, il  
aurait acheté à Ste-MAXIME (Var) au terrain qu'il  
aurait revendu par la suite au communiste SADOUL.

VENDAME a rejoint son domicile à Paris, 2  
Impasse Girardon ( 15<sup>e</sup> arrondissement )

Le Commissaire de Police

Signé: MILELLI

Pour copie conforme:  
Le Secrétaire Général



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209

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Memorandum] 1926 Nov. 2 [Washington, D.C. to] Immigration Officers on the Canadian Border / G.E. Tolman, Assistant Commissioner General [Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor]. — 1 p. ; 27 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the Immigration and Naturalization Service via FOIA.

**Summary:** Tolman instructs the immigration officers on the Canadian frontier to watch for Goldman, who is expected to try to enter the United States.

**Notes:** Dark copy. For related documents, see 810617042 and 810409116.

No. 52420/42-0

November 2, 1926.

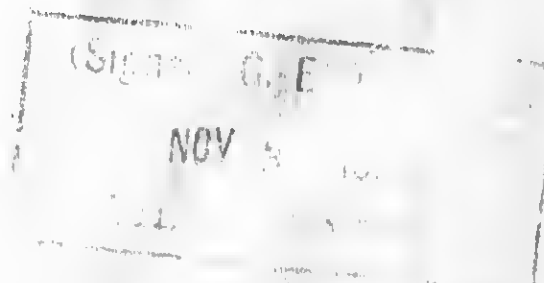
TO IMMIGRATION OFFICERS ON THE CANADIAN BORDER:

The American Consul at Kingston, Ontario, Canada, has reported that EMMA GOLDMAN, the notorious anarchist who was deported, under warrant, on December 21, 1919, will attempt to reenter the United States. The Consul reports that Emma Goldman now claims to be a British subject by marriage to one James Colton, a coal miner of Scotland. It is understood that she carries a British passport.

Please keep a lookout for the alien.

G. E. TOLMAN,  
Assistant Commissioner General.

*MS: LVC*



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210



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Report] re Emma Goldman, Montreal, 1926 Nov. 2 / F.R. Hassey, Royal Canadian Mounted Police. — 1 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.  
 Obtained from the National Archives of Canada. Institutional Location: Record Group 18.  
 Summary: Hassey describes Goldman's lecture on "The Recent Crisis in Russia."  
 Notes: Enclosed with 850128043 and 850128045. For related document, see 850128047.

Royal Canadian Mounted Police  
 QUEBEC DISTRICT (C. J. B.)

R.C.M. POLICE  
 HEADQUARTERS

150380 NOV -4 26

OTTAWA

In Reply please quote

Montreal, Nov. 2nd., 1926.

Ref. No. ....

P.C.R. 25-10-26.

Atl. Ref. No.  
 212-254.

The Officer Commanding,  
 R.C.M. Police,  
 Montreal, Que..

Sir:-

Re: Emma Goldman (Mrs. Colton).

I have the honour to report that acting on instructions received I attended the lecture given by Emma Goldman on Sunday afternoon, the 31st. ult., at "His Majesty's Theatre". (It had been reported previously that this lecture would be given at "The Princess"). The subject of her lecture was, "The recent Crisis in Russia".

She spoke for over an hour, her lecture dealing mainly with conditions in Russia since the revolution in 1917. At the beginning of her speech she endeavored to impress on her audience that she was still at heart a Communist; but there was no real Communism in present day Russia, nor had there ever been any. She went on to depict a deplorable state of affairs in the country to-day. 300,000 children, she stated, were absolutely destitute and roaming the country, while the gaols were filled with 89,000 political prisoners; and the speaker appealed for money to be sent on behalf of these prisoners, through her. At the close of the meeting questions were invited and about a dozen, mainly hostile, were submitted and answered.

Emma Goldman spoke with marked ability and held the attention of her audience throughout. But her speech did not ring altogether sincere and her attitude towards the present regime in Russia is perhaps partly prompted by the fact that she does not appear to have been much in the limelight herself while in Russia.

Her lecture smacks somewhat of a money-making concern. She was the sole attraction and prices charged for admission ranged from \$2.00 down to .50. Though the lecture had been much advertised there were only about 300 present --- these were mostly of the better class foreign element. There was no disturbance of any nature.

I have the honour to be,  
 Sir,  
 Your obedient servant,

F. R. Hassey  
 (F. R. Hassey) Reg. No. 7797. Cpl.

NOV 4 - 1926

## The Emma Goldman Papers

850128043

[Memorandum, 19]26 Nov. 3, Montreal [to Cortlandt Starnes] Commissioner, Royal Canadian Mounted Police, Ottawa / J.W. Phillips, Insp[ector] Quebec District [Royal Canadian Mounted Police]. — 1 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.

*Obtained from the National Archives of Canada. Institutional Location: Record Group 18.*

**Summary:** Phillips forwards a report on Goldman's lecture in Montreal and notes that she hopes to return to the United States.

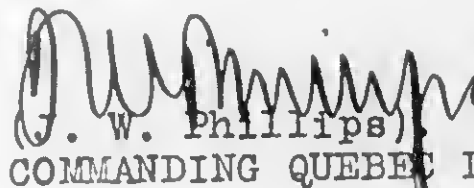
**Notes:** Enclosed with 850128043. For enclosure, see 850128044.

The Commissioner,  
R.C.M. Police,  
Ottawa, Ont..

Forwarded for your information.

Emma Goldman states she was married to an Englishman, by name Colton, last year while in the Old Country. She has expressed her intention of crossing over to the States if she can do so legally.

Montreal,  
3-11-26.

 INSP..  
(J. W. Phillips)  
COMMANDING QUEBEC DISTRICT.

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1926 Nov. 3, Ottawa [to] E.J. O'Connell, Dominion Immigration Agent, Quebec [City] / J.S. Fraser, Division Commissioner, Department of Immigration and Colonization. — 1 p.; 26 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the National Archives of Canada. Institutional Location: Record Group 18.

Summary: Fraser asks O'Connell to explain why the immigration officials allowed Goldman to enter Canada so that he can answer the complaints of outraged citizens.

Notes: Broken type; light copy. For reply, see 850128043. For follow-up, see 850128042.

(In triplicate)

HEADQUARTERS

156742 NOV -5 '26

ADDRESS  
EASTERN  
GOVERNMENT COMMISSIONER

E. J. Moquin, your 37564.

J. Bruce Walker, your 26.G.200. Is any information available as to the circumstances under which this woman secure transportation to Canada a DEPARTMENT OF IMMIGRATION AND COLONIZATION The Commissioner, R.C.M.P., Ottawa. In duplicate. Your 175)4414.

OTTAWA, 3rd November, 1926.

Sir,-

I beg to quote, for your information, the following complaint which has been addressed to our Agent in Montreal regarding the presence in Canada of one Emma Goldman, or Mrs. James Colton:-

"There is a group of citizens watching your action regarding Emma Goldman. Why have you let this immoral woman come in while good people are kept out. She preached openly free love for many years in the U.S.A. She lived openly with Berkman and other men and was turned out of hotels on many occasions because of the immoral life. According to the emigration laws you cannot let her in, why therefore don't you arrest her as you would any other anarchist or immoral woman. Canada cannot afford to let such characters in against our marriage laws, preaches against religion and organized Government. You can get her police record from N.Y. If you do not act soon there will be a public mass meeting called to bring this before the authorities. We advise you to act quickly."

The records of the Department indicate that Mrs. Emma Colton, describing herself as 55 years of age, married, a native of Kovno, Lithuania, and a British subject by marriage, a writer by occupation, coming to Canada to study the country, was a cabin passenger by the S.S. "Minnedosa" arriving at Quebec on the 16th October, 1926, and was permitted entry as a non-immigrant for a period of four months, being destined to Mr. and Mrs. J. Deneer, 759 Bathurst Street, Toronto.

I shall be glad to be advised as to the particular circumstances under which Emma Goldman, or Colton, was regarded as belonging to the non-immigrant classes and under which her entry to Canada as such was permitted.

E.J. O'Connell, Esq.,  
Dominion Immigration Agent,  
Quebec, Quebec.

Your obedient servant,  
J. S. Fraser,  
Division Commissioner.

NOV 5 - 1926

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

891218034

[Letter] 1926 Nov. 4, Draguignan, France [to] Ministre de l'Interieur, [Paris] / Préfet du Var. — 1 p. ; 29 x 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Archives Nationales de France, Paris.  
Institutional Location: Records of the Sûreté Générale, F7 13060.

Summary: The Préfet du Var forwards a report that a French anarchist is buying property in St. Tropez for another person.

Notes: In French. For enclosure, see 891218035.

PRÉFECTURE  
DU VAR

République Française

Cabinet du Préfet

Draguignan, le 4 novembre 1926

Direction de la Sûreté

Générale

-:-:-



Le Préfet du Var  
à Monsieur le MINISTRE DE L'INTERIEUR,



J'ai l'honneur de vous adresser, ci-joint,  
à toutes fins utiles, copie d'un rapport de Police signa-  
lant l'achat par un anarchiste notoire d'un terrain à  
Saint-Tropez en bordure de la Mer.

Le Préfet,

A handwritten signature, likely of the Prefet du Var, followed by a long, sweeping line that extends downwards and to the right.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

Flapper Best Wife, Emma Goldman Idea — 28 cm. In [unknown periodical (Nov. 6? 1926)] / [author unknown].

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: Speaking about her marriage to James Colton, Goldman believes that the modern woman is better prepared for marriage than women of the previous generation.

Notes: Broken type; portions illegible.

20—L Editorial Telep

## FLAPPER BEST WIFE, EMMA GOLDMAN IDEA

She Believes Modern U. S. Girl  
with Knowledge of World  
Will Make Ideal Mother

MONTREAL, Nov. 6.—If James Colton, Welsh coal miner who Emma Goldman, noted anarchist, claims is her husband, was reticent about discussing his marriage, Miss Goldman is not. She said today:

"I was married to Mr. Colton on June 27, 1923, at Glamorgan, Wales. I traveled here on a passport containing both his name and my own. I am now, of course, a British subject, due to my marriage."

### NOTES ADVANCEMENT.

Discussing marriage and modern tendencies, Miss Goldman found the women of today far advanced over those of a generation ago. She said:

"There never was a time when a finer and more understanding comradeship existed between man and woman than at the present day. Women are freer to mingle with male friends and acquaintances in their work and play."

"As for the modern young woman, the flapper, I think she will make a far better wife and mother than the girls of a generation ago, who were kept in ignorance of the world."

### OPPOSES ALIMONY.

Miss Goldman believes divorce should be made accessible to all parties, but thinks that, except when there are children, or when a wife is unable to earn her way, there should be no alimony.

Speaking of the United States, to which she has been denied readmittance, Miss Goldman said America is a sexually adolescent, harboring both the puerility and the maturity that go with adolescence.

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## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1926 Nov. 6 [Ottawa to J.S. Fraser] Deputy Minister, Department of Immigration and Colonization, Ottawa / Cortlandt Starnes, Commissioner [Royal Canadian Mounted Police]. — 1 p. ; 26 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the National Archives of Canada. Institutional Location: Record Group 18.

Summary: Starnes sends Fraser two reports on Goldman's activities in Canada.

Notes: Broken type. For enclosures, see 850128044, 850128045, 850128047, and 850128048. Reply to 850128046.

175/4414

6th November, 1926

Sir,

With reference to Emma Goldman, who was the subject of your letter of 3rd November to the Dominion Immigration Agent at Quebec, a copy of which you have favoured me with, (your reference No. 51160Imm.). I have received a few reports concerning her presence in Canada, two of which I append to this as being of possible interest to you. One is from Winnipeg, under date of 21st October, and the other is from Montreal, dated 2nd November.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your obedient servant,

(Cortlandt Starnes)  
Commissioner.

The Deputy Minister,  
Department of Immigration and Colonization,  
Ottawa.

GPH. 100

*W.S.*

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

810409118

[Letter] 1926 Nov. 8, New York [to] Frank L. Polk [former Undersecretary of State, Department of State], New York / Isaac Don Levine. — 2 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: In an attempt to solicit Polk's support in the campaign for Goldman's visit to the United States, Levine summarizes Goldman's history since her deportation, emphasizing her anti-Bolshevism.

Notes: Enclosed with 810409117.

COPY

from

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

Record Group No. 59

General Records of the Department of State  
Office of the Counselor, File No. 861.0-668

COPY-ECL

MACAULAY COMPANY  
Publishers  
115-117 East 23rd Street, New York.

RETURN TO U-2  
FILE  
861.0-668

November 8, 1926.

Frank L. Polk, Esq.,  
44 Wall Street,  
New York City.

My dear Mr. Polk:

The case of Emma Goldman, in which you were good enough to take an interest in the course of our recent conversation, may be summarized as follows:

Emma Goldman was deported to Soviet Russia in 1919. Had she been an opportunist, she would have joined the Bolshevist organization and now be Soviet Envoy to Mexico or Norway. But being a woman of high ideals, she resented the oppression in Russia and clashed with the ruling powers. Thanks to the interference of certain foreign visitors in Moscow, she was finally permitted to leave Russia on condition that she would never return there.

She emerged from the Soviet realm a broken woman. She wrote a series of articles for The New York World exposing the Bolshevist terror. She wrote a book entitled "My Disillusionment in Russia", published by Doubleday, Page.

Towards the end of 1924, Emma Goldman was permitted by the British Government to take up residence in England. She devoted herself to lecturing and to a study of the drama. A book by her on the theater has just been published in London.

While

# The Emma Goldman Papers

810409118

[Letter] 1926 Nov. 8, New York [to] Frank L. Polk [former Undersecretary of State, Department of State], New York / Isaac Don Levine. — 2 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.  
Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.  
Summary: In an attempt to solicit Polk's support in the campaign for Goldman's visit to the United States, Levine summarizes Goldman's history since her deportation, emphasizing her anti-Bolshevism.  
Notes: Enclosed with 810409117.

COPY  
from  
THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES  
Record Group No. 59

General Records of the Department of State  
Office of the Counselor, File No. 861.O-668

- 3 -

While on a lecture tour in Wales, Emma Goldman met Mr. James Colton. They were married in London in June, 1925. She is now a British subject.

Having received several invitations to come to Canada to lecture on Russia, she landed in Quebec last month, opening her lecture tour at His Majesty's Theater, Montreal, on Nov. 1.

Emma Goldman-Colton is now 56 years old. She privately states that she no longer believes in revolution as the universal panacea. Her main interest at present is to expose the Bolshevist despotism. Later she intends to devote herself to the writing of her autobiography. She intends to spend the rest of her life in Europe, but she wishes to visit the United States for several months. Her friends in New York are ready to put up a bond of any reasonable amount to insure her departure on a fixed date. While in America, Emma Goldman would undertake to confine herself to lecturing and writing on two subjects, "The Recent Crisis in Russia" and "The Contemporary Russian Theater."

The enclosed clippings from the Montreal press reporting Emma Goldman's present views on Russia should leave no doubt as to her position on the subject of Bolshevism.

Faithfully yours,

Isaac Don Levine.

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1926 Nov. 17 [Washington, D.C. to] Frank L. Polk [former Undersecretary of State, Department of State], New York / [Alexander? C.? Kirk? Assistant to the Undersecretary of State? Department of State]. — 2 p. ; 30 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: A State Department official explains that Goldman, as a British citizen living in Canada, may enter the United States temporarily without a visa.

Notes: Broken type; light copy; barely legible. For enclosure, see 810409118.

**C O P Y**  
from  
THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES  
Record Group No. 59

General Records of the Department of State  
Office of the Counselor, File No. 861.0-668

861.0-668

November 17, 1926.

Dear Frank:

With reference to the case of Emma Goldman whom you mentioned in your letter of November 12th and who, it appears, wishes to enter the United States, I think, insofar as the Department of State is concerned, the matter is settled by Executive Order No. 4476 dated July 13, 1926, entitled "Documents required of aliens entering the United States", which declares that the President has ordered that British subjects domiciled in Canada may enter the United States temporarily without passports or visas.

Emma Goldman, I understand, is now a British subject domiciled in Canada. If, therefore, she wishes to enter the United States temporarily, by virtue of the above mentioned Executive Order,  
Honorable Frank L. Polk,  
44 Wall Street,  
New York, New York.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1926 Nov. 17 [Washington, D.C. to] Frank L. Polk [former Undersecretary of State, Department of State], New York / [Alexander? C.? Kirk? Assistant to the Undersecretary of State? Department of State]. — 2 p. ; 30 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: A State Department official explains that Goldman, as a British citizen living in Canada, may enter the United States temporarily without a visa.

Notes: Broken type; light copy; barely legible. For enclosure, see 810409118.

COPY

from

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

Record Group No. 59

General Records of the Department of State  
Office of the Counselor, File No. 861.0-668

-3-

she need not apply to a Consular officer for a visa but should apply to a border port of entry with such documents as she may happen to have or the Immigration authorities may require concerning her status as a British subject, her domicile in Canada and the temporary nature of her visit. This application will be noted upon by the Immigration authorities and in the event of any difficulty, by the Department of Labor.

I am returning to you herewith Mr. Levine's letter which you may require for your records.

Yours sincerely,

U-2

Enclosure.  
AK/DA  
Letter from  
Mr. Levine.

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220



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1926? Nov.? 17?] Washington, D.C. [to] James J. Davis, Secretary of Labor [Department of Labor, Washington, D.C.] / [Frank B. Kellogg] Secretary of State [Department of State]. — 2 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

**Summary:** The secretary of state prepares a letter discussing Goldman's eligibility to return to the United States.

**Notes:** For related documents, see 810409117 and 810409118.

ADDRESS OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS TO  
THE SECRETARY OF STATE  
WASHINGTON, D. C.



## DEPARTMENT OF STATE WASHINGTON

My dear Mr. Secretary:

In reference to our telephone conversation Saturday morning, in regard to Emma Goldman, I am enclosing a copy of a letter transmitted to me by Mr. Frank L. Polk which indicates that she may desire to visit the United States.

Emma Goldman married Mr. James Colton, a British subject, in London in June 1925, and is now a British subject. She and her husband came to Canada several weeks ago and I understand they are now residing in Montreal and that their future plans are uncertain. Under the circumstances I believe it has been the practice to consider that the fourth subdivision of Section II of the Executive Order of July 12, 1926, applies and that an alien may be admitted by your officers without passport or visa if found to be admissible under our laws.

However,

The Honorable

James J. Davis,

Secretary of Labor.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

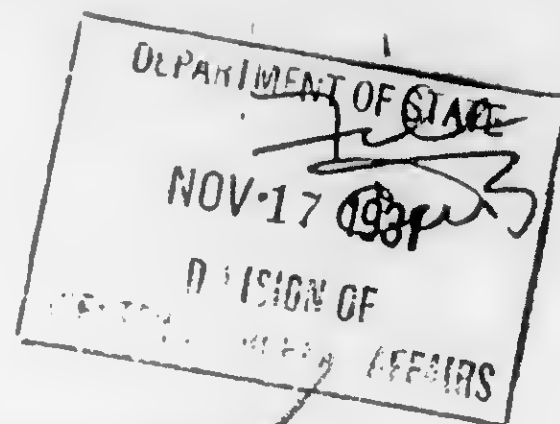
# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1926? Nov.? 17?] Washington, D.C. [to] James J. Davis, Secretary of Labor [Department of Labor, Washington, D.C.] / [Frank B. Kellogg] Secretary of State [Department of State]. — 2 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: The secretary of state prepares a letter discussing Goldman's eligibility to return to the United States.

Notes: For related documents, see 810409117 and 810409118.



However, if upon application to your officers,

it is ascertained that she is not domiciled in Canada, it would, of course, be necessary for her to apply for a passport visa from an American Consul.

If Emma Goldman desired to come to the United States for permanent residence she would be required to apply for a Russian quota immigration visa unless she was accompanied by her husband, in which case she would be chargeable to the British quota.

I am transmitting also, a memorandum prepared in this Department covering briefly Emma Goldman's history. She seems to have changed her former views on Bolshevism but whether she still holds the views on anarchism upon which she was deported under the Act of October 16, 1918, by the Wilson administration, I have no direct evidence. You will doubtless satisfy yourself on this point if you find that the matter of her admission is wholly within the jurisdiction of your Department.

I am, my dear Mr. Davis,

Very sincerely yours,

Enclosures:

As above.

FILED

NOV 17 1931

311.6124-  
Goldman  
Emma  
et al

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222

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1926 Nov. 23, Ottawa [to] E.J. O'Connell, Dominion Immigration Agent, Quebec [City] / J.S. Fraser, Division Commissioner, Department of Immigration and Colonization. — 1 p.; 26 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the National Archives of Canada. Institutional Location: Record Group 18.

Summary: Fraser asks O'Connell to send him a report explaining why he allowed Goldman to enter Canada so he can reply to citizens' complaints.

Notes: Broken type; light copy. Follow-up to 850128046.

EAST  
ADDRESS  
DIVISION COMMISSIONER



R.C.M. POLICE  
HEADQUARTERS

166840 NOV 26 26

IN YOUR REPLY REFER TO

OTTAWA, C.

No. 51160

KINDLY DO NOT WRITE ON MORE THAN ONE SUBJECT IN ANY ONE LETTER

DEPARTMENT OF IMMIGRATION AND COLONIZATION

OTTAWA.....23rd November, 1926.

Copies for:-

E. C. Moquin, your 37564.

J. Bruce Walker, your 26.G.200. In duplicate.

The Commissioner, R.C.M.P., Ottawa. In duplicate.

Your 175/4414.

175/4414

Sir,-

Referring to my letter to you of the 3rd instant, making inquiry as to the circumstances under which the entry at your port was permitted of Emma Goldman, or Mrs. James Colton, it may be stated that since writing you complaints have been received from various sources as to the presence in Canada of this woman and the Department is being asked to explain why a woman of the known reputation of Emma Goldman has been permitted entry to Canada under any circumstances.

Under the circumstances I would ask that you furnish report in connection with the circumstances of the entry to Canada of Emma Goldman, or Mrs. James Colton, at the earliest possible date.

Your obedient servant,

NOV 23 1926

J. S. Fraser

Division Commissioner.

E. J. O'Connell, Esq.,  
Dominion Immigration Agent,  
Quebec, Quebec.

*[Handwritten signature]*

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Memorandum, 19]26 Nov. 29 [Washington, D.C. to] Doyle [Department of State?, Washington, D.C.] / C. S[iegel] Bureau of Indexes and Archives, Department of State. — 1 p.; 35 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Siegel gives Doyle instructions about Goldman's file in the State Department. He wants to be notified about Goldman's possible return to the United States.

Notes: Lower right document only.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

OFFICE OF  
THE DIRECTOR OF THE CONSULAR SERVICE

V.

Dear du Bois

I have redrafted  
this as being a  
few changes by  
way of amplifi-  
cation.

W.D.

Mr Siegel  
wants note to  
Emma Goldman  
8/1.11/1

No. 1

Mr. Siegel  
Not signed  
J.F.D.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

VISA OFFICE

AC  
Miss Griffith

Mr. Carr's redraft  
presumably went to the  
Sec. with the file.

I just want to make  
sure this didn't become  
detached and the file  
is <sup>not</sup> floating around somewhere  
and can't be found when  
the Secretary wants it.  
Carr.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
BUREAU OF INDEXES AND ARCHIVES

11-29-26

Mr. Doyle:-

Hasn't the redraft  
reached you? If not,  
I believe this paper  
should - if of any value  
be placed with the other.  
Please note Mr. du Bois's  
filing instruction. I  
should have a note  
on any possibility of  
Emma's attempt to enter  
the U.S. upon which sub-  
ject I believe there is now  
a despatch.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE



Obtained from the National Archives of Canada. Institutional Location: Record Group 18.

**Summary:** Agent 30 describes the debate between communists and others at the Regina Trades and Labor Council over whether to arrange lectures for Goldman in Regina.

**Notes:** Enclosed with 850128068 and 850128069.

ROYAL CANADIAN MOUNTED POLICE.

Southern Saskatchewan District,  
Regina, Sask. December 14th. 1926.

~~SECRET~~

The Officer Commanding,  
Royal Canadian Mounted Police,  
Southern Saskatchewan District,  
Regina, Sask.

Re - Emma Goldman

SSD Ref. No.  
212-370

At the regular meeting of the Regina Trades and Labor Council, held in the Labor Temple last night, a communication from the above named, in which she requested to arrange a meeting or series of meetings for her, was read and discussed.

The Communication, accompanied by two letters of introduction, ~~was~~<sup>being</sup> addressed to Ralph Heseltine who requested the Council to discuss the matter.

Emma Goldman stated in the communication that she would be leaving Toronto for the West at the end of the year and wanted to know if meetings could be arranged for her in the City of Regina. She also gave a list of subjects she endeavors to deal with at the meetings.

hireling Immediately after the letter was read  
an attack was launched by H.Appleton upon the above  
named, accusing her of being ~~a~~the ~~author~~ of the  
Capitalist Press and out to discredit Soviet Russia.  
In this attack he was supported by Frank Hamon who  
seconded Appleton's motion that the communication  
be filed without taking any action.

Alderman Perry, in the course of the discussion, contended that Labor should be fair to Emma Goldman and that the Regina Trades Council should accord her the same privilege as accorded to other men who visited Russia and who spoke in the city of Regina.

After some bitter arguments between Appleton and Hamon on the one side and Ald. Perry on the other, an amendment to the motion was moved by Ralph Heseltine, seconded by Tomlin, that in view of that the Public Speakers Bureau had been handling speakers of that sort in the past, Emma Goldman to be notified that she should approach the secretary of the Bureau and should the Speakers Bureau consider her request the Council then might act as it did on former occasions.

The amendment carried, practically all the delegates voting for the amendment.

In all probability Miss Brigdon, secretary of the Speakers Bureau at Brandon, will refuse to tour Emma Goldman. Should that be the case, the Regina Trades Council will have nothing to do with Emma Goldman.

No 30.

REF ID: A62828

BEST COPY AVAILABLE



## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Memorandum, 19]26 Dec. 16, Regina, Canada [to W.? P.? Lindsay? Superintendent? Royal Canadian Mounted Police, Regina, Canada] / J.W. Kempston [Royal Canadian Mounted Police]. — 1 p. ; 26 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the National Archives of Canada. Institutional Location: Record Group 18.

Summary: Kempston forwards a report on the Regina Trade Council's debate over Goldman's proposed trip to Regina. He notes that Goldman is no longer pro-Soviet.

Notes: Upper document only. For enclosure, see 850128041. For related document, see 850128069.

SSD R. No.

212-770

FORWARDED. This woman is no doubt well known at Headquarters, it is believed she is in this country endeavouring to return to the U.S.A., from where she was deported to Russia some years ago, but if her statements to the press recently are to be believed, she has suffered a change of heart.

*J. W. Kempston*

D/Sergt..

J. W. Kempston,  
i/c C.I.B. Regina, Sask., 16-12-26.

The Commissioner,  
R.C.M. Police,  
OTTAWA, Ont..

FORWARDED for your information:

*W. P. Lindsay*

Supt..

W.P. Lindsay,  
O.C. Southern Sask., District.  
Regina, 16-12-26.  
JWK-KL.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

# The Emma Goldman Papers

850128069

[Memorandum, 19]26 Dec. 16, Regina, Canada [to Cortlandt Starnes] Commissioner,  
Royal Canadian Mounted Police, Ottawa / W.P. Lindsay, Sup[erintenden]t [Royal  
Canadian Mounted Police]. — 1 p. ; 26 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the National Archives of Canada. Institutional Location: Record Group 18.

Summary: Lindsay forwards a report on Goldman to the head of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police.

Notes: Lower document only. For enclosures, see 850128041 and 850128068.

SSD R. No.

212-770

FORWARDED. This woman is no doubt well known  
at Headquarters, it is believed she is in this  
country endeavouring to return to the U.S.A.,  
from where she was deported to Russia some  
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*J. W. Kempston*

D/Sergt..

J. W. Kempston,  
i/c C.I.B. Regina, Sask., 16-12-26.

The Commissioner,  
R.C.M. Police,  
OTTAWA, Ont..

FORWARDED for your information:

*W. P. Lindsay*

Supt..

W.P. Lindsay,  
O.C. Southern Sask., District.  
Regina, 16-12-26.

JWK-KL.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

# The Emma Goldman Papers

Russia in Hands of Ruthless Dictator, Says Emma Goldman — 36 cm. In [London Ontario Free Press (Jan. 8, 1927)] / [author unknown].

Obtained from the National Archives of Canada. Institutional Location: Record Group 18.

Summary: The London Free Press describes Goldman's speech on "Dictators—Bolshevist and Italian," in which she attacked Stalin even more strongly than Mussolini.

Notes: Enclosed with 850128039.

*Free Press London, Ont. January 8th 1927.*

## RUSSIA IN HANDS OF RUTHLESS DICTATOR, SAYS EMMA GOLDMAN

**Noted Communist Declares the  
Prisons Are Filled By Stalin  
and Associates With Persons  
Whose Only Crime Is Freedom  
of Thought and Expression**

**DECLARES REVOLUTION  
OF 1917 IS NOW DEAD**

**Prediction Made In Address Here  
That Administration of Muzso-  
lini, Based On Psychology of  
War, Will Be of Short Duration**

Revolution in Russia is dead. The spirit of the peasant who rose in 1917 to dethrone the czar, and to establish the free, economic and intellectual freedom of the people, lies lifeless at the feet of a ruthless dictatorship in the hands of the Bolshevik, Stalin, and his group. The prisons are filled with members of the Communist party, with intellectuals, with Socialists, with Labor men, with all manner of men and women whose only crime is freedom of thought and its expression in opposition to the absolute dictatorship of this man and his immediate followers. Where the revolution of 1917 aimed at the destruction of the system of capitalism, there is now irrevocably installed the new system of state capitalism, infinitely more autocratic, less broad visioned, more unyielding than the economic system that prevailed in the land of the czars under the last of the Romanoffs.

This was the message delivered last night in the Ritz Gardens by Emma Goldman, Russian Jewess, born in Russia, 56 years ago, with over 40 years of experience of life in the United States, deported from that country for opposing the war in 1917, one-time idol of the Communist party, and now following her visit to Russia a few years ago the severest critic of the rule of Stalin and his henchmen.

### ATTACKS MUSSOLINI

Speaking to a meeting of some 200 persons, at which John Cottam acted as chairman, Emma Goldman denounced the dictatorship in Russia in even stronger terms than she used to deal with Mussolini and his Italian oligarchy. Her subject was "Dictators—Bolshevist and Italian," and the comparison as she outlined it was vastly flattering to the 20th century Caesar, on his Fascist throne, by the Tiber.

"In Russia," she said, "the peasants are so weakened after the three revolutions of recent years, and the Soviet has established such a grip on the country that no counter-revolution to re-establish the principles of the 1917 revolution will be possible for 50 years. In Italy, however, the people will soon learn that it is only an illusion to say that there is a strong constructive effort behind the Duce and his Government and will find their way again to freedom. Therefore, the dictatorship in Russia is a greater danger to humanity than the Italian movement, for it is more strongly entrenched and will last and operate longer."

The fact that there are to-day, 89,000 political prisoners in Russian prisons, according to statements of Miss Goldman, was one of her main criticisms of the Bolsheviks as opponents of freedom of thought and speech, and, therefore, of all that was intended in the aims of the intellectuals, Socialists and idealists who paved the way for the 1917 revolution "by more than 40 years of blood, suffering and labor."

### NOW IN JAILS

"It is these same persons and their spiritual and intellectual kindred who are in the Soviet jails to-day," she said. "It is true that some of the Communist papers, for instance, The Pravda, The Labor Truth and others complain of this, write of the evil working conditions of the miners, of the alarming growth of juvenile crime, of the fact that there were in August of last year 10,000 beggars in Moscow, but the oligarchy of Stalin pays no heed. Not so long ago the Soviet legation in Italy gave a dinner to the Italian Government representative, and the Soviet emissary, when asked of the situation of political prisoners in Russia, replied: 'We do as you do here.'"

The woman, who was a seamstress in New York 40 years ago and who was the partner of "Gene" Debs and the insurgent stalwarts of the United States for three decades, had a good word for the Russian bourgeoisie of the old regime.

"The old bourgeoisie in Russia brought its members up with the ideal of public service," she stated. "It taught its members to go to the mines."

Continued on Page Five

## Russia In Hands

(Continued from Page One.)

or to die for the cause of the people. It tried to educate the people, but it was a very small body, and it could do so little. It was never at any time a danger to the revolution, and to-day its members are in prison with the rest of the liberal-minded people. In its place there is the dictatorship of the Bolsheviks, more avaricious than any bourgeoisie of the old czarist days, less careful of the people, more greedy for power."

### THE UNITED STATES.

Her attitude to the United States, which still maintains the bars against her, was evident in a statement on the present administration and system of government in the Republic.

"The Soviets to-day are anxious to grovel at the feet of any reactionary government," she declared, "even at the feet of the most reactionary of them all, the American Government. I can see how Zinoviev would enjoy sitting side by side with the present eminently intellectual President of the United States."

Arthur Mould asked her for a comparison of the dictatorship of Russia and the United States, to which she answered: "That is simply like asking a condemned man whether he prefers to be hanged or shot. That is not really the choice. The choice is slavery or the emancipation of the people, unity

of city and country and the development of a free economic commonwealth."

Comparing Fascist domination with Bolshevik domination, Miss Goldman said: "The masses of the people to-day dread the dictatorship in Russia, because they think of it as a step with the revolution as the immediate and logical outcome of the 1917 rising. They forget or do not realize the great gap that separates the spirit of the revolution from the practice and aims of the dictator, Stalin, which have nothing in common. In Italy the dictatorship of Mussolini is the direct result of the war and is the rift-rail of it."

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

# The Emma Goldman Papers

Russia in Hands of Ruthless Dictator, Says Emma Goldman — 36 cm. In [London Ontario Free Press (Jan. 8, 1927)] / [author unknown].

Obtained from the National Archives of Canada. Institutional Location: Record Group 18.

Summary: The London Free Press describes Goldman's speech on "Dictators—Bolshevist and Italian," in which she attacked Stalin even more strongly than Mussolini.

Notes: Enclosed with 850128039.

2

*Free Press, London, Ont. January 8th, 1927.*

The supreme difference between these two systems is the difference between Lenin and Mussolini. Lenin realized that when the peasants came to the land, they were not to be only opposed, and agreed at these wishes. Mussolini, on the other hand, has carried on the psychological war, and under his direction and force, the on to a mad dream of world conquest and power. By comparison Mussolini is a cheap imitation of Lenin, who was a great and original man, even if he held stoutly to the theory of absolute dictatorship. In brains, ability and intelligence, Mussolini is not fit to lace Lenin's shoes.

If there had been no Bolshevik dictatorship there would have been no Mussolini, for remember that Mussolini was once the Socialist editor, and he merely tried to copy what Lenin had done.

Miss Goldman admitted that once upon a time she had belonged to the hosts of the Russian intellectuals who believe in the leadership of Lenin and that his rule would bring into being all the things for which the revolutionaries had fought. "But now, nine years later, the things we opposed under the czar still go on," she said. "The prisons are still filled with thinkers and lovers of freedom. There is not yet freedom of the press or of speech. Nothing passes the censor, that is not to the liking of Stalin and his group, either out of the country or in. I agree with Prince Kropotkin that the Russian revolution is greater than the French revolution, for the whole people hoped for all the things they had fought for and still believe they will come. The tragedy is that what is taking place in Russia now is neither Socialism nor Communism, but dictatorship."

## WORKING IN CHINA

In answer to questions Miss Goldman admitted that the Bolsheviks were working in China and added: "If the Bolsheviks get control in China, God help the Chinese. The only people who can help China are the Chinese themselves."

She stated that while Jews in Russia had been given land by the Soviets, the reasons were four, to remove them from the strong anti-Semitic feeling in the cities, to get the land well tilled, to remove them from being too close to the seat of government and possibly seeking control, and finally because there was plenty of cheap land anyway.

She had no faith in the promise of autonomy to minorities by the Soviet Government, and cited the case of the shooting of 3,000 Socialists in Georgia when their opinions clashed with those of the dictator. She admitted that the Soviet was educating the children and trying to teach the people to read and write, but was a revolution necessary for that? she asked. "Even in the reactionary United States, the Government is doing that much for its people."

## THE CHURCH

There was the admittance also of the fact that the Soviet is opposed to the activities of the church. "It is merely substituting the rule of the Soviet for the rule of the superstition of the church. A change of scenery, that's all."

Emma declared that Russia, to-day is not better off politically than before the revolution, but had little to say of material conditions, beyond the fact that men do not live by bread alone, and that material conditions were not the sole criterion of the state of any nation's health.

Max Lerner asked for a formula for the achievement of revolution by peaceful means, but Emma overlooked the question at question time.

Still though dictatorship may rule in Russia for 50 years, and in Italy for four or five, it is not a thing to live forever. In the history of the human race, Emma Goldman sees more than this as the ultimate offering of the Muscovite to the world. "Dictatorship is dead in Italy and in Russia," she said. "Though it still lives it is a thing of the past. There is a new star rising, the star of individual and personal freedom, and in time the Russian people will, I believe, make the greatest contribution to mankind in social and economic worth that has ever been known, but that will come only after the people have come to realize that dictatorship is not the way out of their difficulties or toward the practice of the spirit of socialism or the ideals of liberty."

BEST COPY AVAILABLE



# The Emma Goldman Papers

Report re Lecture on Russia in London, Ontario by Emma Goldman, London [Canada] 1927 Jan. 11 / H.D.X. [Agent] Royal Canadian Mounted Police. -- 1 p.; 34 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the National Archives of Canada. Institutional Location: Record Group 18.

Summary: Agent H.D.X. describes the atmosphere, the audience, the finances, and other details of Goldman's lecture in London, Ontario.

Notes: Upper document only. For enclosure, see 850128040. For related document, see 850128067.

"C" Division  
Western Ontario District

## Royal Canadian Mounted Police

Ref. No. "C" Div. Ref. 6/567

London, Ont. January 11, 1927.

~~SECRET~~

### REPORT re

Lecture on Russia in London, Ontario by  
Emma Goldman - Anarchist.

The accompanying cutting from the London Free Press gives a good account of the lecture delivered here by Emma Goldman, anarchist, on January 7, 1927.

The Lecture had been well advertised during the previous two weeks. It was delivered in the large hall of the Ritz Gardens where the Ontario Section of the Canadian Labour Party held their Convention last April. A fee of 50¢ was charged for admission and a large crowd was undoubtedly expected as sufficient chairs to seat several hundred were arranged on the floor and other hundreds folded and piled within easy reach. The leaders of the London Labour Party, G. Colbert, A. Mould, J. F. Thompson, ex-alderman F. McKey and R. Foxcroft were present and the local Communist Party was also well represented.

Miss Goldman, who did not put in an appearance until the last minute, was evidently disappointed at the small attendance and requested them to move up closer to the platform. There were about 100 persons in the hall not 200 as stated in Free Press and at least 70% of them were Russian Jews.

At the close of her lecture read from typewritten notes Miss Goldman invited questions. Comrades Graves and Aristoff, both of whom claim to know the lecturer intimately, asked some questions as also did several others. Miss Goldman wrote each question down as it was asked and then without the slightest hesitation answered each in the order in which it had been put. The lecture was listened to with interest and respect even by the Communist Comrades. There was no attempt at heckling or rowdiness, everything was quiet and orderly. Miss Goldman directed the attention of those present to some books in English and Jewish that were for sale at the entrance to the hall. Very few of the books were sold. "The Road to Freedom" copy enclosed, was also on sale and several copies of this were purchased. I was informed by one of the Jewish Comrades that the total expenditure including rent of hall was \$105.00 \$50.00 of which was to go to the lecturer. On account of the small attendance the total receipts including sales of literature etc. did not exceed \$70.00, leaving a deficit of \$35.00.

H.D.X.

The Commissioner,  
R.C.M. Police, OTTAWA.

Forwarded for his information.

Toronto  
Jan. 12/27

H. M. Newson, Supt.  
Commanding Western Ontario District.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Memorandum, 19]27 Jan. 12, Toronto [to Cortlandt Starnes] Commissioner, R[oyal] C[anadian] M[ounted] Police, Ottawa / H.M. Newson, Sup[erintendent] [Royal Canadian Mounted Police]. — 1 p. ; 34 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the National Archives of Canada. Institutional Location: Record Group 18.

Summary: Newson sends a report on Goldman's lecture to the head of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police.

Notes: For enclosure, see 850128039 and 850128040.

"C" Division  
Western Ontario District

## Royal Canadian Mounted Police

Ref. No. "C" Div. Ref. 6/567

London, Ont., January 11, 1927.

~~SECRET~~

### REPORT

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H.D.X.

The Commissioner,  
R.C.M. Police, OTTAWA.

Forwarded for his information.

Toronto  
Jan. 12/27

H. M. Newson, Supt.  
Commanding Western Ontario District.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

Emma Goldman Resents Action of Challenger — 36 cm. In [Winnipeg Free Press (Jan. 31, 1927)] / [author unknown].

Obtained from the National Archives of Canada. Institutional Location: Record Group 18.

**Summary:** The *Winnipeg Free Press* gives a detailed account of Goldman's response to an audience questioner who accused her of taking payments from capitalists to speak against Russia.

**Notes:** Enclosed with 850128037.

WINNIPEG FREE PRESS  
CARDING DATE.....

ISSUE OF 31/1/27

## EMMA GOLDMAN RESENTS ACTION OF CHALLENGER

Dramatic Incident Marks  
Meeting in Regent Theatre Sunday

There was a dramatic incident at a meeting addressed by Miss Emma Goldman, internationally known anarchist, at the Regent theatre Sunday night, when, stung by the question which a man in the hall put to her, "How much are you paid by capital for attacking Soviet Russia?" she turned upon him furiously and lashed him unmercifully with her tongue. "Don't you think that is a childish

question?" she asked. "Don't you think that if I were paid by the capitalist class for lecturing, I would not have to speak in small halls and under all conditions and circumstances? If I were, wouldn't the premier receive me with open arms? It shows the evil side in you when you make that charge, because it shows that you can be bought by money."

Miss Goldman said this was the "cheapest and most contemptible charge" that she could think of. "Can't you imagine," she continued, her voice rising in anger, "that a person who has gone to prison for participation in strikes, and has been driven from country to country, is not the kind of person who would sell her soul for money?"

### Attacks Questioner

With withering scorn she told the questioner that he had been brought up with the idea that the great thing was money, whereas there were men and women who believed in the truth

so much, as they saw it, whether they were conservatives or radicals, that they would die on the scaffold rather than deny the truth.

"You may think that money can buy everybody," Miss Goldman continued. "If you do you are welcome to the ignoble and unkind thought. If you get the facts you must deal with them. Why should you not criticize Russia? The time is coming when Canada and other countries must understand conditions in Russia in order to avoid the mistakes made in that country," which she claimed had not taken advantage of the opportunity presented by the revolution to bring about new and better conditions for the masses.

In her address, Miss Goldman spoke of conditions in Germany, France and England, and maintained that so far as the masses were concerned, they were no better than before the war, and as for Russia, she claimed they were quite as bad, and in some respects worse than in the countries she had mentioned. "If it was wrong," she said, "that the workers should be poor and suffering in Germany, England and France, then it was a hundred-fold more wrong that the same conditions should prevail in a country which had a magnificent revolution and which had a magnificent opportunity for success from the point of view of the masses."

Marcus Hyman presided, and the theatre was filled to capacity.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

# The Emma Goldman Papers

Report re Emma Goldman, Winnipeg, 1927 Feb. 3 / [Agent] No. 142, Royal Canadian Mounted Police. — 1 p.; 34 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the National Archives of Canada. Institutional Location: Record Group 18.

Summary: Agent 142 describes the struggle between the anarchists and communists in Winnipeg over Goldman's proposed visit. The anarchists sponsored her trip over the strong opposition of the communists.

Notes: Broken type; light copy; portions illegible. Upper document only. For related documents, see 850128037 and 850128038.

ROYAL CANADIAN MOUNTED POLICE

WINNIPEG DIVISION  
WINNIPEG DISTRICT

Winnipeg, M. C.,  
February 7, 1927.

*Secret, destroyed*  
Man. Dist. 100 Z-128

REPORT  
re

Emma Goldman (Emma Goldman Goldman)  
Former Anarchist.

RECEIVED  
HEADQUARTERS  
18360 FEB-27

1757 4414

As requested, I made enquiries, and have learned that there was a struggle between the anarchists and communists within the Winnipeg W.J. The anarchist members of the W.J. proposed that Emma Goldman be invited to Winnipeg for a series of lectures by the local branch of the W.J. The communist members of that branch were against such a proposition and with the aid of the left wing members of the Police Unionists of the W.J. defeated the proposition. The struggle between the anarchists and communists in the above matter became very sharp at every business meeting of the W.J. Afterwards the anarchists decided to invite Emma Goldman in their own name and ask that the Liberty Temple be rented for her lectures, but the communist and Police Unionist members of the W.J. succeeded in defeating them again, and not only the Liberty Temple was forbidden for Emma's lectures, but the Jewish branch C.P. asked the C.C.C. of the C.P. to declare a boycott of the lectures and to forbid its members to attend such, and if someone of its members will happen to be present at such lectures, not to ask any questions as it is the usual custom.

There is a very small group of anarchists in Winnipeg. Their number is so small that they have no regular meeting place and do not meet regularly, but occasionally, when they have to carry on a struggle for their existence. This group of anarchists is in the Liberty Temple Assn., some of them being members of the W.J. So far, I have learned the names of three of them, namely: Simkin, one of the publishers of the "Israelite Press", Zelichin (or Zelichenko), Editor of the "Israelite Press", B. S. Solier, and Dierkin.

No. 142

FEB 7 - 1927

The Commissioner,  
R.C.M. Police,  
Ottawa, Ont.

Forwarded for your information, 4-2-27.

The subject of this report has given several lectures in Winnipeg recently, and I was interested to learn if she had come in contact with any of the radical organizations in the city, and consequently I instructed S.A. #142 to endeavour to obtain this information. The foregoing report shows that it is the Winnipeg anarchists who are responsible for this, or at least sponsoring it. When I received your Memorandum in December, 1924 regarding anarchist organizations, #142 was asked to keep this in mind and report anything he could learn in the matter. These anarchists are evidently not active as an organization, but confine their efforts to activity in the Workmen's Circle.

(OVER)

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]27 Feb. 4 [Winnipeg to Cortlandt Starnes] Commissioner, R[oyal] C[anadian] M[ounted] Police, Ottawa / T. Dann, Inspector, Manitoba District, Royal Canadian Mounted Police. — 2 p.; 34 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the National Archives of Canada. Institutional Location: Record Group 18.

Summary: At the time of Goldman's lectures in Winnipeg, Inspector Dann forwards an investigative report on the Winnipeg anarchists to Ottawa. He promises to continue to investigate Goldman's contacts in the city.

Notes: Lower document only of page one. For enclosure, see 850128038. For report mentioned, see 850128037.

## ROYAL CANADIAN MOUNTED POLICE

"D" DIVISION  
MANITOBA DISTRICT

Winnipeg, Man.,  
February 7, 1927.

~~Secret~~ *Amplified*  
Man. Dist. #100 Z-126

R E P O R T  
re

Emma Goldman (Emma Goldman College)  
Former Anarchist.

R.C.M. POLICE  
HEADQUARTERS

18360 FEB-7-27

1757 4414

C. 2. 12

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No. 142

FEB 7- 1927

The Commissioner,  
R.C.M. Police,  
Ottawa, Ont.

Forwarded for your information, 4-2-27.

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(OVER)

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

234



## The Emma Goldman Papers

850128037

[Letter, 19]27 Feb. 4 [Winnipeg to Cortlandt Starnes] Commissioner, R[oyal] C[anadian] M[ounted] Police, Ottawa / T. Dann, Inspector, Manitoba District, Royal Canadian Mounted Police. — 2 p. ; 34 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the National Archives of Canada. Institutional Location: Record Group 18.

Summary: At the time of Goldman's lectures in Winnipeg, Inspector Dann forwards an investigative report on the Winnipeg anarchists to Ottawa. He promises to continue to investigate Goldman's contacts in the city.

Notes: Lower document only of page one. For enclosure, see 850128038. For report mentioned, see 850128037.

-2-

As might have been expected, the communists here are very bitter against Emma Goldman, and no doubt private instructions have been issued to the party at large to discredit her whenever possible. I am enclosing a cutting from the "Manitoba Free Press" of the date of the 31st. ult., detailing one of her meetings, and an attempt to heckle her. This woman's meetings have been well attended, but there is no doubt that mere curiosity was the reason. Anything further that can be learned of this woman's connection with the local anarchists, or any other radical organizations, will be at once reported.

*T. Dann* T. Dann,  
Inspector  
Commanding Manitoba District.

C/A

Encl.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

Report re Emma Goldman, Edmonton [Canada] 1927 March 8 / Special Agent No. 125, Royal Canadian Mounted Police. — 1 p.; 26 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the National Archives of Canada. Institutional Location: Record Group 18.

Summary: Special Agent 125 reports Goldman's arrival in Edmonton, plus the names and addresses of her hosts.

Notes: Upper document only. For related document, see 850128065.

ROYAL CANADIAN MOUNTED POLICE.

"G" DIVISION.

C.I.B.

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

Mar. 8

~~SECRET~~

R E P O R T

Re - Emma Goldman - Edmonton, Alberta.

175/4414  
Q.E. 11

The above named woman, who was at one time known as the world's most famous woman anarchist, and was so acclaimed by revolutionists all over the world, came to Edmonton by C. N. R. train at 11.20 p.m. on the 3rd instant. She was asked to come here by E. Henson and Harry Margolis, and these two men and several radical friends have guaranteed to pay her expenses while here. She was met at the railway Depot by E. Henson, Harry Margolis, Mrs. Shaw, and John Jacobs. While in Edmonton, Emma Goldman is staying at the home of Harry Margolis at 10171 94th Street, Edmonton.

(Sgd.) Special Agent No. 125.

REC  
The Commissioner,  
R. C. M. Police,  
OTTAWA, Ont.

FORWARDED. All meetings addressed by this party are being covered and reports rendered on same.

Edmonton, Alta.  
Mar. 10, 1927.

Jas. Ritchie, Supt.  
Commanding "G" Division.

MAR 14 1927

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236

# The Emma Goldman Papers

Report re Emma Goldman, Edmonton [Canada] 1927 March 8 / Rob[er]t C. Rathbone, Royal Canadian Mounted Police. — 2 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the National Archives of Canada. Institutional Location: Record Group 18.

Summary: Rathbone describes Goldman's address to a large audience in Edmonton on "The Labor Situation in Europe."

Notes: Broken type; light copy. Upper portion of page two only. For related document, see 850128064.

## ROYAL CANADIAN MOUNTED POLICE.

"G" DIVISION.

C.I.B.

EDMONTON, ALBERTA.  
Mar. 8, 1927.

SECRET

R E P O R T

"G" File  
G-27.

Re - Emma GOLDMAN - Edmonton, Alta.

175/4515164  
Copy for  
175/4414

On Sunday evening, Mar. 6th, 1927, Miss Emma Goldman, speaking under the auspices of the Labor Church, Edmonton, addressed a gathering of approximately 1000 people at the Capital Theatre here, when she took for the subject of her address, "The Labor Situation in Europe." Her remarks, at times, created outbursts of applause and at other times criticisms and interruptions, the latter more especially when the speaker was dealing with conditions as they exist in Russia under Bolshevism. Dr. R. C. Ghostly presided as Chairman.

Emma Goldman in dealing with the labor situation in Europe touched upon every nation and contended that the trend of events in one country effected that of another and as a result the working class were feeling the pangs of unemployment with no alleviation in sight, while on the other hand the capitalists were amassing large fortunes. She contended that in her study of international conditions she had found the conditions of the working class deplorable. In Germany, unemployed in large numbers were living on nothing but bread and potatoes; the richest districts were idle and big fortunes in industries were being piled up, and the capitalists growing powerful. She contended that the working class were even deprived of education; and with the nationalists endeavouring to reinstate the Kaiser as another means of oppression.

The working class in Italy she declared were no better off than the working class of any other country, in spite of the press reports regarding Mussolini's aim for economic freedom of the nation. The working class of Italy are nothing more or less than slaves of fascism and since Mussolini has assumed the Dictatorship the country has gone back.

In speaking of conditions in Great Britain, the speaker contended that unemployment was prevalent even on a larger scale than that of any other country, and are living on potatoes, bread and dripping. She glorified the wonderful stand taken by the miners of Great Britain in the general strike and claimed that it was a wonderful expression of working class solidarity, but even this stand for partial economic freedom was betrayed by the working class leaders themselves and the strike was broken up and the working class unions weakened as a result.

Miss Emma Goldman invoked some criticism from members of the audience when dealing with Russia when she stated that the conditions there were absolutely deplorable. As to freedom of the working class in Russia the speaker stated that there was very little when we find that there are more political prisoners in Russia today than there were at any time under the Czarist regime. True facts of Russia are never broadcasted by delegates who have visited that country. The stage, she contended, is all set for them and they tell when they come back only of what they have seen. Russia, she claimed, was at

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## The Emma Goldman Papers

Report re Emma Goldman, Edmonton [Canada] 1927 March 8 / Rob[er]t C. Rathbone, Royal Canadian Mounted Police. — 2 p. ; 34 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the National Archives of Canada. Institutional Location: Record Group 18.

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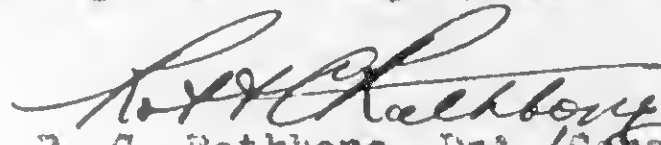
Notes: Broken type; light copy. Upper portion of page two only. For related document, see 850128064.

( 2 )

the peak of a severe reaction as a result of the revolution of 1917. Industries have not reached that point of production when it can supply the needs of its vast population. Lack of modern machinery is responsible for unemployment on a large scale and quoted a prominent Communist to the effect that there were over two million unemployed in Russia, the majority of whom were men of professions.

The speaker, all the way through her talk, took a very pessimistic view of the world situation but contended that there was a new spirit arising in the world and some day it will reach that stage where human society will be placed on a level footing, and the working class will come into its own.

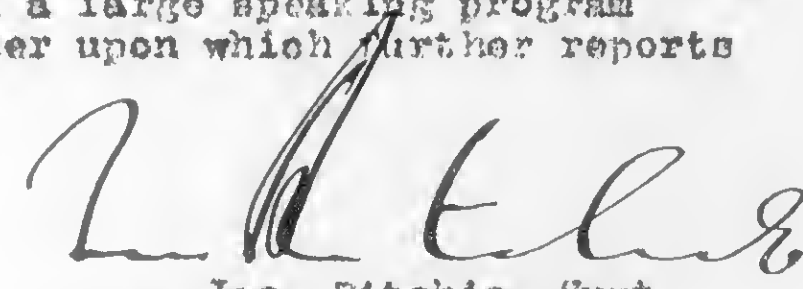
A plea for financial assistance on behalf of the political prisoners in Russia was made, and I understand that the proceeds after the hall had been paid for will go for this purpose.

  
R. C. Rathbone, Det./Const.  
Reg. No. 9267.

The Commissioner,  
R. C. M. Police,  
OTTAWA, Ont.

FORWARDED. Miss Emma Goldman intends to remain in the city for a few days and a large speaking program has been arranged for her upon which further reports will be submitted.

Edmonton, Alta.  
Mar. 8, 1927.

  
Jas. Ritchie, Supt.  
Commanding "G" Division.

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## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Memorandum] 1927 March 8, Edmonton [Canada to Cortlandt Starnes] Commissioner, R[oyal] C[anadian] M[ounted] Police, Ottawa / Ja[me]s Ritchie, Sup[erintenden]t [Royal Canadian Mounted Police]. — 1 p. ; 26 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the National Archives of Canada. Institutional Location: Record Group 18.

Summary: Ritchie forwards a report on one of Goldman's lectures in Edmonton and promises to send others.

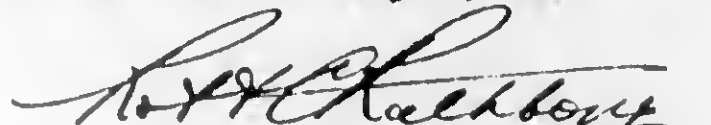
Notes: Broken type. Lower document only. For report mentioned, see 850128035.

( 2 )

the peak of a severe reaction as a result of the revolution of 1917. Industries have not reached that point of production when it can supply the needs of its vast population. Lack of modern machinery is responsible for unemployment on a large scale and quoted a prominent Communist to the effect that there were over two million unemployed in Russia, the majority of whom were men of professions.

The speaker, all the way through her talk, took a very pessimistic view of the world situation but contended that there was a new spirit arising in the world and some day it will reach that stage where human society will be placed on a level footing, and the working class will come into its own.

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R. C. Rathbone, Det./Const.  
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The Commissioner,  
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Edmonton, Alta.  
Mar. 8, 1927.

  
Jas. Ritchie, Supt.  
Commanding "G" Division.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

Report re Emma Goldman, Edmonton [Canada] 1927 March 9 / S.L. Warrior, Royal Canadian Mounted Police. — 1 p. ; 26 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the National Archives of Canada. Institutional Location: Record Group 18.

Summary: Warrior reports that the Communist Party of Canada decided to send hecklers to Goldman's Edmonton lectures.

Notes: Upper portion only. For related document, see 850128063.

## ROYAL CANADIAN MOUNTED POLICE.

"G" DIVISION.

C.I.B.

EDMONTON, ALBERTA,  
Mar. 9, 1927.

~~SECRET~~

R E P O R T

"G" File  
G-27

Re - Emma Goldman - Edmonton, Alta.

*C Prof C Edmonton*

At a meeting of the C. P. of C., Edmonton, on the 6th inst., a heated discussion arose re the speaking tour of Emma Goldman, in the Edmonton district.

J. Lakeman gave it as his opinion that Emma Goldman was paid by the capitalist class to speak against Soviet Russia and the C. P. of C., and, after a long discussion it was decided to send "hecklers" to the meetings Emma Goldman addresses, to embarrass her by asking various questions.

This information received verbally from S. A. No. 125.

*S. L. Warrior*  
S. L. Warrior, D/S/Sgt.  
Reg. No. 4973 1/c C.I.B.

*NSD*  
The Commissioner,  
R. C. M. Police,  
OTTAWA, Ont.

FORWARDED. Emma Goldman, as per previous reports rendered, has already spoken at several meetings in Edmonton. So far there has been no signs of organized heckling by this or any other organization.

Edmonton, Alta.  
Mar. 9, 1927.

*Jas. Ritchie*  
Jas. Ritchie, Supt.  
Commanding "G" Division.

MAR 14 1927

BEST COPY AVAILABLE



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Memorandum] 1927 March 9, Edmonton [Canada to Cortlandt Starnes] Commissioner, R[oyal] C[anadian] M[ounted] Police, Ottawa / Ja[mes] Ritchie, Sup[erintendent] [Royal Canadian Mounted Police]. — 1 p. ; 26 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the National Archives of Canada. Institutional Location: Record Group 18.

Summary: Ritchie forwards a report on communist intentions to heckle Goldman's lectures.

Notes: Broken type. Lower document only. For report mentioned, see 850128034.

## ROYAL CANADIAN MOUNTED POLICE.

"G" DIVISION.

C.I.B.

EDMONTON, ALBERTA,  
Mar. 9, 1927.

~~SECRET~~

## R E P O R T

"G" File  
G-27

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*S. L. Warrior*  
S. L. Warrior, D/S/Sgt.  
Reg. No. 4973 i/c C.I.B.

*125*  
The Commissioner,  
R. C. M. Police,  
OTTAWA, Ont.

FORWARDED. Emma Goldman, as per previous reports rendered, has already spoken at several meetings in Edmonton. So far there has been no signs of organized heckling by this or any other organization.

Edmonton, Alta.  
Mar. 9, 1927.

*James Ritchie*  
Jas. Ritchie, Supt.  
Commanding "G" Division.

MAR 14 1927

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

# The Emma Goldman Papers

Report re Emma Goldman, Edmonton [Canada] 1927 March 9 / Special Agent No. 7, Royal Canadian Mounted Police. — 1 p.; 34 x 22 cm.  
 Obtained from the National Archives of Canada. Institutional Location: Record Group 18.  
 Summary: Special Agent 7 describes Goldman's Edmonton lecture on birth control.  
 Notes: Light copy. Enclosed with 850128033.

## ROYAL CANADIAN MOUNTED POLICE

"G" DIVISION, C. I. B. EDMONTON, ALBERTA,  
 MARCH 9th, 1927.

~~SECRET~~  
*changed*

H E P O R T

"G" File  
 G-27.

Re- Emma GOLDMAN - Edmonton, Alta.

*Copy for 175/4414*

*Original on*

*175/4515464*

On Monday evening Mar. 7th, 1927, Miss Emma Goldman, speaking under the auspices of the Labor Church, Edmonton, addressed a representative gathering of about three hundred people in the Albion Hall, Edmonton. Subject of Miss Goldman's address "Birth Control". Mrs. David Bell, occupied the chair.

Emma Goldman in dealing with her subject, spoke authoritatively on the necessity of scientific knowledge of methods of family limitation, advocating the formation of a birth control clinic in Edmonton, stating that a birth control clinic has already been organized in Toronto, and cited the advancement made along such lines in Holland, Sweden and Germany, where literature and information concerning the limitation of offspring is available to all. In the United States, the speaker, said, in practically every large city, information clinics were in charge of responsible doctors. However Miss Goldman, said, unfortunately, in spite of concentrated effort on the part of educationalists to make such information available to the working class, discussions of birth control are still limited to the minority, and she herself, said Miss Goldman, had been thrown into prison for speaking publicly on family limitation in New York city.

It is only after one has been put in prison for an ideal that the public realize how worth while the ideal is, concluded Miss Goldman.

The audience gave Emma Goldman a most attentive and appreciative hearing.

Signed, Special Agt. No. 7.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Memorandum] 1927 March 10, Edmonton [Canada to Cortlandt Starnes] Commissioner, R[oyal] C[anadian] M[ounted] Police, Ottawa / Ja[me]s Ritchie, Sup[erintenden]t [Royal Canadian Mounted Police]. — 1 p. ; 26 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the National Archives of Canada. Institutional Location: Record Group 18.

Summary: Ritchie forwards a report on Goldman's arrival in Edmonton and assures Commissioner Starnes that his agents are covering Goldman's meetings.

Notes: Lower document only. For report mentioned, see 850128036.

ROYAL CANADIAN MOUNTED POLICE.

"G" DIVISION.

C.I.B.

EDMONTON, ALBERTA  
Mar. 8, 1927

~~SECRET~~

R E P O R T

Re - Emma Goldman - Edmonton, Alberta.

175/4414

The above named woman, who was at one time known as the world's most famous woman anarchist, and was so acclaimed by revolutionists all over the world, came to Edmonton by C. N. R. train at 11.20 p.m. on the 3rd instant. She was asked to come here by E. Henson and Harry Margolis, and these two men and several radical friends have guaranteed to pay her expenses while here. She was met at the railway Depot by E. Henson, Harry Margolis, Mrs. Shaw, and John Jacobs. While in Edmonton, Emma Goldman is staying at the home of Harry Margolis at 10171 94th Street, Edmonton.

(Sgd.) Special Agent No. 125.

ACED  
The Commissioner,  
R. C. M. Police,  
OTTAWA, Ont.

FORWARDED. All meetings addressed by this party are being covered and reports rendered on same.

Edmonton, Alta.  
Mar. 10, 1927.

Jas. Ritchie, Supt.  
Commanding "G" Division.

MAR 14 1927

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## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Memorandum] 1927 March 10, Edmonton [Canada, to Cortlandt Starnes] Commissioner, R[oyal] C[anadian] M[ounted] Police, Ottawa / Ja[me]s Ritchie, Sup[er]intenden[t] [Royal Canadian Mounted Police]. — 1 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.

*Obtained from the National Archives of Canada. Institutional Location: Record Group 18.*

**Summary:** Ritchie forwards a report on Goldman's birth control lecture and includes a description of her talk before the Kiwanis Club on working conditions and the struggle for equality.

**Notes:** For enclosure, see 850128032.

The Commissioner,  
R. C. M. Police,  
OTTAWA, Ont.

FORWARDED. Emma Goldman spoke this same date at the weekly luncheon of the Kiwanis club. Her address on that occasion was somewhat as follows;

Denouncing those who "live by substitutes", the speaker said, that the needs of every strata of society should be considered of equal importance, and that a kinship of all mankind should be formed, that we should all ask ourselves the question "What have you done to lighten the burden of those who are living in abject poverty?". The speaker declared that there is a new spirit arising in the world to day which recognizes the sanctity of labor and is the greatest impetus to human progress in the world to day. Years ago those who predicted such a thing were looked upon as dangerous persons, but to day even such a figure as Henry Ford had decided that a five hour day, five day week was possible, and beneficial to society. Nothing can arrest the progress of the human mind and some day it will be possible to produce in a two-hour working day everything that society needs.

At the conclusion of her address, Miss Goldman, to the query, "Do you consider Pro. Scott Nearing was conscientious in his statement about Russia?" she replied that undoubtedly the professor did speak conscientiously. The trouble was however, that he had seen the surface of Soviet Russia. He had encountered just what the Soviet government officials and guides wished him to encounter. Not knowing the language, Scott Nearing gained only a superficial knowledge.

Replying to a second question, the speaker, said, she was sorry to express her belief that the conditions of the working class in England were not improved.

Edmonton, Alta.  
March 10-1927.

  
Jas. Ritchie, Supt.  
Commanding "G" Division.

*PRG*

MAR 4 1927



# The Emma Goldman Papers

Report re Emma Goldman, Edmonton [Canada] 1927 March 14 / Special Agent No. 7, Royal Canadian Mounted Police. — 2 p. ; 34 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the National Archives of Canada. Institutional Location: Record Group 18.

Summary: Special Agent No. 7 describes Goldman's lecture on "The Spirit of Destruction and Construction," in which she argued that revolutionary movements should maintain as much of the old regime as possible, so as to alleviate mass suffering after the revolution.

Notes: Upper portion of page two only. Enclosed with 850128031.

## ROYAL CANADIAN MOUNTED POLICE.

"G" DIVISION.

C.I.B.

EDMONTON, ALBERTA,  
Mar. 14, 1927.

~~SECRET~~

R E P O R T

Re - Emma GOLDMAN - Edmonton, Alberta.

"G" File  
G-27

175/4515

On Friday evening, Mar. 11th, 1927, Miss Emma Goldman gave her farewell address to an Edmonton audience, on her present tour; speaking under the auspices of the Labor Church, Edmonton, in the old Salvation Army Hall, 98th Street, Edmonton. The subject of her address was "The Spirit of Destruction and Construction."

Miss Goldman in dealing with her subject emphatically contended that the spirit of destruction in all revolutions had been greater than the spirit of construction, with the inevitable result that the day after the revolution the revolutionists were faced with the problem that the machine of production had been destroyed and they had no means of supplying food, clothing and shelter to the masses.

The forces of destruction in all revolutions have followed the fallacy of the complete destruction of the old regime, with the idea of building a new social structure upon the ruins of the old. This, she said, has been the greatest mistake of all revolutions and by far the greatest blunder of the recent Russian revolution.

Miss Goldman declared that the forces of construction should be greater than the forces of destruction in a revolution and compared the reconstruction of a social order to the reconstruction of a building and said "Just as there is much material in the old building that can be used to good advantage in the new structure, just so is there much valuable material in an old regime that can be used to great advantage in the construction of a new and better social order. The situation is analogous."

Miss Goldman went into a most thorough analysis of the subject using the terrible destruction carried out in the Russian Revolution to support her arguments, and making a strong plea for a new spirit of construction to supplant the old spirit of destruction in all revolutionary movements and by this she said she meant that the machine of production and transportation should not be destroyed by the revolutionists but preserved intact to take care of the masses under the new order of things the day after the revolution. Also the preservation of science and art and much of the old regime that would be of great value in the construction of a new social order.

In conclusion the speaker urged the workers to acquaint themselves with the intricate machinery of organization, it being one thing, to operate a machine, and another to operate the plant. Lack of organization and administrative ability among the workers was demonstrated in the Russian revolution and should be a lesson to the workers in future revolutions; and another was that construction should be a greater force in a revolution than destruction and until the workers thoroughly master these situations revolutions would not attain the great objectives of the revolutionists' ideals.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE



## The Emma Goldman Papers

Report re Emma Goldman, Edmonton [Canada] 1927 March 14 / Special Agent No. 7, Royal Canadian Mounted Police. — 2 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.

*Obtained from the National Archives of Canada. Institutional Location: Record Group 18.*

**Summary:** Special Agent No. 7 describes Goldman's lecture on "The Spirit of Destruction and Construction," in which she argued that revolutionary movements should maintain as much of the old regime as possible, so as to alleviate mass suffering after the revolution.

**Notes:** Upper portion of page two only. Enclosed with 850128031.

( 2 )

The speaker was given a most attentive and appreciative hearing from a mixed audience of about 200 people. There were no interruptions during the address and no mention of where Miss Goldman was going to from Edmonton, the meeting breaking up in an orderly manner.

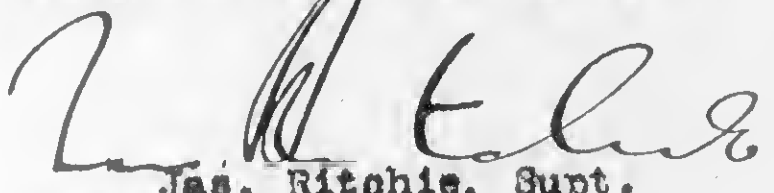
(Sgd.) Special Agent No. 7.

The Commissioner,  
R. C. M. Police,  
OTTAWA, Ont.

FORWARDED. This further to previous reports on the above named woman and concludes her speaking tour in this district.

I note that there were no interruptions or serious heckling at any of the meetings of this speaker, although the C. P. of C. (Edmonton) had decided (as per report by S. A. No. 125 of March 9th, 1927, headed as above) to send hecklers to all of Miss Goldman's meetings.

Edmonton, Alta.  
Mar. 14, 1927.

  
Jas. Ritchie, Supt.  
Commanding "G" Division.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

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## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Memorandum] 1927 March 14, Edmonton [Canada, to Cortlandt Starnes] Commissioner, R[oyal] C[anadian] M[ounted] Police, Ottawa / Ja[me]s Ritchie, Sup[erintenden]t [Royal Canadian Mounted Police]. — 1 p. ; 26 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the National Archives of Canada. Institutional Location: Record Group 18.

Summary: Ritchie forwards a report on Goldman's lecture in Edmonton and notes that the Communist Party did not interrupt her.

Notes: Broken type. Lower document only. For enclosure, see 850128031. For report mentioned, see 850128034.

( 2 )

The speaker was given a most attentive and appreciative hearing from a mixed audience of about 200 people. There were no interruptions during the address and no mention of where Miss Goldman was going to from Edmonton, the meeting breaking up in an orderly manner.

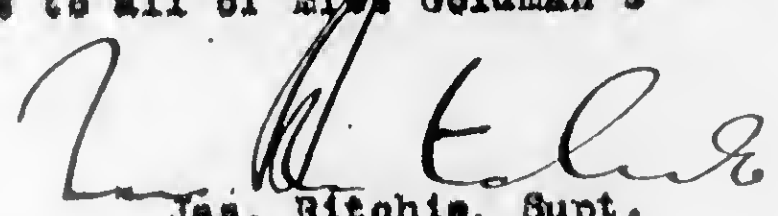
(Sgd.) Special Agent No. 7.

The Commissioner,  
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Edmonton, Alta.  
Mar. 14, 1927.

  
Jas. Ritchie, Supt.  
Commanding "G" Division.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

Cleric Stirred by Conviction for Blasphemy — 28 cm. In [Buffalo Evening News (March 24, 1927)] / [author unknown].

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: The Buffalo Evening News reports that Goldman's defense of a Toronto man convicted of blasphemy stimulated the support of the Reverend Cameron, a prominent conservative preacher.

Notes: Broken type; portions illegible. Enclosed with 870708056.

*Buffalo Evening News  
3-24-27*

## CLERIC STIRRED BY CONVICTION FOR BLASPHEMY

**Toronto Preacher, While Regretting Language Used by Sterry, Deplores Existence of Law Which Forbids Free Speech—Raising Fund.**

*Special to the Buffalo Evening News.*

TORONTO, March 24.—When, a few days ago, Ernest Sterry was convicted in a Toronto court on a charge of blasphemous libel and sentenced to 30 days in jail, the public displayed only apathy and indifference.

Sterry, a stormy petrel in England, his birthplace, and later in New Zealand and New York, had published a paper called The Christian Inquirer, in which he had referred to God as "this irate old party," and in other terms of similar disrespect. The judge, while admitting freedom of opinion, said it was for the jury to decide whether Sterry's expressions were "decent." The jury decided they were not and that he was therefore guilty of blasphemous libel—the first case of its kind in Canada.

Sterry also had been convicted of theft of \$200 from a Chinaman, the charge arising out of a somewhat involved real estate transaction. So the public was not inclined to get excited over his free conviction, particularly as it added nothing to the punishment already imposed for the theft of the money.

But it is Emma Goldman, the famous anarchist, who is stirring Canadian thinking on literature and the drama. Sterry and his pamphlets for her in New York.

Emma is now in England, and is planning to take up the case of Sterry's conviction.

### Emma to the Defense.

"It is an outrage, and I am surprised that public opinion here was not sufficiently aroused to make an effective protest," she asserted. "Everyone who has a desire to call his mind his own has an interest in stopping such shoddiness in a cellar. The Sterry verdict is a blow against all freedom of thought and speech. I could have expected it to happen in the Soviet Russia, or some part of the United States, but I did not think that Toronto was quite 'Tennessee'."

Support came unexpectedly from the Rev. W. A. Cameron, one of Toronto's foremost preachers, an orthodox and somewhat conservative minister in the Baptist church. In a prepared statement he said, in part:

"I was surprised to discover that a law was on the statute books of this country which permitted the crown to prosecute a citizen for his religious opinions or the crudity of the form in which they were expressed. Of course, I share the regret of the crown and the presiding judge that the religious views here expressed in language unworthy of the discussion of religious opinion. But I maintain that the issue at stake is a far more vital and serious one than most people seem to imagine."

### Minister Hits at Law.

"Here is a man in a free country, where no state church exists, brought into court because of the manner in which he expressed his religious views. How anyone suppose for a moment that such a thing could have occurred in this land with the existence of a state church? Our fathers have purchased our religious freedom at tremendous cost. Surely we are not going to surrender it now."

"Religious persecution by civil authorities is a relic of the old days of religious wars."

"Cameron and I have not yet pointed to the doctrine of God or to the views of the scriptures."

"We are not attempting to discover a law in Ontario that permits the crown to enter the defense of the law."

Now, the law is being called to appeal Sterry's conviction. Clarence Darrow may get a chance to appear in a Canadian court in a cause celebre.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1927 March 28, Buffalo, N.Y. [to J. Edgar Hoover] Director, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. / M.F. Blackmon, Agent in Charge, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice. — 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.  
Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: Agent Blackmon sends Hoover a newspaper clipping about Goldman.

Notes: Broken type; barely legible. For enclosure, see 870708057.

### Department of Justice.

Bureau of Investigation.  
418 Federal Bldg.,  
Buffalo, New York.

March 28, 1927.



Director, Bureau of Investigation,  
Department of Justice,  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir:

Attention -Division #2

I am enclosing herewith for your information  
clipping taken from the Buffalo Evening News, of  
March 24, 1927 pertaining to Emma Goldman.

Truly yours,

*M.F. Blackmon*  
M.F. Blackmon  
Special Agent in Charge

MFB/CHB

MAR 31 1927

61-291-112

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1927 July 19, New York [to] R.S. Sharp, Special Agent in Charge [Department of State], New York / LeRoy A. Mullen[?] Special Agent, Department of State.  
— 2 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Special Agent Mullen's report on Anna Sloan's activities mentions that she spoke at Goldman and Berkman's farewell dinner in New York.

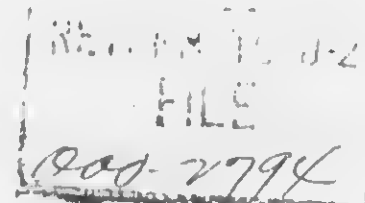


OFFICE OF  
SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE  
NEW YORK DIVISION

## DEPARTMENT OF STATE

July 19, 1927.

Mr. R. S. Sharp,  
Special Agent in Charge,  
New York, N. Y.



Sir:

There is returned herewith the memorandum of the Chief Special Agent dated May 19, 1927, relating to Anna B. Sloane of Boston, New York and India.

While in Boston I inquired of the Police Department whether they had any information regarding this lady, and was informed that some one had made an inquiry of them some time ago as a result of which they had made inquiries at her last known address at 14 Ivy Street, Boston. I left my name and address with the police, who promised to forward me any further information that might be developed on this woman at Boston.

I consulted the Bomb Squad Detectives in New York regarding her and find that they have three cards in their files on Anne M. Sloane, who is undoubtedly the Anna B. Sloane referred to in our files. Their cards reflected that Anne was a speaker at the dinner to Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, which was given at the Brevoort Hotel on October 27, 1919 by the Commune Soviet of the East Side. This I believe was on the occasion of Miss Goldman's ~~departure~~ *departure* from these shores.

Her name was also mentioned in connection with the Ferrer School and the League for Amnesty of Political Prisoners. Her address was given at that time as 88 Washington Avenue.

In view of the foregoing information, I have not approached this lady's New York references, except that I have ascertained that the "Educational Service" is listed at the notorious "Bible House", in the current telephone book, but I am advised by the telephone operator that their telephone has been discontinued. The Education Service Corporation is not listed in the telephone book at 191 Claremont Avenue, although there is an Education Service, Inc. at 1256 Amsterdam Avenue; Telephone, Morningside, 6468, which is a teachers placement bureau.

In view of the foregoing information indicating that our Anna

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## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1927 July 19, New York [to] R.S. Sharp, Special Agent in Charge [Department of State], New York / LeRoy A. Mullen[n?] Special Agent, Department of State.  
— 2 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.

*Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.*

**Summary:** Special Agent Mullen's report on Anna Sloan's activities mentions that she spoke at Goldman and Berkman's farewell dinner in New York.

-2-

B. Sloane is an active Red, I am returning the case for instructions in the event that further investigation is desired.

Respectfully,

*LeRoy A. Mullen*  
Special Agent.

LAM/CB

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

850128030

Report re Sacco-Vanzetti Memorial Meeting, Toronto, 1927 Sept. 2 / [Agent] No. 30  
[Royal Canadian Mounted Police]. — 2 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the National Archives of Canada. Institutional Location: Record Group 18.

Summary: Agent 30 describes a large memorial meeting for Sacco and Vanzetti, which Goldman organized.

Notes: Broken type; light copy; barely legible. Upper portion of page two only, enclosed with 850128061.

"O" Division  
Western Ontario District

"O" Div. 1/2

Toronto, Ont., Sept. 2, 1927.

## REPORT re

### Sacco-Vanzetti Memorial Meeting.

A Sacco-Vanzetti memorial meeting was held last night at the Standard Theatre (corner Spadina and Dundas St.) which I am given to understand had been arranged by the local Anarchist Group headed by Emma Goldman.

The meeting was attended by approximately 1200 people and the speakers were: Emma Goldman, Rev. Salem Bland and Alex. Cohen.

Copy for 1754414 → Emma Goldman was the principal speaker and also chairman of the meeting. After having given a brief outline of the purpose of the meeting she called upon a Jewish youth to play a funeral march and requested the audience to stand while the funeral march was being played.

On the stage there were large photographs of Sacco and Vanzetti draped in black. While the funeral march was being played Emma Goldman placed a red rose before each of the pictures.

Following the playing of the funeral march she introduced Rev. Bland whom she eulogized and characterized as the only one of the Canadian intelligentsia who had the courage to come out publicly to the support of the two men.

Rev. Bland in the course of his brief address stated that he believed that the two men were innocent of the crime and that they proved themselves true Christians by their actions. He condemned the present system which he declared was a hunt for the almighty dollar at the expense of his fellow man; he said this was particularly true of the United States. He declared that the United States was rapidly going back to the dark ages.

Rev. Bland was given a great ovation.

A musical selection by the pianist followed, following which a poem was presented by a girl which had been dedicated to the two men by an American poet.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

850128030

Report re Sacco-Vanzetti Memorial Meeting, Toronto, 1927 Sept. 2 / [Agent] No. 30  
[Royal Canadian Mounted Police]. — 2 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.

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Summary: Agent 30 describes a large memorial meeting for Sacco and Vanzetti, which Goldman organized.

Notes: Broken type; light copy; barely legible. Upper portion of page two only, enclosed with 850128061.

(2)

After the collection was taken ( a little over \$50.00 being collected) Emma Goldman introduced Alex. Cohen, organizer of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. He spoke in Yiddish, also believing that the two men were innocent and asserting that they were murdered purposely.

Emma Goldman followed. She was quite erratic at times, denouncing "Class Justice" and American capitalism generally. During the whole of her speech, however, she made no reference to Canada or Canadian affairs. She gave the history of the life of Sacco and Vanzetti; characterizing same as martyrs and true christians. "I want to tell you people", she said, "that Sacco and Vanzetti out-Christ Christ". She also stressed the fact (obviously for propaganda purposes) that Sacco and Vanzetti were anarchists. She declared that the two men were murdered by Judge Thayer, Governor Fuller and the Supreme Court of the United States of America. She also declared that they were murdered for a specific purpose, viz. to do away with the life of two men who dared challenge American capitalism.

Emma Goldman was indeed very emphatic in her denunciation of Capitalism and while she did not directly advocate anarchism she dealt at considerable length with the principles of which Sacco and Vanzetti fought. In this connection she brought in a very nice definition of anarchism. She urged the audience to continue the work which Sacco and Vanzetti had started with the end in view of establishing a new order in which mankind will be free.

Following her speech the meeting adjourned.

The audience was composed of foreigners chiefly, predominantly Jewish, with a sprinkling of English speaking people.

The expenses of the meeting were \$163.00 only \$50.00 being collected at the meeting.

No. 30.

The Commissioner,  
R.C.M. Police,  
Ottawa.

Forwarded for his information.



Toronto  
Sept. 3/27  
B.

H. M. Newson, Supt.  
Commanding Western Ontario District.

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## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Memorandum, 19]27 Sept. 3, Toronto [to Cortlandt Starnes] Commissioner, R[oyal] C[anadian] M[ounted] Police, Ottawa / H.M. Newson, Superintendent [Royal Canadian Mounted Police]. — 1 p.; 34 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the National Archives of Canada. Institutional Location: Record Group 18.

Summary: Newson forwards a report on a memorial meeting for Sacco and Vanzetti to the head of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police.

Notes: Broken type; barely legible. Lower document only. For enclosure, see 850128030. For reply, see 850128029.

(2)

After the collection was taken ( a little over \$60.00 being collected) Emma Goldman introduced Alex. Cohen, organizer of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. He spoke in Yiddish, also believing that the two men were innocent and asserting that they were murdered purposely.

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No. 30.

The Commissioner,  
R.C.M. Police,  
Ottawa.

Forwarded for his information.

*H. M. Newson*

Toronto  
Sept. 3/27  
P.

H. M. Newson, Supt.  
Commanding Western Ontario District.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Memorandum] 1927 Sept. 7 [Ottawa to H.M. Newson] Commanding Officer, R[oyal] C[anadian] M[ounted] Police, Toronto / Cortlandt Starnes, Commissioner [Royal Canadian Mounted Police]. — 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the National Archives of Canada. Institutional Location: Record Group 18.

Summary: Starnes asks for a report on the Toronto anarchist group and Goldman's stay in Toronto.

Notes: For reply, see 850128026 and 850128059.

175/6521

7th September 1927

~~Secret~~  
*Handwritten: 175/4414*

*Copy for 175/4414*

Memorandum to:-  
 Officer Commanding,  
 R.C.M. Police,  
 "O" Division.  
 Toronto, Ont;.

*Copies on 175/6521  
 175/4532.*

Sacco-Vanzetti Memorial Meeting  
Local Anarchist Group Toronto.

I note that the Sacco-Vanzetti meeting which Emma Goldman addressed was held under the auspices of the local anarchist group in Toronto. I should like to have an appreciation of this as it is some time since we heard anything of these people.

A note on Emma Goldman's stay in Toronto also will be useful.

(Cortlandt Starnes)  
 Commissioner.

*Handwritten signature*



# The Emma Goldman Papers

Report re Emma Goldman, Toronto, 1927 Sept. 28 / [Agent] No. 30, Royal Canadian Mounted Police. — 1 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the National Archives of Canada. Institutional Location: Record Group 18.

Summary: Agent 30 describes the Toronto anarchist community and Goldman's influence there.

Notes: Enclosed with 850128059. Reply to 850128029.

"O" Division  
Western Ontario District

## Royal Canadian Mounted Police

Ref. No. "O" Div. 6/567  
Cr. Ref. 1/2

Toronto, Ont. Sept. 28, 1927.

~~Secret~~

### REPORT re

Emma Goldman, Anarchist.

The above named person is the leader of a small group of anarchists in the city of Toronto composed largely of small business men of foreign nationalities chiefly Jewish. The group, I am informed, has a membership of approximately thirty members. In public the organization is very little, if at all, active; that is to say that while Emma Goldman backed by that circle of members of the organization being at the head of certain public demonstrations, such as the recent Sacco-Vanzetti meetings, it was never stated that these meetings were being held under the auspices of the Anarchist Group.

While it is very difficult to obtain reliable information respecting the composition or general make up of the membership it would, however, appear on the strength of information on hand that the members are of that so-called "idealist" type. I am informed that a number of the members are old members of the Social Revolutionary Party of Russia.

Emma Goldman seems to be the driving force and the life of the group. Not only is she the driving force of the local group of anarchists but also the guiding spirit of the few branches that exist in Canada, and to a great extent of those located in the United States of America. She seems to have contact with the movement both here in Canada and in the United States.

In addition to being the leader of the organized anarchist movement she seems to exercise some influence among workers who are not members of her organization. This influence is more or less of an ideological character and confined mostly to Jewish workers.

Emma Goldman from all appearances intends staying in Toronto. Since the holding of the Sacco-Vanzetti memorial meeting at the Standard Theatre she has not appeared in public.

No. 30.

OCT 1 - 1927

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## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Memorandum, 19]27 Sept. 29, Toronto [to Cortlandt Starnes] Commissioner, R[oyal] C[anadian] M[ounted] Police, Ottawa / H.M. Newson, Sup[erintenden]t [Royal Canadian Mounted Police]. — 1 p. ; 26 × 22 cm.

*Obtained from the National Archives of Canada. Institutional Location: Record Group 18.*

**Summary:** Newson forwards a report on the Toronto anarchist group to Ottawa.

**Notes:** For enclosure, see 850128026. Reply to 850128029.

"O" Div. Ref. 6/567.

The Commissioner,  
R.C.M. Police,  
Ottawa.

Forwarded for his information.  
This is in reply to your secret memorandum of  
September 7, 1927 under heading "Sacco-Vanzetti  
Memorial Meetings, Local Anarchist Group, Toronto"  
your file 175/6521.



Toronto  
Sept. 29/27  
B.

H. M. Newson, Supt.  
Commanding Western Ontario District.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

Emma Goldman's Lectures on Drama and Social Topics, October - November - December, 1927, Toronto [advertisement] / Emma Goldman Lecture Committee.— 4 p. ; 17 × 16 cm.

*Obtained from the National Archives of Canada. Institutional Location: Record Group 18.*

**Summary:** The Emma Goldman Lecture Committee lists the titles, dates, and prices for Goldman's lecture series in Toronto.

**Notes:** Enclosed with 850128024.

## Emma Goldman's Lectures

on

### DRAMA AND SOCIAL TOPICS



October - November - December, 1927

to be delivered at Hygeia Hall  
40 Elm Street, Toronto

Double Course (18 Lectures) . . . . .	\$4.00
Drama Course (9 Lectures) . . . . .	2.25
Social and Literary (9 Lectures) . . . . .	2.25
Single admission . . . . .	.35

For information apply

EMMA GOLDMAN LECTURE COMMITTEE

Room 204, Manning Chambers, 72 Queen Street West

Phone Adelaide 3138



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## Appreciations

Miss Rebecca West, England's foremost literary critic, writes regarding Miss Goldman's lectures:

"I read Miss Goldman's Lectures on the Drama with great interest because I had, during a visit to the United States, come across many evidences of the effect they made on their time. It is largely due to the interest they aroused that the theatre of the United States is in such a state of vitality and receptiveness: that Shaw and Chekhov, for example, find vast audiences. Now that I have read her lectures, I can well understand their effects. The lectures on Strindberg and Chekhov strike me as especially remarkable in their elucidation of complex and subtle literary personalities. I know that Miss Goldman is familiar with much of the modern European drama (such as the German Expressionists), and I am confident that her explanation of them will be as admirable, particularly when I remember not only the literary content of her lectures, but the impressive method of her delivery."

\* \* \*

Mr. Frank Harris, author of "The Life of Oscar Wilde," "The Man Shakespeare", "Contemporary Portraits", "The Bomb", and many short stories:

"Miss Goldman's volume of lectures on 'The Social Significance of the Modern Drama' affords astonishing proof not only of Emma Goldman's width of reading, but also of her impartiality. . . . Emma Goldman's mind is a most excellent mirror showing each and every object with the same precise exactitude. . . ."

\* \* \*

Mr. L. H. Mencken, America's foremost literary critic:

"I regard her as one of the most notable women now extant upon this planet; a woman of wide and deep culture, and a graceful and urban writer, and idealist of rare and often singularly winning sort."

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**Notes:** Enclosed with 850128024.

## Drama Course

- Oct. 11. George Bernard Shaw—his life and some of his works. (Widower's Houses. The Devil's Disciple. Mrs. Warren's Profession. Major Barbara.)
- Oct. 18. Shaw—continued. (The Doctor's Dilemma. Androcles and the Lion. Pygmalion. Fanny's First Play. Heart-Break House. Saint Joan.)
- Oct. 25. John Galsworthy—his life and plays. (The Silver Box, Strife, Justice, The Pigeon.)
- Nov. 1. Galsworthy—continued. (The Mob, Fugitive, and other plays.)
- Nov. 8. Ibsen's Symbolic Works. (Brand, Peer Gynt, Rosmersholm.)
- Nov. 15. Ibsen—continued. (The Wild Duck, Master Builder, The Lady from the Sea, When We Dead Awaken.)
- Nov. 22. American Prize Plays.
- Nov. 29. Contemporary British Drama.
- Dec. 6. Contemporary British Drama—continued.  
(Musical Programme with the lectures)

## Social and Literary Topics

- Oct. 13. The Menace of Military Preparedness.
- Oct. 20. The Child and Its Enemies. (The new approach to the child.)
- Oct. 27. Evolution versus Religious Bigotry.
- Nov. 3. Walt Whitman.
- Nov. 10. Has Feminism Achieved Its Aim?
- Nov. 17. Crime and Punishment.
- Nov. 24. Sex—a Dominant Element in Life and Art.
- Dec. 1. Why I Am an Anarchist.
- Dec. 8. Art and Revolution.



## The Emma Goldman Papers

Emma Goldman's Lectures on Drama and Social Topics, October - November - December, 1927, Toronto [advertisement] / Emma Goldman Lecture Committee.—  
4 p. ; 17 × 16 cm.

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**Notes:** Enclosed with 850128024.

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TICKETS CAN BE PURCHASED AT THE  
FOLLOWING PLACES:

Little Shop Around the Corner, 1184 Bay Street

Mrs. Clare Nesbitt, Millinery, 266 Yonge Street

Automatic Printing, 169 Queen St. East

Lecture Committee, Room 204, Manning Chambers,  
72 Queen Street West

(Phone Adelaide 3138)

MRS. M. ACKERMAN, Secretary

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report In re:] Alexander Berkman—Immigration Matter, Chicago, 1927 Oct.  
1 / [Bolling, Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice]. —  
3 p.; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: Agent Bolling describes his efforts to verify a report that Berkman was in Chicago in September.

Notes: Broken type. For related documents, see 870708058, 870708072, and 830214220.

THIS REPORT ORIGINATED AT CHICAGO, ILLINOIS.

REPORT MADE AT: CHICAGO, ILLINOIS	DATE WHEN MADE: Oct. 1, 1927	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE: Sept. 27-30, 1927	REPORT MADE BY: <del>XXXXXXXXXX</del>
TITLE: ALEXANDER BERKMAN			CHARACTER OF CASE: IMMIGRATION MATTER

## SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:

Subject, who was deported to Russia, reported to have been seen in Chicago, September 22. Last heard from as being in Nice, France. Emma Goldman, partner of Subject, now in Toronto, Canada. Undeveloped lead. New York City, N. Y.

P E N D I N G

## REFERENCE:

Beginning investigation.

## DETAILS:

AT CHICAGO, ILLINOIS.

This investigation is predicated on the following enclosure from ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ District Director, Immigration Service, Chicago, Illinois, received September 27, 1927.

SWORN STATEMENT made by ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ before U. S. Immigrant Inspector ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~, at the Congress Hotel, Chicago, Illinois this 23rd day of September, 1927. P. Stonehouse, Cler: (S & T)

DET. S.S.

## SWORN:

Q. Please state your name and business.

A. ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~. I am Director of the Department of Information of the National Electric Light Association, 29 W. 39 Street, New York City, N. Y.

Q. Do you wish to make a statement in regard to Alexander

DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report In re:] Alexander Berkman—Immigration Matter, Chicago, 1927 Oct.  
1 / [Bolling, Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice]. —  
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-2-

Berkman?

A. Yes. I saw him at the Congress Hotel, yesterday, at approximately 11:45 AM, Chicago time, in front of the hotel elevator, leading up from the main lobby.

Q. Was that Alexander Berkman, the anarchist, who was deported?

A. Yes.

Q. Are you acquainted with him?

A. I have met him on ten or twelve occasions when I was in the newspaper line in Colorado.

Q. Can you give a description of him?

A. Yes. He is a man about 5' 10"; very heavy set, particularly around the shoulders, slightly stooped; black hair; black mustache; wears a flowing tie, an artists tie, and a broad rimmed hat of the Stetson type; carried his usual heavy walking stick with a heavy head. I saw him and called the attention of several men standing around me.

Q. Do you know where he is stopping or what he is doing in Chicago?

A. No. I saw him casually. When his eyes met mine, he walked away without waiting for the elevator. That is all I know about him. I met him in 1913 in Colorado when I was on the newspaper and I have seen him several times since that time before he was deported, so I am certain there is no mistake in his identity. That is all I can say about him.

ATTEST:

U. S. Immigration Inspector.

PAS

~~\_\_\_\_\_~~ who is in charge of the bombing squad of the Chicago Police Department and handles radical matters in Chicago, stated that he

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

870708071

[Agent Report In re:] Alexander Berkman—Immigration Matter, Chicago, 1927 Oct.  
1 / [Bolling, Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice]. —  
3 p.; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: Agent Bolling describes his efforts to verify a report that Berkman was in Chicago in September.

Notes: Broken type. For related documents, see 870708058, 870708072, and 830214220.

knows Subject BERKMAN well and that several of his men are acquainted with him. That neither he, nor any of his men have seen anything of Subject around Chicago, nor have they had any information that he is in this country.

~~Subject~~ stated that about two months ago, Subject wrote a letter from Nice, France to friends in Chicago, and at that time, said nothing of any contemplated visit to the United States. He further stated that Emma Goldman, who was deported with Subject, BERKMAN, is now living in Canada and that she is scheduled to speak in Toronto, Canada, October 12th and 14th, but that his information is, that BERKMAN is not traveling with her. ~~Agent~~ stated that he had caused a letter to be sent to Emma Goldman by a close friend of both Subject and Emma Goldman, in an effort to definitely locate Subject.

Agent got in touch with a confidential informant of the Bureau who keeps in close touch with the Radical situation in Chicago and vicinity, who promised to make discreet inquiries to ascertain if Subject was really in Chicago on September 22nd. He stated that if Subject is located he will immediately advise this office.

This Agent and Agent ~~Smith~~, engaged on another investigation, kept a close check on the Congress Hotel for a period of several days prior to and after September 22nd and saw no one resembling Subject.

Inasmuch as the wife of the proprietor of the Chicago Shoe Store, in Butte, Montana is alleged to be the daughter of Emma Goldman and Subject, a copy of this report is furnished to the Butte Office for their information.

## UNDEVELOPED LEAD

New York Office is requested to interview ~~Person~~ ~~in New York City~~ New York City for any further information he may have about Subject.

P E N D I N G

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1927 Oct. 3 [Washington, D.C.? to Robe? Carl? White? Assistant Secretary of Labor? Department of Labor, Washington, D.C.] / F.R. Welsh. — 1 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the Immigration and Naturalization Service via FOIA.

**Summary:** Welsh thanks the assistant secretary of labor for notifying him that Berkman is back in the United States. He deplores the recent spread of anarchism in America.

**Notes:** Bleedthrough; light copy; barely legible. For related documents, see 870708071, 870708072, and 870708058.



October , 1927.

*12/4/10  
13*

OCT 10 MAY 18 1928

Thanks for the information about Alexander Berkman.

I had heard he was in Canada. I thought the Department of Justice knew about his being in the United States provided the man who knew and saw him at the Congress Hotel in Chicago on September 22nd is sure that it was Berkman?

The anarchists in the United States seem to be more active than they have been and especially in Los Angeles and New York, and Felix Frankfurter and the rest of the Sacco and Vanzetti crowd have given quite a little stimulus to anarchy.

Sincerely,

F. R. WELSH

P-P

187

*File  
in*



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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report In re:] Alexander Berkman — Immigration Matter, Butte, Mont. [19]27  
Oct. 17 / D.H. Dickason [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice]. —  
2 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: Agent Dickason refutes the rumor that the illegitimate daughter of Goldman and Berkman lives in Butte, Montana. He has no evidence that Berkman was ever in Montana.

Notes: Broken type; barely legible. For Chicago report mentioned, see 870708071.

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT **Ill.**

REPORT MADE AT: <b>Butte, Montana</b>	DATE WHEN MADE: <b>10-17-27</b>	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE: <b>10-15-27</b>	REPORT MADE BY: <b>D. H. Dickason</b>
TITLE: <b>ALEXANDER BERKMAN</b>			CHARACTER OF CASE: <b>Immigration Matter</b>

## SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:

39-36

61-2

No information that BERKMAN has ever been in Montana district. Story regarding wife of ALBERT KEENE being illegitimate daughter of EMMA GOLDMAN exploded long ago. No other leads in this district. Citations of former reports made herein touching this matter. R.U.C.

Reference: Report of Agent Dolling, Chicago, 10-1-27

## DETAILS:

At Butte, Montana.

The man referred to (ALEXANDER BERKMAN) is not shown by any files in this office to have been in Montana. The greater time that EMMA GOLDMAN was in Colorado and when she was here, her manager was BEN REITHMAN and the couple was often seen in Colorado by me.

DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES

APPROVED AND FORWARDED: <i>D. H. Dickason</i> SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	61-291-113	RECORDED AND INDEXED: FBI - BUTTE
WASHINGTON REFERENCE: #2	COPIES OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO: Butte.-Chicago.2.- New York.-n.3	CHECKED OFF: JACKETED:
BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION A.M. OCT 21 1927 DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE		
ROUTED TO: Mr. Tolson		FILE 411

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## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report In re:] Alexander Berkman - Immigration Matter, Butte, Mont. [19]27  
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Notes: Broken type; barely legible. For Chicago report mentioned, see 870708071.

D. H. Dickason

10-17-27

2.

"The Proprietor of the Chicago Shoe Store," mentioned in Agent Bolling's report, is ALBERT KEENE, whose old country name was ELI KUSHINOW. In some extravagant reports he was supposed to be in some illegal transactions with L.C.A.K. MARTENS as northwestern representative for him. An investigation by me, made 9-26-21, captioned: "NAUM ERSHOVSKY" shows that KEENE was dealing with MARTENS as a representative of CAPTAIN GEORGE C. BOSSON, JR. and one MONT APPEAL, dealing in Government shoes and that one transaction involved 365,000 pairs of these shoes. He submitted documentary evidence that such was his doings. He does not belong to any radical organizations and he has made a success of his businesses and now has a number of stores and is considered one of the leading Jewish business men of this section. He was a personal friend of Congressman MONDELL, who had him on a lecture tour with him in 1908 and 1909 in Wyoming.

As to the parentage of his wife, the hoary canard as to same is disposed of in the following last paragraph, Page 7, of the report referred to:

"As to the parentage of his wife, both he and his wife, he calling her to talk with me, told me that she is the daughter of HIRSCH EDELSTAT, brother of ABE EDELSTAT, and ZILATA EDELSTAT, wife of HIRSCH; that she was born at Cincinnati, Ohio, 7-20-84; that her mother died soon after. her father re-married and she lived with her uncle and aunt, MR. and MRS. ABE EDELSTAT; that her father used to be employed at the Insane Asylum at Warm Springs, Montana; that her mother was born in Russia and was in no way related to EMMA GOLDMAN."

This matter was checked up and seems to be undisputed, as her uncle, EDELSTAT, is a reliable business man here and her father worked at the state institution as is stated and is well known in Butte.

Referred back to Office of Origin (CHICAGO) - no further action here.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

870708072

[Agent Report In re:] Alexander Berkman—Immigration Matter, Chicago, 1927 Nov. 23 / [Bolling, Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice]. — 1 p.; 28 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: Agent Bolling concludes that Berkman was not in Chicago recently.

Notes: Broken type. For report mentioned, see 870708071. For related report, see 870708058.

## CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT

REPORT MADE AT:	DATE WHEN MADE:	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE:
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS	Nov. 23, 1927	Nov. 22, 1927

TITLE:   
 ALEXANDER BERKMAN

CHARACTER OF CASE:   
 IMMIGRATION MATTER

### SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:

Police at Chicago state that subject is not in this district.

C L O S E D

### REFERENCE:

Report of this agent dated October 1st, 1927, and subsequent reports.

### DETAILS:

AT CHICAGO, ILLINOIS.

~~James J. [redacted]~~, who is in close touch with the Radical situation in Chicago stated that he had made careful inquiry among his informants, many of whom are personally acquainted with subject Berkman and that he had been informed by them that subject was not at this time in the United States. He was also informed by persons who had been in touch with Emma Goldman that subject is not in the United States at present.

~~James J. [redacted]~~ stated that he would keep subject in mind and that if by any chance he showed up in Chicago he will be apprehended.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

Report re Emma Goldman, Toronto, 1927 Dec. 13 / [Agent] No. 30, Royal Canadian Mounted Police. — 1 p. ; 34 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the National Archives of Canada. Institutional Location: Record Group 18.

Summary: Agent 30 reports on Goldman's lecture series in Toronto, emphasizing her lecture on "Why I Am an Anarchist."

Notes: Enclosed with 850128058. For enclosure, see 850128025.

"O" Division  
Western Ontario District.

## Royal Canadian Mounted Police

Ref. No. "O" Div. Ref. 6/567

Toronto, Ont. Dec. 13th. 1927

~~SECRET~~

### REPORT

re

Emma Goldman, Anarchist

✓ Last Friday night brought to a close the series of lectures given by the above named person in the Hygeia Hall during the past two months. Her last lecture on the said evening incidentally marks the finish of her activities, at least for the time being, as far as Toronto is concerned. She is contemplating to leave for France some time next month.

I am attaching hereto two folders, the contents of which indicate the various subjects taken up by her in the course of her engagement for the past two months.

The lectures were fairly well attended and while the undertaking was not a great financial success yet, I understand, she did a little better than meeting all expenses in connection with this course. With her it was a matter of business more than anything else.

Her last lecture on "Why I am an Anarchist" was practically the only lecture which was of a revolutionary or radical character. On the whole, the lecture was a piece of anarchist propaganda and it revealed the fact that Emma Goldman is still an anarchist and that she is still bitterly opposed to the present social system. Last Friday evening, perhaps by reason of the fact that it was her last public appearance, she, for the first time since in Canada, came out in her true colours and condemned the Capitalist System without reservation. Her attacks on Capitalism were general but every once in a while she would single out the U.S.A. and make her the chief object of her attack. The address contained also a bit of her biography. According to her own admission she is now 57 years of age. In France she intends writing her autobiography.

No. 30.

DEC 15 1927

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269

## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Memorandum, 19]27 Dec. 16, Toronto [to Cortlandt Starnes] Commissioner, R[oyal] C[anadian] M[ounted] Police, Ottawa / H.M. Newson, Sup[erintenden]t [Royal Canadian Mounted Police]. — 1 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.

*Obtained from the National Archives of Canada. Institutional Location: Record Group 18.*

**Summary:** Newson forwards information on Goldman's lecture series in Toronto.

**Notes:** For enclosures, see 850128024 and 850128025.

"O" Div. Ref. 6/567

~~SECRET~~  
*dm/gh*

The Commissioner,  
R.C.M. Police,  
Ottawa.

Forwarded for your information together  
with the two folders referred to.

*H. M. Newson*

Toronto.  
16-12-27.  
C.

H. M. Newson, Supt.  
Commanding Western Ontario District.

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270



# The Emma Goldman Papers

Report re Emma Goldman, Toronto, 1928 Feb. 8 / [Agent] No. 30, Royal Canadian Mounted Police. — 1 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the National Archives of Canada. Institutional Location: Record Group 18.

Summary: Agent 30 describes Goldman's lecture on "Companionate Marriage" and the farewell dinner held for her in Toronto.

Notes: Enclosed with 850128057.

"O" Division  
Western Ontario District

## ROYAL CANADIAN MOUNTED POLICE

REF. NO. "O" Div. 6/567  
C.R. 1/2

Toronto, Ont., Feb. 8, 1928.

175/4414

~~Secret~~

### REPORT re

Emma Goldman.

The above named party gave her final lecture at the Hygeia Hall last night before leaving for France. The lecture was well attended, possibly one of the best attended meetings ever addressed by her in this city, her subject being "Companionate Marriage." Her lecture was based upon the doctrine of Judge Ben Lindsay of Denver, Col. as expounded in his books "The Revolt of Youth" and "Companionate Marriage." She was entirely in accord with Judge Lindsay only she thought that Judge Lindsay was not going far enough. She regretted that Judge Lindsay does not take into consideration sufficiently the economic aspect of the question. Coupled with Companionate Marriage she also advocated Birth Control. She stated that birth control must be an integral part of companionate marriage.

She made a fairly good impression upon the audience. The audience numbering about 400 people included people of various social standings and a large percentage of women not all of whom were of the working class.

At the end of her lecture she read an appeal on behalf of the striking miners in the United States and personally appealed for donations. As a result thereof a collection was taken amounting to about \$95.00.

During question time several questions were asked, none of which were of a hostile nature and which she answered to the apparent satisfaction of the bulk of the audience.

On Sunday, January 29th a farewell banquet was given in her honour which was attended by about 90 people. The purpose of the banquet was to raise funds for her that will help to defray her expenses in connection with her trip to France. Thus and by means of a collection taken \$500.00 was realized. Some people I understand threw as much as twenty five dollars on the collection plate. The people present at the banquet were mostly Jews most of whom were sympathizers of hers.

Emma Goldman will leave for France very shortly, perhaps in a day or two. She would have left for France last month but lack of funds detained her

No. 30.

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## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Memorandum, 19]28 Feb. 10, Toronto [to Cortlandt Starnes] Commissioner, R[oyal] C[anadian] M[ounted] Police, Ottawa / G.F. Fletcher, Insp[ector, Royal Canadian Mounted Police]. — 1 p. ; 26 x 22 cm.

*Obtained from the National Archives of Canada. Institutional Location: Record Group 18.*

**Summary:** Fletcher forwards a report on Goldman's last few days in Toronto.

**Notes:** For enclosure, see 850128023.

"O" Div. Ref. 6/567

The Commissioner,  
R.C.M. Police,  
Ottawa.

Forwarded for his information.



G. F. Fletcher, Insp.,  
For H. M. Newson, Supt. O.D.S.  
Commanding Western Ontario District.

Toronto  
Feb. 10/28  
B.

# The Emma Goldman Papers

880511018

[Telegram] 1928 June 14, Rome [to Border Officials] / Ministero Dell'Interno. —  
1 p. ; 30 x 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from Archivio Centrale dello Stato, Rome.

Summary: The ministry of the interior wires all border authorities that Goldman is coming to Southern France and may try to enter Italy.

Notes: In Italian. Dark copy.

ALL'ON. SEZIONE TERZA

REGNO D'ITALIA

MINISTERO DELL'INTERNO

Dispaccio Telegrafico

CIFRA

Prefetti Confine Terra e Mare

441 P.S. Viene riferito che nota anarchica GOLDMANN  
avrebbe intenzione recarsi ant sarebbe già recata dall'A-  
merica Nord ove ha finora risieduto nella Francia del Sud,  
scopo esplicare più facilmente attività deleteria danno Re-  
gime step Pregasi disporre attiva vigilanza fermo perquisi-  
zione personale et bagagli qualora entrasse Regno informan-  
dono questo Ministero step si fa riserva trasmettere fotogram-  
fia della GOLDMANN step

PER IL MINISTRO

N.441/OII674 di prot.

Fto/ amaccini

Sezione Ia

Per Copia Conforme

Roma, 11 14 Giugno 1928 = Anno VI =  
IL CAPO DELLA SEZIONE IA

Ord. 352 - 14-11-925 - Tip. Mantellate - Roma

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Report re Emma Goldman] Rome, 1928 June 17 / [author unknown].—  
3 p.; 30 × 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from Archivio Centrale dello Stato, Rome.

Summary: The Italian Public Security Bureau receives a translation of an article on Goldman from the New York World. The article reports that Goldman is leaving Toronto for Southern France and provides a brief history of her life.

Notes: In Italian. Broken type; dark copy.

## Direzione Generale della P. S.

Divisione Affari Generali e Riservati

N. 441/OXI674

DIREZIONE GENERALE DELLA P. S.	
DIVISIONE AFFARI GENERALI E RISERVATI	
SEZIONE TERZA	
N. 10977	PROTOCOLLO
RIPORTATO LI 20. 6. 1928	

On. Sezione Terza

On. Schedario Politico

C O P I A del telexpresso in data 23 maggio 1928 N. 2979/881 pervenuta  
te dal Ministero Esteri

OGGETTO: Lettera diretta a S.E. il Principe Spada  
Potenziani

Con riferimento al foglio 4 corr. N. 441/09190 si ha il pregio  
di restituire, con relativa traduzione a codesta On. Direzione Generale  
una lettera diretta a S.E. il Principe Spada Potenziani ed un ritaglio  
di giornale. d'ordine del Ministro F. Capasso

Per copia conforme (per conoscenza)

Roma 17 giugno 1928-VI

IL CAPO DELLA SEZIONE PRIMA

*La Sezione I ha provveduto a disimpegnare  
le opportune disposizioni per l'eventualità  
dell'ingresso nel Regno della Goldman prima*

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

880511019

[Report re Emma Goldman] Rome, 1928 June 17 / [author unknown].—  
3 p.; 30 x 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from Archivio Centrale dello Stato, Rome.

Summary: The Italian Public Security Bureau receives a translation of an article on Goldman from the New York World. The article reports that Goldman is leaving Toronto for Southern France and provides a brief history of her life.

Notes: In Italian. Broken type; dark copy.

3° O P I A

Da "The World" New York 1° marzo 1928

x EMMA GOLDMAN LASCIA IL PORTO DI TORONTO E VA IN FRANCIA

La nota anarchica si propone di scrivere in Francia la sua autobiografia

Dispaccio speciale a "The World"

Toronto, febbraio 29

Emma Goldman, anarchica, dopo aver trascorso quasi due anni nella tranquilla atmosfera di Toronto, dove si è dedicata principalmente a conferenze su argomenti letterari e drammatici, è partita in cerca di cieli più turbolenti.

La sua destinazione immediata è il sud della Francia. Essa dice che impiegherà un anno o due colà per scrivere la sua autobiografia ma se rimane nel sud della Francia, è probabile che tenga d'occhio il suo vicino Mussolini, il più aggressivo nemico dell'anarchismo che vi sia nel mondo.

E' meglio morire da leone che vivere da cane" è stato il suo ultimo motto a Toronto. "Io vivrò e morirò anarchica"

Emma Goldman si è fatta molti amici a Toronto. Figura senza pretese, piccola di statura e punto indebolita dalla grave età, vestita con buon gusto borghese, essa non ha attirato particolare attenzione prima di cominciare a conversare o a parlare in pubblico. Ma quando ha cominciato a conversare e a parlare in pubblico, si è subito notata la sua particolare mentalità, la sua cultura e il carattere tutto speciale dei suoi ideali. Tra i suoi ascoltatori vi sono stati sempre parecchi cospicui personaggi.

Miss Goldman nacque in Russia 75 anni fa da genitori facoltosi.

./././.

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## The Emma Goldman Papers

880511019

[Report re Emma Goldman] Rome, 1928 June 17 / [author unknown].—  
3 p. ; 30 x 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from Archivio Centrale dello Stato, Rome.

Summary: The Italian Public Security Bureau receives a translation of an article on Goldman from the New York World. The article reports that Goldman is leaving Toronto for Southern France and provides a brief history of her life.

Notes: In Italian. Broken type; dark copy.

studiò in Russia, in Germania e venne poi in America, attratta dalla libertà che questa offriva. "Rimasi tristemente disillusa", ebbe a dire. "L'accoglienza fatta anche oggi agli emigranti è sufficiente per offendere qualunque sentimento di libertà, ma 40 anni fa, il trattamento riservato ai pellegrini della Terra Promessa era così ributtante che se non fossi stata già un ribelle, lo sarei diventata per questa ragione.

Durante i disordini e le sommosse del "Chicago Haymarket" dell'84, quando 5 uomini furono condannati a morte, Miss Goldman diventò definitivamente anarchica.

Da allora ella ha vissuto ora in Francia e ora negli Stati Uniti. Durante la guerra fu chiusa in prigione, e rimessa in libertà, si recò in Russia, dove ebbe nuove delusioni.

Miss Goldman definisce la dottrina degli anarchici: "Fede in una società senza legge."

Io sono anarchica", dice "perchè credo che l'anarchia sia attuabile; perchè credo, con tutta la passione di cui il mio essere è capace che l'uomo è degno di completa libertà, perchè ho fede nelle masse e perchè nessun'altro sistema può dare tale libertà: non certamente il capitalismo e, a giudicare dell'infelicità riuscita dell'esperimento russo, da me studiato personalmente durante i miei due anni di permanenza colà neppure il bolscevismo."

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1928 Oct. 13 [Ottawa to Cortlandt Starnes] Commissioner, Royal Canadian Mounted Police, Ottawa / A.L. Jolliffe, Commissioner, Department of Immigration and Colonization. — 1 p.; 27 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the National Archives of Canada. Institutional Location: Record Group 18.

Summary: Jolliffe asks Starnes if Goldman has left Canada.

Notes: For reply, see 850128021.

COMP. ADDRESS  
MINISTER OF IMMIGRATION



CANADA

IN YOUR REPLY REFER TO

51160.

No. ....

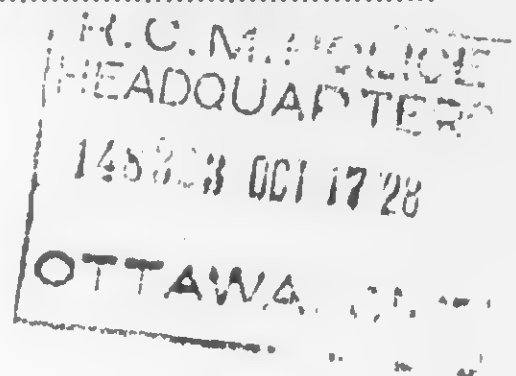
KINDLY DO NOT WRITE ON MORE THAN  
ONE SUBJECT IN ANY ONE LETTER

(In duplicate)

DEPARTMENT OF IMMIGRATION AND COLONIZATION

OTTAWA, October 13th, 1928.

175/4414.



Dear Sir,

Referring to your file number 175/4414, in the case of Emma Goldman, or Mrs. James Colton, may I ask if any information is available indicating that this woman has left Canada and returned to the British Isles.

Yours truly,

*A.L. Jolliffe*  
Commissioner.

The Commissioner,  
Royal Canadian Mounted Police,  
Ottawa, Ontario.

*NGO*

OCT 17 1928

## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1928 Oct. 17 [Ottawa to] A.L. Jolliffe, Commissioner, Department of Immigration and Colonization, Ottawa / Cortlandt Starnes, Commissioner [Royal Canadian Mounted Police]. — 1 p. ; 27 x 22 cm.

*Obtained from the National Archives of Canada. Institutional Location: Record Group 18.*

**Summary:** Citing reports on Goldman's last few weeks in Canada, Starnes presumes that Goldman has left Canada.

**Notes:** Reply to 850128022. For reports mentioned, see 850128023 and 850128024.

175/4414

17th October, 1928

Dear Sir.

In reply to your letter of 13th October (your file No. 51160), regarding Emma Goldman, a secret report, dated 13th December, 1927, contains a statement "She is contemplating leaving for France some time next month". On 7th February, 1928, she gave her final lecture in Toronto at the Hygeia Hall, our report saying "Before leaving for France". On 29th January a farewell banquet was given in her honour, which was attended by about 90 people, and at this subscriptions were received to defray her expenses to France; about \$500 were realised. Our report, dated 8th February, says:-

"Emma Goldman will leave for France very shortly, perhaps in a day or two. She would have left for France last month but lack of funds detained her."

Since then I have heard nothing of her and presumed that she left the country in accordance with her intention.

Yours faithfully,



A. L. Jolliffe, Esq.,  
Commissioner,

Department of  
Immigration and  
Colonization,  
Ottawa.

(Cortlandt Starnes)  
Commissioner

CFH.DD

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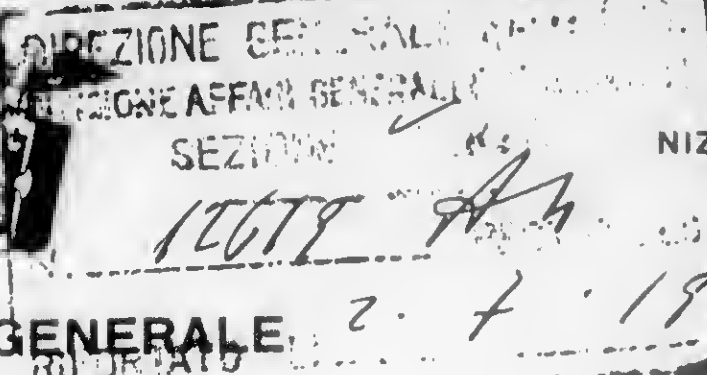
# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1929 June 21 [Nice to Ministero degli Affari Esteri], Rome / [Console Generale d'Italia]. — 1 p. ; 30 x 24 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from Archivio Centrale dello Stato, Rome.

Summary: The Italian consul in Nice reports that he has not located Goldman there.

Notes: In Italian.



CONSOLATO GENERALE

DI S. M. IL RE D'ITALIA

NELLE ALPI-MARITTIME

N° 8169

POB.A.2

R° Ministero degli Affari Esteri (Uff. Stampa) Roma

e per conoscenza

R. Ambasciata d'Italia in Parigi

R° Ministero Interno (Dir.Gen. P.S) Roma



Riferimento: Ministeriale 13 corrente n°2982/183.

Oggetto: Goldmann Emma.

Testo: L'anarchica Goldmann Emma non è stata qui rintracciata. Fu a suo tempo interessata anche il servizio politico della locale polizia per far segnalare la presenza a Nizza di tale sovversiva la cui "fiche" come da assicurazioni avute, risulta che fu inscritta anche fra i cartellini del servizio schedario forestieri.

Però la <sup>presenza della</sup> Goldmann non è stata a tutt'oggi segnalata a Nizza.

*Per info...*

*...invece...*

*ALM*

*È già segnalata...*

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[File Destruction Memorandum] 1929 July 9 / [Military Intelligence Division, War Department]. — 1 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: Military Intelligence destroys files on Goldman in 1929.

RG-165, Military Intelligence  
Div. Record Cards, 2857-D

REPRODUCED AT THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

- 2657-D
- 115 May 28-20. ND-0146 (Col. SOIBERT). Subject: Political (Russia) Suspects, etc: KEELEY, IANARK, CLAYTON, ABARRY Society called "Russian Friends of American Freedom" formed by EMMA GOLDMAN & JNO. BIRKMAN, to stir up Bolshevik troubles in America. Inf. on other current tr. Amalgamation of I.W.W. in Moscow w. I.W.W. in America. Attempts to stir up trouble in Finland. Close connectn. btwn. Grm. Spartacists & Russ. Bol. 3pp. 3cops.  
June 21-20. To Col. Miles. (Re)  
Destroyed by order of Ex. Ofcr. JUL 9 1929
- 116 Jun. 10-20. OD-828 (Col. FARMAN). Subject: Bolshevick Russia. Political Factor; Inf. re. numerous Generals of the old Russian Armies have joined the Bolsheviks; most prominent among these is BRUSILOFF 2pp. 3cops.  
July 2-20. To Col. Miles. (Hn)  
Destroyed by order of Ex. Ofcr. JUL 9 1929
- 117 June 9-20. ID-12 (Col. HOLLYDAY). Subject: Political Factor: Russia. Repts. interview w. MR. LAMBERT, of London Daily News, re conditns. in Russia. 3pp. 3cops.  
July 14-20. To Col. Miles. (Re)  
Destroyed by order of Ex. Ofcr. JUL 9 1929
- 118 June 11-20. ID-16 (Col. HOLLYDAY). Subject: Foreign: Russia. Rept. re a delegatn. of Italian socialists who landed in Helsingfors en route to Russia. Said to be diplomatic mission authorized by Ital. Govt. Growth of Socialist party in Italy: now 200,000, as against 48,000 before the War. 1p. 3cops.  
July 20-20. To Col. Miles. (Re)  
Destroyed by order of Ex. Ofcr. JUL 9 1929

Form 15—O. C. S.

Write nothing below this line.

3-5786

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

Contract, 1929 Aug. 21, with Emma Goldman for [her] autobiography [draft] / Alfred A. Knopf, Inc. — 8 p. ; 36 × 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Tamiment Library, New York University.

Summary: Goldman and Knopf draft a contract for the publication of *Living My Life*.

Notes: Draft of 840306114 and 840306115.

72 m-1

## CONTRACT

with Emma Goldman

for THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF EMMA GOLDMAN

dated August 21, 1929

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

# The Emma Goldman Papers

Contract, 1929 Aug. 21, with Emma Goldman for [her] autobiography [draft] / Alfred A. Knopf, Inc. — 8 p. ; 36 x 22 cm.

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Summary: Goldman and Knopf draft a contract for the publication of *Living My Life*.

Notes: Draft of 840306114 and 840306115.

*revised*  
 AGREEMENT made this twenty-first day of August 1929, between  
 Mrs. Emma Goldman *Colman* whose post-office address is  
 Laixon Masseur, St. Tropez, Var, France

party of the first part hereinafter also referred to as the "Author"; and ALFRED A. KNOPF, INC., of 730 Fifth Avenue, Borough of Manhattan, New York City, party of the second part, hereinafter also termed the "Publisher."

WITNESSETH: WHEREAS the parties hereto are mutually desirous respectively of having published and of publishing a certain literary work:

NOW, THEREFORE, in consideration of the premises and the promises hereinafter set forth, and for valuable considerations by each to the other passed, receipt whereof is by both of them acknowledged, the said parties do hereby agree to and with each other as follows:

## FIRST: THE AUTHOR AGREES:

(a) to grant and hereby does grant to the Publisher the sole and exclusive right to publish the work now entitled THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF EMMA GOLDMAN in book form, in the United States of America, and Canada and also grants to the Publisher such further rights as are set forth in paragraph Fourth hereof:

(b) to make timely application for the renewal of the copyright to be secured for the said work as hereinafter provided within one year before the expiration of the copyright therein; and to execute any further or other papers which may be necessary to extend the term of this agreement (if then in existence) so that the same shall be coincident with the term of the copyright in said work and the renewal thereof:

(c) to deliver to the Publisher ~~not later than the~~ 25th day of March, 1932 a completed and legible typewritten copy of the manuscript or a copy in the form of corrected proof sheets, together with materials from which illustrations can be prepared without redrawing, should illustrations mutually be deemed necessary; and if the same shall not be so delivered within said time, then upon request of the Publisher, if made within twenty (20) days after default in said delivery, to terminate this agreement; or if same shall not be so delivered within said time, and no such request is made, and said manuscript or copy be delivered after the above date, and such delay in delivery, in the judgment of the Publisher, shall make it impracticable or inadvisable to publish said book within the time provided in subdivision (2) of paragraph "Second" hereof, then upon notice to that effect given to the Author within twenty (20) days after receipt of said manuscript or copy by the Publisher, publication of the said work may be postponed as in said subdivision specified;

(d) ~~to grant and he/she hereby does grant to the Publisher the right, if the copyright be in the Author's name, to bring in the name of the Author as plaintiff or complainant any action or proceeding for the enjoining of any infringement of the copyright in the said work and for any damages resulting therefrom; and if in the Author's name, to hold the said copyright during the existence of this agreement subject to the rights in this agreement granted to the Publisher;~~

(e) to read when submitted and within thirty days of the receipt thereof to return to the Publisher the galley and page proofs of the said work; and in the event of the failure by the Author to return the said proofs within the period aforesaid, then the Publisher shall have the right to publish the said work as submitted to the Publisher; and the Author shall pay or permit to have charged against royalties the amount of the expense incurred by the Publisher because of changes and/or additions other than corrections of printer's errors made in and to the text made by the Author, in excess of fifteen per cent (15%) of the original cost of composition, provided an itemized statement of these charges be promptly forwarded to the Author, and the corrected proofs be presented for the inspection of the Author to the office of Publisher, upon the former's request therefor;

~~(f) in part consideration of the publication of the aforesaid work, to and hereby does grant to the Publisher the option to publish the next two novels/works of more than words in length, to be written and/or offered for publication by the Author, the said novels/works to be published on the same terms as in this agreement set forth with regard to the novel/work first hereinbefore referred to, except that the option shall not apply to the said two succeeding novels/works; and the royalty shall be fixed as hereinafter set forth; and said option is conditioned upon its being exercised within thirty (30) days after the submission of the manuscript thereof, and upon the Publisher in good faith fulfilling the terms and conditions of this agreement to be performed on its part; the publication of the succeeding novels/works shall be had in the corresponding season of the years immediately succeeding that set for publication of the first herein mentioned novel/work; and finally the said option shall not apply to the latter of the said succeeding novel/work if the same be not exercised by the Publisher as to the first of them.~~

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

## The Emma Goldman Papers

Contract, 1929 Aug. 21, with Emma Goldman for [her] autobiography [draft] / Alfred A. Knopf, Inc. — 8 p. ; 36 × 22 cm.

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**Summary:** Goldman and Knopf draft a contract for the publication of *Living My Life*.

**Notes:** Draft of 840306114 and 840306115.

(b2)

to pay to the Author an advance of four thousand dollars to be charged against monies to be earned under the terms of this agreement, said advance to be paid as follows: two thousand dollars to be paid on the signing of this contract and two thousand dollars to be paid on the delivery of the complete manuscript.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

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(g) to and he/she hereby does represent and guarantee to the Publisher that he/she is the sole author of the said work, that he/she is the owner of all of the rights in this agreement granted to the Publisher, that the said work contains no libelous and/or unlawful matter; and that it in no wise infringes upon the copyright or violates any other right of any person or party whatsoever; and agrees to hold harmless the Publisher against any claim, demand or recovery finally sustained in any suit which may be brought against the Publisher by reason of any violation of proprietary right or copyright, or because of any libelous or unlawful matter contained in the said work; and to act promptly with regard to and defend any claim or demand which may be made and/or action which may be brought, based upon any assertions or allegations of infringement, violation, libel or unlawfulness, provided the Publisher shall notify the Author of any claim, demand or suit within three (3) days after the Publisher receives notice thereof or service therein and give to the Author such reasonable time as the exigencies of the situation will permit in which to undertake such defense; and if default shall be made by the Author in the respects aforesaid, then the Publisher is hereby granted the right to make such defense as it may be advised by counsel, and the costs and counsel fees thereof together with any recovery shall as aforesaid be charged to and paid by the Author; ~~and the aforesaid representations and guarantees shall apply to the said subsequent works.~~

## SECOND: THE PUBLISHER AGREES:

(a) to publish the said work at its own expense in book form in such style or styles as it deems best suited to the sale thereof at a catalogue retail price of not less than \$2.50 nor more than ~~\$5.00~~ per copy, regular trade edition; said publication to be made during the season of 19 ~~provided the manuscript or copy be delivered within the time hereinbefore stipulated; and if not so delivered, but delayed in delivery and accepted by the Publisher as hereinbefore provided, and if not so published in the above season or the next succeeding season (in case of late delivery), except on account of strikes, fires or other contingencies beyond the control of the Publisher or its suppliers, in which event the publication shall be had in the spring or fall season immediately succeeding that in which publication should have been had under the terms hereof, then the Author shall have the right to terminate this agreement and the rights herein granted shall revert to the Author, provided the Author shall forward notice of termination to the Publisher within twenty (20) days after the end of the season in which said work should have been published, otherwise the publication shall be postponed until the next immediately succeeding spring or fall season;~~

the season following the receipt of the manuscript, but depending upon any exigencies due to serial publication

(b) to take all the steps required to secure copyright of the said work in the United States of America and such other countries as may be included in this agreement, except with regard to Canada, where the Publisher and Author shall cooperate in securing copyright. The said work shall be copyrighted either (1) in the name of the Author or (2) in the name of the Publisher; if in case (1), the Author shall hold the copyright as hereinbefore set forth in subdivision (d) of paragraph First hereof; and if in case (2), the Publisher shall either assign the copyright upon completion thereof to the Author, or hold all the rights comprised therein and not in this agreement granted to the Publisher for the benefit of the Author, and grant to the Author and his/her designees the right to bring any suit or proceeding necessary to protect the copyright against the infringement by the unauthorized use of any such rights for the Author, held in the name of Publisher as the record owner of the copyright, provided the Author or his/her designee shall properly secure the Publisher against the payment of any costs and expenses in connection with any such suit or proceeding;

(c) to pay to the Author a royalty of ten per cent on the catalog retail price of every copy of said work sold up to five thousand copies; per cent on every copy sold in excess of thousand and up to thousand; and fifteen per cent on all copies thereafter sold; but should the sale be fewer than 100 copies in any given royalty period of six months as defined by this agreement the royalty payable on such copies shall be ten per cent. On copies sold for export at a reduced price the royalty shall be calculated on the price actually charged instead of the catalogue retail price. Where copies are sold in quantities sufficient to justify special discounts of fifty per cent (50%) or more from the retail catalogue price, i.e., in sales of more than 245 copies to any individual purchaser, or in other specific instances especially arranged for in writing between the parties hereto the royalty shall be calculated on the price actually charged by the Publisher. ~~If at the time of the publication of the subsequent novels/works or either of them, any prior novel/work published under this agreement shall have attained sales in excess of the number above stipulated at the minimum royalty, then the royalties shall be advanced and the minimum royalty for said subsequent novel/work shall be that provided to be paid for the increased number of the prior novel/work to such time sold.~~

No royalties shall be payable on copies furnished gratis, to the Author, or for review, advertising, sample or like purposes or copies destroyed by fire or water. No sales and deliveries of copies of this work shall be made dependent or conditioned upon the purchase of any other work published or to be published by the Publisher;

(d) to forward to the Author promptly upon completion thereof galley and page proofs with printer's corrections and to make no changes in the text or title of the said work without the written consent thereto of the Author;

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(e) to render a semi-annual statement of account to the first day of January or the first day of July immediately succeeding the publication of the said work and to render similar semi-annual statements for all succeeding periods of six months during which copies of said work subject to royalty shall have been sold, and to forward such statements on or before the first day of February and the first day of August following to the address of the Author as the same appears at the beginning of this agreement, and to make payment in accordance with the said statements on the first day of May and the first day of November immediately following, and upon request of the Author to furnish him/her with duplicates of said statements and in instances where said accounts involve branch houses in countries without the United States of America and the Dominion of Canada or where payments are to be received semi-annually by the Publisher from foreign countries other than the Dominion of Canada such receipts shall be accounted for and payment of royalty on such sales and statements thereof shall be rendered yearly instead of semi-annually; and whenever the semi-annual sales fall below fifty (50) copies no accounting shall be made until after the sales aggregate fifty (50) copies; and such accounting shall be included in the semi-annual settlement immediately succeeding that in which the sales shall aggregate fifty (50) copies or more.

(f) to present to the Author ten free copies of the said work upon publication and to permit the Author to purchase further copies for his/her own use and not for resale at three-fifths of the catalogue retail price thereof;

(g) in the event that after two years from the date of the first publication of said work, the same in the opinion of the Publisher is no longer merchantable or profitable, it shall give three months' notice to the Author of its desire and intention to discontinue publication; or in the event that the Publisher shall fail to keep the work in print and for sale and after written demand from the Author declines or neglects to reprint the same within six months and to offer it for sale, then in either of these events the Author shall have the right to terminate this agreement and upon notice to that effect by the Author to the Publisher, all rights granted under this agreement shall revert to the Author and any plates of the work, if such had been made and preserved with any plates of illustrations furnished by the Author and any remaining copies, shall be transferred to the Author; provided the Author shall pay fifty per cent of the actual manufacturing cost, including composition of such plates and the actual manufacturing cost of any remaining copies or sheets, the said right or rights to be exercised by the Author within three months after notice by the Author of termination; and in the event that the Author shall not exercise this option and shall not purchase the aforesaid plates or remainders then the Publisher shall have the right to melt any such plates and sell remaining copies or sheets at cost or less without payment of any royalty to the Author upon such copies; and the Author shall have the right to purchase the plates or the remainders on the basis aforesaid each without the purchase of the other;

(h) to and does grant to the Author the right upon his/her written request to examine or cause to be examined through certified public accountants the books of account of the Publisher insofar as the same relate to the said work; provided that if such examination shall not divulge errors of accounting (arising otherwise than from an interpretation of this contract) amounting to One Hundred Dollars (\$100) or more to the Author's disadvantage, the cost of such examination shall be borne by the Author; otherwise it shall be borne by the Publisher.

THIRD: It is mutually agreed between the parties hereto as follows:

(a) that all notices which may be given and requests which may be made by either of the parties hereto to the other under this agreement shall be in writing and may be forwarded by one to the other by ordinary mail except notices of termination which shall be forwarded by registered mail, and all notices and/or requests shall be directed to the party designated at the address heretofore written unless notice of change shall be given in writing by either party to the other, and after receipt of such notice, the address therein stated shall be used in all further communications to said party;

(b) each of the parties hereto will execute for and forward to the other upon request therefor any further written instrument, document or certificate confirming or evidencing the grants in this agreement set forth;

(c) that regardless of the record holder of the copyright, the Publisher shall use or dispose of no right or rights comprised in the copyright to the said work other than those herein specifically granted to the Publisher and whether the said rights be now or may at any time hereafter be recognized as included in the copyright to the said work;

(d) that subsequent to the publication of the said work, the Publisher may publish under its own imprint a cheap edition of the said work or permit the same to be published by leasing the plates of the said work to a regular cheap edition publisher, and in the event

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that said cheap edition should be published under the imprint of the ~~Publisher~~ the Publisher shall pay to the Author ten per cent (10%) of the catalog retail price at which the Publisher shall sell same; and in the event the Publisher shall lease the use of the plates to the said work, then the Publisher shall pay to the Author one half of the amounts received from such lessee. Payments and accountings under this clause shall be subject to the provisions of Subdivision (c) of Paragraph Second of this agreement;

*which shall not in any event exceed sixty per cent of the retail price of the original edition;*

(e) that should the Publisher at any time after one year from the publication of the said work conclude that it is overstocked with copies on hand thereof and that it could not dispose of the same within a reasonable time, then the Publisher shall have the right to sell copies at the best price that it can obtain therefor and in the event that the sale of such copies shall be made at or below the actual cost thereof, then no royalty thereon shall be paid to the Author; and if the sales price shall exceed the said cost but be fifty per cent (50%) or less of the catalogue retail price, then the Publisher shall pay to the Author a royalty of ten per cent (10%) on the actual price received and payments and accountings under this cause shall be subject to the provisions of Subdivision (c) in Paragraph Second of this agreement;

(f) that if the plates or type forms of the said work shall be destroyed or rendered valueless by fire or otherwise, then the Publisher shall have the option of reproducing the same or not, and if it shall conclude not to reproduce them, then the rights herein granted by the Author to the Publisher shall revert to the Author except that the Publisher shall have the right to sell the remaining copies on hand subject to the provisions with regard to payments and accountings set forth in the immediately preceding subdivision of this agreement;

(g) in the event of the bankruptcy or the liquidation through any cause whatsoever of the Publisher, the Author shall have the right to buy back the rights in this agreement granted to the Publisher at the fair market value thereof, the same to be determined by the majority decision of three persons, one to be appointed by the Author, the other by the legal representative of the Publisher and the third by these two, and upon payment of the amount so fixed and the transfer of the rights, this agreement shall terminate except that the representative of the Publisher shall have the right to sell the remaining copies on hand, if the same are not purchased by the Author, at the best price he can obtain therefor, and without payment of any royalty thereon to the Author;

(h) in the event that the copyright of this work shall during the existence of this agreement be infringed, then upon notice thereof by either party to the other, the parties hereto shall meet and confer with regard thereto and if no arrangement mutually satisfactory shall be arrived at for their joint action in regard thereto, then either of the parties hereto shall have the right to bring an action for the enjoining of such infringement and/or damages. If they shall proceed mutually in the matter, the expenses and recoveries, if any, shall be shared equally; and if they shall not agree to proceed jointly in the matter and if one of them shall decline to do so on the basis aforesaid, then the other party hereto shall have the right to go forward with such proceeding and such party shall bear all the expenses thereof, and any recoveries had therein shall belong absolutely to such party; and if such party hereto shall not hold the record title of the copyright, then the other party hereto shall permit the action to be brought in his or its name as hereinbefore provided;

(i) that if this agreement shall be breached by the Publisher in any particular not hereinbefore specifically provided for, and if within thirty days after notice thereof by the Author to the Publisher, the breach complained of shall not have been remedied by the Publisher, then the rights herein granted shall revert to the Author. Upon the foregoing or any other reversion of the rights herein granted to the Author, the Publisher shall, if the copyright be of record in its name, transfer said copyright to the Author by due and proper legally executed and acknowledged assignment;

(j) that no waiver of any breach of any condition of this agreement shall be binding unless the same shall be in writing and signed by the party waiving the said breach, and no such waiver shall in any wise affect any other term or condition of this agreement or constitute a cause or excuse for a repetition of such or any other breach unless the waiver shall include the same;

(k) that this agreement regardless of the place of its physical execution shall be treated by the parties hereto as though executed within the State of New York and be interpreted within the purview of the laws and statutes of the State of New York and of the United States of America;

(l) this agreement shall be binding upon and inure to the benefit of the executors, administrators and assigns of the Author and upon and to the successors and assigns of the Publisher, but no assignment voluntary or by operation of law shall be binding upon either of the parties hereto without the written consent of the other party of this agreement, except as hereinbefore specifically provided.

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FOURTH: It is hereby further agreed between the parties hereto as follows:

(a) that copyright to the said work referred to in subdivision (b) of paragraph "Second" shall be secured in the name of the Publisher and the proper copyright notice or notices necessary to protect copyright to and in the said work shall be printed on the reverse side of the title page in every copy thereof in the aforesaid name;

(b) that all references to copyrighting in this agreement made, are subject to such changes in notice, duration, owner, printing, wording, location, protection, registration and all other matters thereto relating, which may be enacted by United States of America, either by amendment to the present "Copyright Act" or by the adoption of or amendment to any new "Copyright Act" between the date of this agreement and the date of publication of the aforesaid work; but no such change or changes shall be construed to enlarge the rights granted to the Publisher beyond those specifically set forth in this agreement;

(c) that if any manuscript delivered to the Publisher under this agreement shall not be written in idiomatic or otherwise acceptable English and in the opinion of the Publisher properly prepared for the press, then the Publisher shall notify the Author of its dissatisfaction in these respects or any of them, and the Author shall have twenty (20) days after the receipt of such notice in which to make the necessary revision, and if not so made by the Author then the Publisher shall have the right to cause said revision to be made at the expense of and for the account of the Author and the Author shall pay for the same. It is however expressly agreed that this clause shall not be construed to grant to the Publisher the right to change the theme, plot, or any incident in any work by the Author without the written consent thereto of the Author, nor to change the text of the said work in any manner whatsoever except as may be necessary to conform the same to idiomatic or otherwise acceptable English and to style it for the press.

(d) that the additional rights included in subdivision (a) of paragraph "First" are:

(1) selection, second serialization, syndication, translation and radio broadcasting. Any sums accruing from the sale of these rights are to be divided equally between Publisher and Author.

(2) first serial. Any sums accruing from the sale of this right are to be divided as follows: per cent to the Author and per cent to the Publisher.

*Selection. All sums of money accruing from the sale of this right shall be divided equally between Author and Publisher.*

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IN WITNESS WHEREOF, the Author has hereunto placed his hand and seal and the Publisher has caused this agreement to be executed by its President by authority of its Board of Directors and its seal to be hereunto affixed by like authority, all on the day and year first hereinbefore written.

In the presence of

\_\_\_\_\_  
Witness sign here

\_\_\_\_\_  
Author sign here

(L. S.)

ALFRED A. KNOPF, INC.

by \_\_\_\_\_

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Summary: Goldman signs a contract with Knopf for the publication of *Living My Life*.

Notes: Draft of 840306115.

## CONTRACT

with Mrs. Emma Goldman Colton

for THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF EMMA GOLDMAN

dated August 27, 1929

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**AGREEMENT** made this twenty-seventh day of August 1929, between  
Mrs. Emma Goldman Colton whose post-office address is  
Maison Mussier, St. Tropez, Var, France

party of the first part hereinafter also referred to as the "Author"; and ALFRED A. KNOPF, INC., of 730 Fifth Avenue, Borough of Manhattan, New York City, party of the second part, hereinafter also termed the "Publisher."

**WITNESSETH:** WHEREAS the parties hereto are mutually desirous respectively of having published and of publishing a certain literary work:

NOW, THEREFORE, in consideration of the premises and the promises hereinafter set forth, and for valuable considerations by each to the other passed, receipt whereof is by both of them acknowledged, the said parties do hereby agree to and with each other as follows:

## FIRST: THE AUTHOR AGREES:

(a) to grant and hereby does grant to the Publisher the sole and exclusive right to publish the work now entitled **THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF EMMA GOLDMAN** in book form, in the United States of America, and Canada and also grants to the Publisher such further rights as are set forth in paragraph Fourth hereof:

(b) to make timely application for the renewal of the copyright to be secured for the said work as hereinafter provided within one year before the expiration of the copyright therein; and to execute any further or other papers which may be necessary to extend the term of this agreement (if then in existence) so that the same shall be coincident with the term of the copyright in said work and the renewal thereof:

(c) to deliver to the Publisher not later than the 25th day of March, 1930 a completed and legible typewritten copy of the manuscript or a copy in the form of corrected proof sheets, together with materials from which illustrations can be prepared without redrawing, should illustrations mutually be deemed necessary; and if the same shall not be so delivered within said time, then upon request of the Publisher, if made within twenty (20) days after default in said delivery, to terminate this agreement; or if same shall not be so delivered within said time, and no such request is made, and said manuscript or copy be delivered after the above date, and such delay in delivery, in the judgment of the Publisher, shall make it impracticable or inadvisable to publish said book within the time provided in subdivision (a) of paragraph "Second" hereof, then upon notice to that effect given to the Author within twenty (20) days after receipt of said manuscript or copy by the Publisher, publication of the said work may be postponed as in said subdivision specified;

~~(d) to grant and he/she hereby does grant to the Publisher the right, if the copyright be in the Author's name, to bring in the name of the Author as plaintiff or complainant any action or proceeding for the enjoining of any infringement of the copyright in the said work and for any damages resulting therefrom; and if in the Author's name, to hold the said copyright during the existence of this agreement subject to the rights in this agreement granted to the Publisher;~~

(e) to read when submitted and within thirty days of the receipt thereof to return to the Publisher the galley and page proofs of the said work; and in the event of the failure by the Author to return the said proofs within the period aforesaid, then the Publisher shall have the right to publish the said work as submitted to the Publisher; and the Author shall pay or permit to have charged against royalties the amount of the expense incurred by the Publisher because of changes and/or additions other than corrections of printer's errors made in and to the text made by the Author, in excess of fifteen per cent (15%) of the original cost of composition, provided an itemized statement of these charges be promptly forwarded to the Author, and the corrected proofs be presented for the inspection of the Author at the office of Publisher, upon the former's request therefor;

~~(f) in part publication of the publication of the aforesaid work, to and hereby does grant to the Publisher the option to publish the next two novels/works of more than words in length, to be written and/or edited for publication by the Author, the said novels/works to be published on the same terms as in this agreement set forth with regard to the novel/work first hereinbefore referred to, except that the option shall not apply to the said two succeeding novels/works; and the royalty shall be fixed as hereinafter set forth; and said option is conditioned upon its being exercised within thirty (30) days after the submission of the manuscript thereof, and upon the Publisher in good faith fulfilling the terms and conditions of this agreement to be performed on its part; the publication of the succeeding novels/works shall be had in the corresponding season of the years immediately succeeding that set for publication of the first herein mentioned novel/work; and finally the said option shall not apply to the latter of the said succeeding novel/work if the same be not exercised by the Publisher as to the first of them;~~

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(g) to and he/she hereby does represent and guarantee to the Publisher that he/she is the sole author of the said work, that he/she is the owner of all of the rights in this agreement granted to the Publisher, that the said work contains no libelous and/or unlawful matter; and that it in no wise infringes upon the copyright or violates any other right of any person or party whatsoever; and agrees to hold harmless the Publisher against any claim, demand or recovery finally sustained in any suit which may be brought against the Publisher by reason of any violation of proprietary right or copyright, or because of any libelous or unlawful matter contained in the said work; and to act promptly with regard to and defend any claim or demand which may be made and/or action which may be brought, based upon any assertions or allegations of infringement, violation, libel or unlawfulness, provided the Publisher shall notify the Author of any claim, demand or suit within three (3) days after the Publisher receives notice thereof or service therein and give to the Author such reasonable time as the exigencies of the situation will permit in which to undertake such defense; and if default shall be made by the Author in the respects aforesaid, then the Publisher is hereby granted the right to make such defense as it may be advised by counsel, and the costs and counsel fees thereof together with any recovery shall as aforesaid be charged to and paid by the Author; and the aforesaid representations and guarantees shall apply to the said subsequent works.

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the season following the receipt of the manuscript, but depending upon any exigencies due to serial publication.

(b) to take all the steps required to secure copyright of the said work in the United States of America and such other countries as may be included in this agreement, except with regard to Canada, where the Publisher and Author shall cooperate in securing copyright. The said work shall be copyrighted either (1) in the name of the Author or (2) in the name of the Publisher; if in case (1), the Author shall hold the copyright as hereinbefore set forth in subdivision (d) of paragraph First hereof; and if in case (2), the Publisher shall either assign the copyright upon completion thereof to the Author, or hold all the rights comprised therein and not in this agreement granted to the Publisher for the benefit of the Author, and grant to the Author and his/her designees the right to bring any suit or proceeding necessary to protect the copyright against the infringement by the unauthorized use of any such rights for the Author, held in the name of Publisher as the record owner of the copyright, provided the Author or his/her designee shall properly secure the Publisher against the payment of any costs and expenses in connection with any such suit or proceeding;

(c) to pay to the Author a royalty of ten per cent on the catalog retail price of every copy of said work sold up to five thousand copies; per cent on every copy sold in excess of thousand and up to thousand; and fifteen per cent on all copies thereafter after sold; but should the sale be fewer than 100 copies in any given royalty period of six months as defined by this agreement the royalty payable on such copies shall be ten per cent. On copies sold for export at a reduced price the royalty shall be calculated on the price actually charged instead of the catalogue retail price. Where copies are sold in quantities sufficient to justify special discounts of fifty per cent (50%) or more from the retail catalogue price, i.e., in sales of more than 249 copies to any individual purchaser, or in other specific instances especially arranged for in writing between the parties hereto the royalty shall be calculated on the price actually charged by the Publisher. If at the time of the publication of the subsequent novels, works or either of them, any prior novel/work published under this agreement shall have attained sales in excess of the number above stipulated at the minimum royalty, then the royalties shall be advanced and the minimum royalty for said subsequent novel/work shall be that provided to be paid for the increased number of the prior novel/work to such time sold.

No royalties shall be payable on copies furnished gratis, to the Author, or for review, advertising, sample or like purposes or copies destroyed by fire or water. No sales and deliveries of copies of this work shall be made dependent or conditioned upon the purchase of any other work published or to be published by the Publisher;

(d) to forward to the Author promptly upon completion thereof galley and page proofs with printer's corrections and to make no changes in the text or title of the said work without the written consent thereto of the Author;

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(e) to render a semi-annual statement of account to the first day of January or the first day of July immediately succeeding the publication of the said work and to render similar semi-annual statements for all succeeding periods of six months during which copies of said work subject to royalty shall have been sold, and to forward such statements on or before the first day of February and the first day of August following to the address of the Author as the same appears at the beginning of this agreement, and to make payment in accordance with the said statements on the first day of May and the first day of November immediately following, and upon request of the Author to furnish him/her with duplicates of said statements and in instances where said accounts involve branch houses in countries without the United States of America and the Dominion of Canada or where payments are to be received semi-annually by the Publisher from foreign countries other than the Dominion of Canada such receipts shall be accounted for and payment of royalty on such sales and statements thereof shall be rendered yearly instead of semi-annually; and whenever the semi-annual sales fall below fifty (50) copies no accounting shall be made until after the sales aggregate fifty (50) copies; and such accounting shall be included in the semi-annual settlement immediately succeeding that in which the sales shall aggregate fifty (50) copies or more.

(f) to present to the Author ten free copies of the said work upon publication and to permit the Author to purchase further copies for his/her own use and not for resale at three-fifths of the catalogue retail price thereof;

(g) in the event that after two years from the date of the first publication of said work, the same in the opinion of the Publisher is no longer merchantable or profitable, it shall give three months' notice to the Author of its desire and intention to discontinue publication; or in the event that the Publisher shall fail to keep the work in print and for sale and after written demand from the Author declines or neglects to reprint the same within six months and to offer it for sale, then in either of these events the Author shall have the right to terminate this agreement and upon notice to that effect by the Author to the Publisher, all rights granted under this agreement shall revert to the Author and any plates of the work, if such had been made and preserved with any plates of illustrations furnished by the Author and any remaining copies, shall be transferred to the Author; provided the Author shall pay fifty per cent of the actual manufacturing cost, including composition of such plates and the actual manufacturing cost of any remaining copies or sheets, the said right or rights to be exercised by the Author within three months after notice by the Author of termination; and in the event that the Author shall not exercise this option and shall not purchase the aforesaid plates or remainders then the Publisher shall have the right to melt any such plates and sell remaining copies or sheets at cost or less without payment of any royalty to the Author upon such copies; and the Author shall have the right to purchase the plates or the remainders on the basis aforesaid each without the purchase of the other;

(h) to and does grant to the Author the right upon his/her written request to examine or cause to be examined through certified public accountants the books of account of the Publisher insofar as the same relate to the said work; provided that if such examination shall not divulge errors of accounting (arising otherwise than from an interpretation of this contract) amounting to One Hundred Dollars (\$100) or more to the Author's disadvantage, the cost of such examination shall be borne by the Author; otherwise it shall be borne by the Publisher.

THIRD: It is mutually agreed between the parties hereto as follows:

(a) that all notices which may be given and requests which may be made by either of the parties hereto to the other under this agreement shall be in writing and may be forwarded by one to the other by ordinary mail except notices of termination which shall be forwarded by registered mail, and all notices and/or requests shall be directed to the party designated at the address heretofore written unless notice of change shall be given in writing by either party to the other, and after receipt of such notice, the address therein stated shall be used in all further communications to said party;

(b) each of the parties hereto will execute for and forward to the other upon request therefor any further written instrument, document or certificate confirming or evidencing the grants in this agreement set forth;

(c) that regardless of the record holder of the copyright, the Publisher shall use or dispose of no right or rights comprised in the copyright to the said work other than those herein specifically granted to the Publisher and whether the said rights be now or may at any time hereafter be recognized as included in the copyright to the said work;

(d) that subsequent to the publication of the said work, the Publisher may publish under its own imprint a cheap edition of the said work or permit the same to be published by leasing the plates of the said work to a regular cheap edition publisher, and in the event

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

Contract, 1929 Aug. 27, with Emma Goldman for [her] autobiography [draft] / Alfred A. Knopf, Inc. — 7 p. ; 35 x 22 cm.

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Summary: Goldman signs a contract with Knopf for the publication of *Living My Life*.

Notes: Draft of 840306115.

that said cheap edition should be published under the imprint of the Publisher the Publisher shall pay to the Author ten per cent (10%) of the catalog retail price at which the Publisher shall sell same; and in the event the Publisher shall lease the use of the plates to the said work, then the Publisher shall pay to the Author one half of the amounts received from such lessee. Payments and accountings under this clause shall be subject to the provisions of Subdivision (c) of Paragraph Second of this agreement;

which shall not in any event exceed six per cent of the retail price of the original edition;

(e) that should the Publisher at any time after one year from the publication of the said work conclude that it is overstocked with copies on hand thereof and that it could not dispose of the same within a reasonable time, then the Publisher shall have the right to sell copies at the best price that it can obtain therefor and in the event that the sale of such copies shall be made at or below the actual cost thereof, then no royalty thereon shall be paid to the Author; and if the sales price shall exceed the said cost but be fifty per cent (50%) or less of the catalogue retail price, then the Publisher shall pay to the Author a royalty of ten per cent (10%) on the actual price received and payments and accountings under this cause shall be subject to the provisions of Subdivision (c) in Paragraph Second of this agreement;

(f) that if the plates or type forms of the said work shall be destroyed or rendered valueless by fire or otherwise, then the Publisher shall have the option of reproducing the same or not, and if it shall conclude not to reproduce them, then the rights herein granted by the Author to the Publisher shall revert to the Author except that the Publisher shall have the right to sell the remaining copies on hand subject to the provisions with regard to payments and accountings set forth in the immediately preceding subdivision of this agreement;

(g) in the event of the bankruptcy or the liquidation through any cause whatsoever of the Publisher, the Author shall have the right to buy back the rights in this agreement granted to the Publisher at the fair market value thereof, the same to be determined by the majority decision of three persons, one to be appointed by the Author, the other by the legal representative of the Publisher and the third by these two, and upon payment of the amount so fixed and the transfer of the rights, this agreement shall terminate except that the representative of the Publisher shall have the right to sell the remaining copies on hand, if the same are not purchased by the Author, at the best price he can obtain therefor, and without payment of any royalty thereon to the Author;

(h) in the event that the copyright of this work shall during the existence of this agreement be infringed, then upon notice thereof by either party to the other, the parties hereto shall meet and confer with regard thereto and if no arrangement mutually satisfactory shall be arrived at for their joint action in regard thereto, then either of the parties hereto shall have the right to bring an action for the enjoining of such infringement and/or damages. If they shall proceed mutually in the matter, the expenses and recoveries, if any, shall be shared equally; and if they shall not agree to proceed jointly in the matter and if one of them shall decline to do so on the basis aforesaid, then the other party hereto shall have the right to go forward with such proceeding and such party shall bear all the expenses thereof, and any recoveries had therein shall belong absolutely to such party; and if such party hereto shall not hold the record title of the copyright, then the other party hereto shall permit the action to be brought in his or its name as hereinbefore provided;

(i) that if this agreement shall be breached by the Publisher in any particular hereinbefore specifically provided for, and if within thirty days after notice thereof by the Author to the Publisher, the breach complained of shall not have been remedied by the Publisher, then the rights herein granted shall revert to the Author. Upon the foregoing or any other reversion of the rights herein granted to the Author, the Publisher shall, if the copyright be of record in its name, transfer said copyright to the Author by due and proper legally executed and acknowledged assignment;

(j) that no waiver of any breach of any condition of this agreement shall be binding unless the same shall be in writing and signed by the party waiving the said breach, and no such waiver shall in any wise affect any other term or condition of this agreement, nor constitute a cause or excuse for a repetition of such or any other breach unless the same shall include the same;

(k) that this agreement regardless of the place of its physical execution shall be binding by the parties hereto as though executed within the State of New York and be within the purview of the laws and statutes of the State of New York and of the States of America;

(l) this agreement shall be binding upon and inure to the benefit of the executors, administrators and assigns of the Author and upon and to the successors and assigns of the Publisher, but no assignment voluntary or by operation of law shall be binding upon either of the parties hereto without the written consent of the other party of this agreement as hereinbefore specifically provided.

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FOURTH: It is hereby further agreed between the parties hereto as follows:

(a) that copyright to the said work referred to in subdivision (b) of paragraph "Second" shall be secured in the name of the Publisher and the proper copyright notice or notices necessary to protect copyright to and in the said work shall be printed on the reverse side of the title page in every copy thereof in the aforesaid name;

(b) that all references to copyrighting in this agreement made, are subject to such changes in notice, duration, owner, printing, wording, location, protection, registration and all other matters thereto relating, which may be enacted by United States of America, either by amendment to the present "Copyright Act" or by the adoption of or amendment to any new "Copyright Act" between the date of this agreement and the date of publication of the aforesaid work; but no such change or changes shall be construed to enlarge the rights granted to the Publisher beyond those specifically set forth in this agreement;

(c) that if any manuscript delivered to the Publisher under this agreement shall not be written in idiomatic or otherwise acceptable English and in the opinion of the Publisher properly prepared for the press, then the Publisher shall notify the Author of its dissatisfaction in these respects or any of them, and the Author shall have twenty (20) days after the receipt of such notice in which to make the necessary revision, and if not so made by the Author then the Publisher shall have the right to cause said revision to be made at the expense of and for the account of the Author and the Author shall pay for the same. It is however expressly agreed that this clause shall not be construed to grant to the Publisher the right to change the theme, plot, or any incident in any work by the Author without the written consent thereto of the Author, nor to change the text of the said work in any manner whatsoever except as may be necessary to conform the same to idiomatic or otherwise acceptable English and to style it for the press.

(d) that the additional rights included in subdivision (a) of paragraph "First" are:

Selection. All sums of money accruing from the sale of this right shall be divided equally between Author and Publisher.

Rider B.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

840306114

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Summary: Goldman signs a contract with Knopf for the publication of *Living My Life*.

Notes: Draft of 840306115.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, the Author has hereunto placed his hand and seal and the Publisher has caused this agreement to be executed by its President by authority of its Board of Directors and its seal to be hereunto affixed by like authority, all on the day and year first hereinbefore written.

In the presence of

Miriam Stein  
Witness sign here

Emma Goldman  
Author sign here

ALFRED A. KNOPF, INC.

by \_\_\_\_\_

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

Contract, 1929 Sept. 30, with Emma Goldman for [her] autobiography / Alfred A. Knopf, Inc. [and Emma Goldman].— 8 p. ; 35 × 22 cm.

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**Summary:** Saxe Commins, Arthur Leonard Ross, Doris Isaacs, and Manley Aaron sign Goldman's publishing contract with Knopf for *Living My Life*.

**Notes:** For drafts, see 840306113 and 840306114.

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## CONTRACT

with Mrs. Emma Goldman Colton

for THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF EMMA GOLDMAN

dated September 30, 1929

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Summary: Saxe Commins, Arthur Leonard Ross, Doris Isaacs, and Manley Aaron sign Goldman's publishing contract with Knopf for *Living My Life*.

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AGREEMENT made this thirtieth day of September 1929, between  
Mrs. Emma Goldman Colton whose post-office address is  
Maison Mussier, St. Tropez, Var, France

party of the first part hereinafter also referred to as the "Author"; and ALFRED A. KNOPF, INC., of 730 Fifth Avenue, Borough of Manhattan, New York City, party of the second part, hereinafter also termed the "Publisher."

WITNESSETH: WHEREAS the parties hereto are mutually desirous respectively of having published and of publishing a certain literary work:

NOW, THEREFORE, in consideration of the premises and the promises hereinafter set forth, and for valuable considerations by each to the other passed, receipt whereof is by both of them acknowledged, the said parties do hereby agree to and with each other as follows:

## FIRST: THE AUTHOR AGREES:

(a) to grant and hereby does grant to the Publisher the sole and exclusive right to publish the work now entitled **THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF EMMA GOLDMAN** in book form, in the United States of America, and all other countries and also grants to the Publisher such further rights as are set forth in paragraph Fourth hereof:

(b) to make timely application for the renewal of the copyright to be secured for the said work as hereinafter provided within one year before the expiration of the copyright therein; and to execute any further or other papers which may be necessary to extend the term of this agreement (if then in existence) so that the same shall be coincident with the term of the copyright in said work and the renewal thereof:

(c) to deliver to the Publisher not later than the 25th day of March, 1930 a completed and legible typewritten copy of the manuscript or a copy in the form of corrected proof sheets, together with materials from which illustrations can be prepared without redrawing, should illustrations mutually be deemed necessary; and if the same shall not be so delivered within said time, then upon request of the Publisher, if made within twenty (20) days after default in said delivery, to terminate this agreement; or if same shall not be so delivered within said time, and no such request is made, and said manuscript or copy be delivered after the above date, and such delay in delivery, in the judgment of the Publisher, shall make it impracticable or inadvisable to publish said book within the time provided in subdivision (a) of paragraph "Second" hereof, then upon notice to that effect given to the Author within twenty (20) days after receipt of said manuscript or copy by the Publisher, publication of the said work may be postponed as in said subdivision specified;

~~(d) to grant and he/she hereby does grant to the Publisher the right, if the copyright be in the Author's name, to bring in the name of the Author as plaintiff or complainant any action or proceeding for the enjoining of any infringement of the copyright in the said work and for any damages resulting therefrom; and if in the Author's name, to hold the said copyright during the existence of this agreement subject to the rights in this agreement granted to the Publisher;~~

(e) to read when submitted and within thirty days of the receipt thereof to return to the Publisher the galley and page proofs of the said work; and in the event of the failure by the Author to return the said proofs within the period aforesaid, then the Publisher shall have the right to publish the said work as submitted to the Publisher; and the Author shall pay or permit to have charged against royalties the amount of the expense incurred by the Publisher because of changes and/or additions other than corrections of printer's errors made in and to the text made by the Author, in excess of fifteen per cent (15%) of the original cost of composition, provided an itemized statement of these charges be promptly forwarded to the Author, and the corrected proofs be presented for the inspection of the Author at the office of Publisher, upon the former's request therefor;

~~(f) in part consideration of the publication of the aforesaid work, to and hereby does grant to the Publisher the option to publish the next two novels/works of more than words in length to be written and/or offered for publication by the Author, the said novels/works to be published on the same terms as in this agreement set forth with regard to the novel/work first hereinbefore referred to, except that the option shall not apply to the said two succeeding novels/works; and the royalty shall be fixed as hereinafter set forth; and said option is conditioned upon its being exercised within thirty (30) days after the submission of the manuscript thereof, and upon the Publisher in good faith fulfilling the terms and conditions of this agreement to be performed on its part; the publication of the succeeding novels/works shall be had in the corresponding season of the years immediately succeeding that set for publication of the first herein mentioned novel/work; and finally the said option shall not apply to the latter of the said succeeding novel/work if the same be not exercised by the Publisher as to the first of them;~~

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(g) to and he/she hereby does represent and guarantee to the Publisher that he/she is the sole author of the said work, that he/she is the owner of all of the rights in this agreement granted to the Publisher, that the said work contains no libelous and/or unlawful matter; and that it in no wise infringes upon the copyright or violates any other right of any person or party whatsoever; and agrees to hold harmless the Publisher against any claim, demand or recovery finally sustained in any suit which may be brought against the Publisher by reason of any violation of proprietary right or copyright, or because of any libelous or unlawful matter contained in the said work, and to act promptly with regard to and defend any claim or demand which may be made and/or action which may be brought, based upon any assertion or allegations of infringement, violation, libel or unlawfulness, provided the Publisher shall notify the Author of any claim, demand or suit within three (3) days after the Publisher receives notice thereof or service therein and give to the Author such reasonable time as the exigencies of the situation will permit in which to undertake such defense; and if default shall be made by the Author in the respects aforesaid, then the Publisher is hereby granted the right to make such defense as it may be advised by counsel, and the costs and counsel fees thereof together with any recovery shall as aforesaid be charged to and paid by the Author; and the aforesaid representations and guarantees shall apply to the said subsequent works.

## SECOND: THE PUBLISHER AGREES:

(a) to publish the said work at its own expense in book form in such style or styles as it deems best suited to the sale thereof at a catalogue retail price of not less than \$2.50 nor more than \$5.00 per copy, regular trade edition; said publication to be made during the season of 1930, provided the manuscript or copy be delivered within the time hereinbefore stipulated; and if not so delivered, but delayed in delivery and accepted by the Publisher as hereinbefore provided, and if not so published in the above season or the next succeeding season (in case of late delivery), except on account of strikes, fires or other contingencies beyond the control of the Publisher or its suppliers, in which event the publication shall be had in the spring or fall season immediately succeeding that in which publication should have been had under the terms hereof, then the Author shall have the right to terminate this agreement and the rights herein granted shall revert to the Author, provided the Author shall forward notice of termination to the Publisher within twenty (20) days after the end of the season in which said work should have been published, otherwise the publication shall be postponed until the next immediately succeeding spring or fall season;

the season following the receipt of the manuscript, but depending upon any exigencies due to serial publication.

(b) to take all the steps required to secure copyright of the said work in the United States of America and such other countries as may be included in this agreement, except with regard to Canada, where the Publisher and Author shall cooperate in securing copyright. The said work shall be copyrighted either (1) in the name of the Author or (2) in the name of the Publisher; if in case (1), the Author shall hold the copyright as hereinbefore set forth in subdivision (d) of paragraph First hereof; and if in case (2), the Publisher shall either assign the copyright upon completion thereof to the Author, or hold all the rights comprised therein and not in this agreement granted to the Publisher for the benefit of the Author, and grant to the Author and his/her designees the right to bring any suit or proceeding necessary to protect the copyright against the infringement by the unauthorized use of any such rights for the Author, held in the name of Publisher as the record owner of the copyright, provided the Author or his/her designee shall properly secure the Publisher against the payment of any costs and expenses in connection with any such suit or proceeding;

(c) to pay to the Author a royalty and sums, as follows:

(1) on all copies of the said work sold in the United States of America and the Dominion of Canada a royalty of ten per cent (10%) on the catalogue retail price of every said copy thereof sold therein up to five thousand (5,000) copies, and fifteen per cent (15%) on all copies therein thereafter sold;

~~and in the British Isles as distinguished from~~

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Notes: For drafts, see 840306113 and 840306114.

which publication should have been had under the terms hereof, then the Author shall have the right to terminate this agreement and the rights herein granted shall revert to the Author, provided the Author shall forward notice of termination to the Publisher within twenty (20) days after the end of the season in which said work should have been published, or if the publication shall be postponed until the next season, then the rights shall revert to the Author.

(b) to take all the steps required to secure copyright of the said work in the United States of America and such other countries as may be included in this agreement, and with regard to Canada, where the Publisher and Author shall cooperate in securing copyright. The said work shall be copyrighted either (1) in the name of the Author or (2) in the name of the Publisher; if in case (1), the Author shall hold the copyright as hereinbefore set forth in subdivision (d) of paragraph First hereof; and if in case (2), the Publisher shall either assign the copyright upon completion thereof to the Author, or hold all the rights comprised therein and not in this agreement granted to the Publisher for the benefit of the Author, and grant to the Author and his/her designees the right to bring any suit or proceeding necessary to protect the copyright against the infringement by the unauthorized use of any such rights for the Author, held in the name of Publisher as the record owner of the copyright, provided the Author or his/her designee shall properly secure the Publisher against the payment of any costs and expenses in connection with any such suit or proceeding:

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(2) and on all copies sold in the British Isles, as distinguished from British colonies or possessions, a royalty of ten per cent (10%) on the catalogue retail price of every said copy thereof sold therein up to two thousand five hundred (2,500) copies; fifteen per cent (15%) on every copy sold from two thousand five hundred (2,500) copies to five thousand (5,000) copies; and twenty per cent (20%) on all copies therein thereafter sold;

(3) and on copies sold in or shipped directly to colonies or possessions of the Kingdom of Great Britain other than to Canada, a royalty of four pence (4d.) per copy so sold or shipped; the sales or shipments in or to the several political subdivisions for royalty purposes are to be calculated separately, each without regard to any other;

(4) in the event of the disposal of the serial rights for publication in Great Britain, the Publisher shall pay to the Author a sum equal to eighty per cent (80%) of the amount received therefor by the Publisher, same to be paid as and when received by it, and

(5) in the event of the disposal of translation rights for book and/or for serial publication the Publisher shall pay to the Author a sum equal to seventy-five per cent (75%) of the amount received therefor, payment to be made, as provided in section (4) of this paragraph.

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(6) Should the sale of books for any of the political subdivisions aforesaid, be fewer than one hundred (100) copies in any given royalty period of six (6) months, as defined in this agreement, the royalty payable on such copies shall be ~~not more than~~ ten per cent (10%). Where copies are sold in quantities sufficient to justify special discounts of fifty per cent (50%) or more from the retail catalogue price, i.e. in sales of more than two hundred forty-nine (249) to any individual purchaser, or in other specific instances especially arranged for in writing between the parties hereto, the royalty shall be calculated on the price actually charged by the Publisher.

(7) There shall be paid as an advance against royalties to the Author upon the execution and delivery of this agreement, the sum of Three Thousand Five Hundred Dollars (\$3,500) and a like sum upon receipt of the complete manuscript of the said work by the Publisher as in this agreement provided, said advances to be debited only against royalties accruing from books and not to be charged against the proceeds from the sale of any serial or translation right; and the said advance or advances shall belong absolute to the author, except in the event of a breach of this agreement by her.

(8) No royalties shall be payable on copies furnished gratis to the Author, or for review, advertising, sample or like purposes, or copies destroyed by fire or water; No sales and deliveries of copies of this work shall be made dependent or conditioned upon the purchase of any other work published or to be published by the Publisher;

(d) to forward to the Author promptly upon completion thereof and page proofs with printer's corrections and to make no changes in text or title of the said work without the written consent thereof of the Author;

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(e) to render a semi-annual statement of account to the first day of January or the first day of July immediately succeeding the publication of the said work and to render similar semi-annual statements for all succeeding periods of six months during which copies of said work subject to royalty shall have been sold, and to forward such statements on or before the first day of February and the first day of August following to the address of the Author as the same appears at the beginning of this agreement, and to make payment in accordance with the said statements on the first day of May and the first day of November immediately following, and upon request of the Author to furnish him/her with duplicates of said statements and in instances where said accounts involve branch houses in countries without the United States of America and the Dominion of Canada or where payments are to be received semi-annually by the Publisher from foreign countries other than the Dominion of Canada such receipts shall be accounted for and payment of royalty on such sales and statements thereof shall be rendered yearly instead of semi-annually; and whenever the semi-annual sales fall below fifty (50) copies no accounting shall be made until after the sales aggregate fifty (50) copies; and such accounting shall be included in the semi-annual settlement immediately succeeding that in which the sales shall aggregate fifty (50) copies or more.

(f) to present to the Author <sup>ten</sup> free copies of the said work upon publication and to permit the Author to purchase further copies for his/her own use and not for resale at three-fifths of the catalogue retail price thereof;

(g) in the event that after two years from the date of the first publication of said work, the same in the opinion of the Publisher is no longer merchantable or profitable, it shall give three months' notice to the Author of its desire and intention to discontinue publication; or in the event that the Publisher shall fail to keep the work in print and for sale and after written demand from the Author declines or neglects to reprint the same within six months and to offer it for sale, then in either of these events the Author shall have the right to terminate this agreement and upon notice to that effect by the Author to the Publisher, all rights granted under this agreement shall revert to the Author and any plates of the work, if such had been made and preserved with any plates of illustrations furnished by the Author and any remaining copies, shall be transferred to the Author; provided the Author shall pay <sup>fifty</sup> per cent of the actual manufacturing cost, including composition of such plates and the actual manufacturing cost of any remaining copies or sheets, the said right or rights to be exercised by the Author within three months after notice by the Author of termination; and in the event that the Author shall not exercise this option and shall not purchase the aforesaid plates or remainders then the Publisher shall have the right to melt any such plates and sell remaining copies or sheets at cost or less without payment of any royalty to the Author upon such copies; and the Author shall have the right to purchase the plates or the remainders on the basis aforesaid each without the purchase of the other;

(h) to and does grant to the Author the right upon his/her written request to examine or cause to be examined through certified public accountants the books of account of the Publisher insofar as the same relate to the said work; provided that if such examination shall not divulge errors of accounting (arising otherwise than from an interpretation of this contract) amounting to One Hundred Dollars (\$100) or more to the Author's disadvantage, the cost of such examination shall be borne by the Author; otherwise it shall be borne by the Publisher.

THIRD: It is mutually agreed between the parties hereto as follows:

(a) that all notices which may be given and requests which may be made by either of the parties hereto to the other under this agreement shall be in writing and may be forwarded by one to the other by ordinary mail except notices of termination which shall be forwarded by registered mail, and all notices and/or requests shall be directed to the party designated at the address heretofore written unless notice of change shall be given in writing by either party to the other, and after receipt of such notice, the address therein stated shall be used in all further communications to said party;

(b) each of the parties hereto will execute for and forward to the other upon request therefor any further written instrument, document or certificate confirming or evidencing the grants in this agreement set forth;

(c) that regardless of the record holder of the copyright, the Publisher shall use or dispose of no right or rights comprised in the copyright to the said work other than those herein specifically granted to the Publisher and whether the said rights be now or may at any time hereafter be recognized as included in the copyright to the said work;

(d) that subsequent to the publication of the said work, the Publisher may publish under its own imprint a cheap edition of the said work or permit the same to be published by leasing the plates of the said work to a regular cheap edition publisher, and in the event

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

Contract, 1929 Sept. 30, with Emma Goldman for [her] autobiography / Alfred A. Knopf, Inc. [and Emma Goldman]. — 8 p. ; 35 × 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Tamiment Library, New York University.

Summary: Saxe Commins, Arthur Leonard Ross, Doris Isaacs, and Manley Aaron sign Goldman's publishing contract with Knopf for *Living My Life*.

Notes: For drafts, see 840306113 and 840306114.

No part may be sold, copied or published without the express permission of the Tamiment Library- N.Y.U.

that said cheap edition should be published under the imprint of the Publisher the Publisher shall pay to the Author ten per cent (10%) of the catalog retail price at which the Publisher shall sell same; and in the event the Publisher shall lease the use of the plates to the said work, then the Publisher shall pay to the Author one half of the amounts received from such lessee. Payments and accountings under this clause shall be subject to the provisions of Subdivision (c) of Paragraph Second of this agreement;

which shall not in any event exceed sixty per cent of the retail price of the original edition.

(c) that should the Publisher at any time after one year from the publication of the said work conclude that it is overstocked with copies on hand thereof and that it could not dispose of the same within a reasonable time, then the Publisher shall have the right to sell copies at the best price that it can obtain therefor and in the event that the sale of such copies shall be made at or below the actual cost thereof, then no royalty thereon shall be paid to the Author; and if the sales price shall exceed the said cost but be fifty per cent (50%) or less of the catalogue retail price, then the Publisher shall pay to the Author a royalty of ten per cent (10%) on the actual price received and payments and accountings under this cause shall be subject to the provisions of Subdivision (c) in Paragraph Second of this agreement;

(f) that if the plates or type forms of the said work shall be destroyed or rendered valueless by fire or otherwise, then the Publisher shall have the option of reproducing the same or not, and if it shall conclude not to reproduce them, then the rights herein granted by the Author to the Publisher shall revert to the Author except that the Publisher shall have the right to sell the remaining copies on hand subject to the provisions with regard to payments and accountings set forth in the immediately preceding subdivision of this agreement;

(g) in the event of the bankruptcy or the liquidation through any cause whatsoever of the Publisher, the Author shall have the right to buy back the rights in this agreement granted to the Publisher at the fair market value thereof, the same to be determined by the majority decision of three persons, one to be appointed by the Author, the other by the legal representative of the Publisher and the third by these two, and upon payment of the amount so fixed and the transfer of the rights, this agreement shall terminate except that the representative of the Publisher shall have the right to sell the remaining copies on hand, if the same are not purchased by the Author, at the best price he can obtain therefor, and without payment of any royalty thereon to the Author;

(h) in the event that the copyright of this work shall during the existence of this agreement be infringed, then upon notice thereof by either party to the other, the parties hereto shall meet and confer with regard thereto and if no arrangement mutually satisfactory shall be arrived at for their joint action in regard thereto, then either of the parties hereto shall have the right to bring an action for the enjoining of such infringement and/or damages. If they shall proceed mutually in the matter, the expenses and recoveries, if any, shall be shared equally; and if they shall not agree to proceed jointly in the matter and if one of them shall decline to do so on the basis aforesaid, then the other party hereto shall have the right to go forward with such proceeding and such party shall bear all the expenses thereof, and any recoveries had therein shall belong absolutely to such party; and if such party hereto shall not hold the record title of the copyright, then the other party hereto shall permit the action to be brought in his or its name as hereinbefore provided;

(i) that if this agreement shall be breached by the Publisher in any particular not hereinbefore specifically provided for, and if within thirty days after notice thereof by the Author to the Publisher, the breach complained of shall not have been remedied by the Publisher, then the rights herein granted shall revert to the Author. Upon the foregoing or any other reversion of the rights herein granted to the Author, the Publisher shall, if the copyright be of record in its name, transfer said copyright to the Author by due and proper legally executed and acknowledged assignment;

(j) that no waiver of any breach of any condition of this agreement shall be binding unless the same shall be in writing and signed by the party waiving the said breach, and no such waiver shall in any wise affect any other term or condition of this agreement or constitute a cause or excuse for a repetition of such or any other breach unless the waiver shall include the same;

(k) that this agreement regardless of the place of its physical execution shall be treated by the parties hereto as though executed within the State of New York and be interpreted within the purview of the laws and statutes of the State of New York and of the United States of America;

(l) this agreement shall be binding upon and inure to the benefit of the executors, administrators and assigns of the Author and upon and to the successors and assigns of the Publisher, but no assignment voluntary or by operation of law shall be binding upon either of the parties hereto without the written consent of the other party of this agreement, except as hereinbefore specifically provided.

[b4]

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... on the purchase of any other work

# The Emma Goldman Papers

Contract, 1929 Sept. 30, with Emma Goldman for [her] autobiography / Alfred A. Knopf, Inc. [and Emma Goldman]. — 8 p. ; 35 × 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Tamiment Library, New York University.

Summary: Saxe Commins, Arthur Leonard Ross, Doris Isaacs, and Manley Aaron sign Goldman's publishing contract with Knopf for *Living My Life*.

Notes: For drafts, see 840306113 and 840306114.

FOURTH: It is hereby further agreed between the parties hereto as follows:

(a) that copyright to the said work referred to in subdivision (b) of paragraph "Second" shall be secured in the name of the **Publisher** and the proper copyright notice or notices necessary to protect copyright to and in the said work shall be printed on the reverse side of the title page in every copy thereof in the aforesaid name;

(b) that all references to copyrighting in this agreement made, are subject to such changes in notice, duration, owner, printing, wording, location, protection, registration and all other matters thereto relating, which may be enacted by United States of America, either by amendment to the present "Copyright Act" or by the adoption of or amendment to any new "Copyright Act" between the date of this agreement and the date of publication of the aforesaid work; but no such change or changes shall be construed to enlarge the rights granted to the Publisher beyond those specifically set forth in this agreement;

(c) that if any manuscript delivered to the Publisher under this agreement shall not be written in idiomatic or otherwise acceptable English and in the opinion of the Publisher properly prepared for the press, then the Publisher shall notify the Author of its dissatisfaction in these respects or any of them, and the Author shall have twenty (20) days after the receipt of such notice in which to make the necessary revision, and if not so made by the Author then the Publisher shall have the right to cause said revision to be made at the expense of and for the account of the Author and the Author shall pay for the same. It is however expressly agreed that this clause shall not be construed to grant to the Publisher the right to change the theme, plot, or any incident in any work by the Author without the written consent thereto of the Author, nor to change the text of the said work in any manner whatsoever except as may be necessary to conform the same to idiomatic or otherwise acceptable English and to style it for the press.

(d) that the additional rights included in subdivision (a) of paragraph "First" are:

(1) Selection Rights; and in the event of the disposal thereof, the Publisher shall pay to the Author a sum equal to one half thereof; payment to be made as and when the monies therefor are received by the Publisher;

(2) Serial Publication Rights in the English language, including first and subsequent serialization and syndication;

(3) World Translation Book and Translation Serial Publication Rights; the royalties and amounts, and the time of payment and other details with regard to the Rights referred to in the above sections (2), and (3) to be in accordance with the provisions of subdivision (c) of paragraph "Second" hereof.

(e) It is expressly agreed between the parties hereto that this agreement replaces and supercedes all agreements heretofore made between the parties hereto, with the exception of the letter dated August twenty-seventh, 1929, covering the serial rights in America and Canada, and that this agreement contains all the representations, promises and covenants made by either party hereto to the other in respect to the said work.

[b5]

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

Contract, 1929 Sept. 30, with Emma Goldman for [her] autobiography / Alfred A. Knopf, Inc. [and Emma Goldman].— 8 p. ; 35 × 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Tamiment Library, New York University.

Summary: Saxe Commins, Arthur Leonard Ross, Doris Isaacs, and Manley Aaron sign Goldman's publishing contract with Knopf for *Living My Life*.

Notes: For drafts, see 840306113 and 840306114.

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Y.U.

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No part may be sold, loaned, copied or published without the express permission of the Tamiment Library.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, the Author has hereunto placed his hand and seal and the Publisher has caused this agreement to be executed by its **President** by authority of its Board of Directors and its seal to be hereunto affixed by like authority, all on the day and year first hereinbefore written.

In the presence of

Doris Isaacs  
Witness sign here

Saxe Commins

Arthur Leonard Ross  
Author sign here (L.S.)  
attys in fact for  
ALFRED A. KNOFF, INC. Emma Goldman Pictn

Manley Aaron

by Manley Aaron

[b6]

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303

## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report In re: Name Deleted, 193-? (excerpt)] / [Agent? Federal Bureau of Investigation?].— 1 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.

*Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.*

**Summary:** A Federal Bureau of Investigation report mentions Goldman.

**Notes:** Censored by FBI.

the anarchist, Emma Goldman, who was active in Chicago years ago. and with

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304



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report In re: Name Deleted, 193-? (excerpt)] / [Agent? Federal Bureau of Investigation? Department of Justice?]. - 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.  
Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

**Summary:** A Federal Bureau of Investigation report mentions Goldman.  
**Notes:** Censored by FBI.

(b)  
(7)  
(C)  
outside  
of  
scope

was at one time an ardent worker



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report In re: Name Deleted] Chicago [193-? (excerpts)] / [Agent? Federal Bureau of Investigation? Department of Justice?]. - 3 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: The Federal Bureau of Investigation reports on an associate of Goldman.

Notes: Broken type. Censored by FBI.

Chicago File [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

had been a close associate of EMMA GOLDMAN, a Communist, who was deported from the United States to Russia after the first World War.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

(6)

(7)

(C)

outside  
of  
scope

Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice  
Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

**Summary:** The Federal Bureau of Investigation reports on an associate of Goldman.

**Notes:** Broken type. Censored by FBI.

Chicago File

had, according to [redacted] always been proud of his association with ETNA GOLDMAN, an Anarchist who was deported to Russia, and wanted to name his first born daughter ETNA GOLDMAN.

(b)  
(7)  
(c)  
outside  
of  
scope

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307

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report In re: Name Deleted] Chicago [193-? (excerpts)] / [Agent? Federal Bureau of Investigation? Department of Justice?]. - 3 p.; 28 x 22 cm.  
 Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: The Federal Bureau of Investigation reports on an associate of Goldman.  
 Notes: Broken type. Censored by FBI.

Chicago File [REDACTED]

(b)(2)  
 (b)(7)(c)  
 outside  
 of  
 scope

The Chicago Tribune of July 11, 1921 published a news article stating that "Dr. BEN L. REITMAN and family will sail for Russia in August of 1921. Among the Doctor's close friends are ALEXANDER BURKEIAN and EMMA GOLDMAN. Anarchists, who were deported from the United States to Russia sometime ago."

MIS

(b)(7)(c) outside  
 of scope

REFERRED UPON COMPLETION TO OFFICE OF ORIGIN



# The Emma Goldman Papers

890414019

[Agent Report In re: Name Deleted, 193-? (excerpt)] / [Agent? Federal Bureau of Investigation? Department of Justice?]. — 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.  
Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: A Federal Bureau of Investigation report mentions Goldman.

Notes: Censored by FBI.

14)(17)(12)

7

14)  
17)  
12)

outside  
of  
scope

but remembered that about five years ago when EMMA GOLDMAN, a nationally known Communist, spoke at the Institute of Arts Auditorium, he ran across a number of individuals at the Institute whom he considered communistic in philosophy.

7

14)  
17)  
12)

outside  
of  
scope

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report In re: Name Deleted, 193-? (excerpt)] / [Agent? Federal Bureau of Investigation? Department of Justice?]. — 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.  
Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: A Federal Bureau of Investigation report mentions Goldman.  
Notes: Barely legible. Censored by FBI.

(b)

(7)

(c)

outside  
of  
scope

[She has supposedly been acquainted with ~~EMMA GOLDMAN~~, a strike agitator in New York City during World War I.]

(b)

(7)

(c)

outside  
of  
scope

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310



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report In re: Name Deleted, 193-? (excerpt)] / [Agent? Federal Bureau of Investigation? Department of Justice?]. — 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: A Federal Bureau of Investigation report mentions Goldman.  
Notes: Censored by FBI.

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-3-

[REDACTED] introduced her to  
Emma GOLDMAN, an outspoken Communist sympathizer.  
[REDACTED]

(b)

(7)

(c)

outside  
of  
scope

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311

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report In re: Subject Deleted, 193-? (excerpt)] / [Agent? Federal Bureau of Investigation? Department of Justice?]. - 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.  
Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: A Federal Bureau of Investigation report mentions Goldman.  
Notes: Censored by FBI.

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(b)  
(7)  
(c)  
(b)  
(7)  
(d)

outside  
of  
scope

"Almost all European intellectuals were interested in Soviet Russia, even though they fought bitterly with the Communists in their own countries. While in England I met EMMA GOLDMAN, the old American anarchist who had been deported to Russia and then left it in disgust. So I heard all kinds of unfavorable things about Russia, but I always took them with a grain of salt.

- 6 -

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312

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report In re: Name Deleted, 193-? (excerpt)] / [Agent? Federal Bureau of Investigation? Department of Justice?]. — 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.  
Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: A Federal Bureau of Investigation report mentions Goldman.

Notes: Censored by FBI.

[REDACTED] (b)  
[REDACTED] (7)  
[REDACTED] (c)  
The principal derogatory information developed was [REDACTED] attended a meeting in New York City in April, 1934, with EMMA GOLDMAN. (b)(7)(d)

[REDACTED] has described as "one of the most radical Anarchists and Communists that ever hit the country" [REDACTED] (b)(7)(c)  
outside of scope

# The Emma Goldman Papers

890414070

[Agent Report In re: Name Deleted] Indianapolis [Ind., 193-? (excerpt)] / [Agent? Federal Bureau of Investigation? Department of Justice?].— 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.  
Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: A Federal Bureau of Investigation report mentions Goldman's influence on the subject of the report.

Notes: Censored by FBI.

Indianapolis

(b)(7)(C)

(b)(7)(C)

(b)

(b)

(b)

(b)

(C)

(b)

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(b)

heard an elderly woman talk about Communism and that she had made a profound impression on him. This individual was presumably EMMA GOLDMAN who was mentioned by

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(b)



# The Emma Goldman Papers

890414071

[Agent Report In re: Subject Deleted] Philadelphia? [193-? (excerpt)] / [Agent? Federal Bureau of Investigation? Department of Justice?]. - 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.  
Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: A Federal Bureau of Investigation report mentions an earlier report on Goldman and Berkman.  
Notes: Censored by FBI.

Philadelphia File [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

(b)(7)(c)  
(b)(7)(d)  
outside  
of  
scope

In Philadelphia File Number 22-88 entitled, "RADICAL ACTIVITIES - ALEXANDER BERKMAN" there appears a copy of a memorandum of former Special Agent [REDACTED] dated December 15, 1919 entitled, "RADICAL ACTIVITIES IN NEW YORK" - EMMA GOLDMAN and ALEXANDER BERKMAN - ANARCHIST SOVIET BULLETIN".

[REDACTED]

(b)(7)(c)  
(b)(7)(d)

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

7  
(b)(7)(c)  
(b)(7)(d)  
outside  
of  
scope



# The Emma Goldman Papers

890414078

[Letter, 193-? to Bureau of Investigation? Department of Justice?] / [author unknown]. — 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: An undisclosed writer accuses someone of complicity with Goldman in the McKinley assassination.

Notes: Censored by FBI.

(b)  
(7)  
(d)

outside  
of  
scope

(b)  
(7)  
(c)  
(b)  
(7)  
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(b)  
(7)  
(d)

(b)  
(7)  
(c)  
(b)  
(7)  
(d)

outside  
of  
scope

[REDACTED]

was with  
Emma Goldman on the train with Golgas-  
who assassinate President McKinley.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Yours truly

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report In re: Name Deleted, 193-? (excerpt)] / [Agent? Federal Bureau of Investigation? Department of Justice?]. -- 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: A Federal Bureau of Investigation report mentions Goldman.

Notes: Censored by FBI.

10

(4)(1)(cc)

7  
(4)(1)(cc)  
(4)(1)(cc)  
(4)(1)(cc)  
outside  
of  
scope

He stated that he does not like communism, and that he has been opposed bitterly to their viewpoint since, when a young boy his home in Jersey City Heights, New Jersey, was visited frequently by EMMA GOLDMAN, the well known Jewish communist who was active at that time in both Russia and the United States.

(4)(1)(cc)  
(4)(1)(cc)  
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(4)(1)(cc)  
(4)(1)(cc)  
outside  
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scope

47

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report In re: Name Deleted, 193-? (excerpt)] / [Agent? Federal Bureau of Investigation? Department of Justice?]. - 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: A Federal Bureau of Investigation report mentions Goldman.

Notes: Censored by FBI.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] stated in regard to the case in St. Joseph, Michigan, that he believed that BIG BILL HAYWOOD, since deceased, and EMMA GOLDMAN, notorious Communists, were both involved in the case.

[REDACTED]

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(b)  
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(c)  
(4)  
(7)  
(d)  
outside  
of  
scope

(b)  
(7)  
(c)  
(7)(d)

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report In re: Name Deleted, 193-? (excerpt)] / [Agent? Federal Bureau of Investigation? Department of Justice?]. - 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

**Summary:** A Federal Bureau of Investigation report mentions Goldman.

**Notes:** Censored by FBI.

(u)(v)(c)

professed all the philosophy endorsed by the true anarchist and was acquainted with ROSA GOLDMAN who was an active anarchist and who was active in the I.W.O. [redacted]

(14)  
(17)  
(C)

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(7)  
(C)  
(18)  
(7)  
(d)

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of  
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- C L O S E D -

-4-

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report In re: Name Deleted, 193-? (excerpts)] / [Agent? Federal Bureau of Investigation? Department of Justice?]. — 2 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.  
Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: A Federal Bureau of Investigation report mentions Goldman.

Notes: Censored by FBI.

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(b)

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-6-

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320



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report In re: Name Deleted, 193-? (excerpts)] / [Agent? Federal Bureau of Investigation? Department of Justice?]. - 2 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.  
Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: A Federal Bureau of Investigation report mentions Goldman.

Notes: Censored by FBI.

EMMA GOLDMAN, newspaper woman and Communist, also spoke at some of these meetings.

(b)  
(2)  
(b)  
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(b)  
(b)  
(7)  
(b)

(b)  
(2)  
(b)  
(7)  
(c)  
(b)  
(7)  
(b)

Outside  
of  
scope

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Report on American Civil Liberties Union, 193-? (excerpt)] / [Federal Bureau of Investigation? Department of Justice?]. - 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: A report on the origins of the American Civil Liberties Union mentions Goldman and Berkman.

Notes: Censored by FBI.

## DETAILS: AT LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA

The teletype of reference named the National Civil Liberties Federation as the organization about which report was desired. The Los Angeles Bureau Office has no record of any organization with the name "National Civil Liberties Federation," but it was assumed that the American Civil Liberties Union, which is practically synonymous with the National Civil Liberties Union and the National Civil Liberties Bureau, is the organization under investigation by the Bureau.

## ORIGIN OF AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION

The American Civil Liberties Union was perfected January 12, 1920 as a reorganization of the National Civil Liberties Bureau and was an outgrowth of the consolidation of the League For Amnesty of Political Prisoners, The People's Freedom Union, The People's Council, American Freedom Foundation, Labor Defense League, League For Democratic Control, and the Workers' Defense Union. All of these had an influence in its promotion, and many of the original organizers of the "American Union Against Militarism" are officers and members of the American Civil Liberties Union.

The report of the Joint Legislative Committee of the State of New York, Page 845 states: "ANARCHIST COMMUNISM" - - The anarchism with which the American public is most familiar may be classified as anarchist Communism, which is defined in the March 15, 1919 issue of "FREEDOM" which is as follows:

"ANARCHIST COMMUNISM - - Voluntary economic cooperation of all towards the ends of each, a social arrangement based on the principle 'to each according to his needs; from each according to his ability'."

The most prominent among the leaders of this movement in America so far as prolific propaganda is concerned were EMMA GOLDMAN and ALEXANDER BERKMAN.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

7  
10/17/10  
10/17/10  
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of  
sc

# The Emma Goldman Papers

890414097

[Letter, 193-? to Bureau of Investigation? Department of Justice? (excerpt)] / [author unknown]. — 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: An undisclosed writer urges the United States to send the communists and Goldman to Russia.

Notes: Censored by FBI.

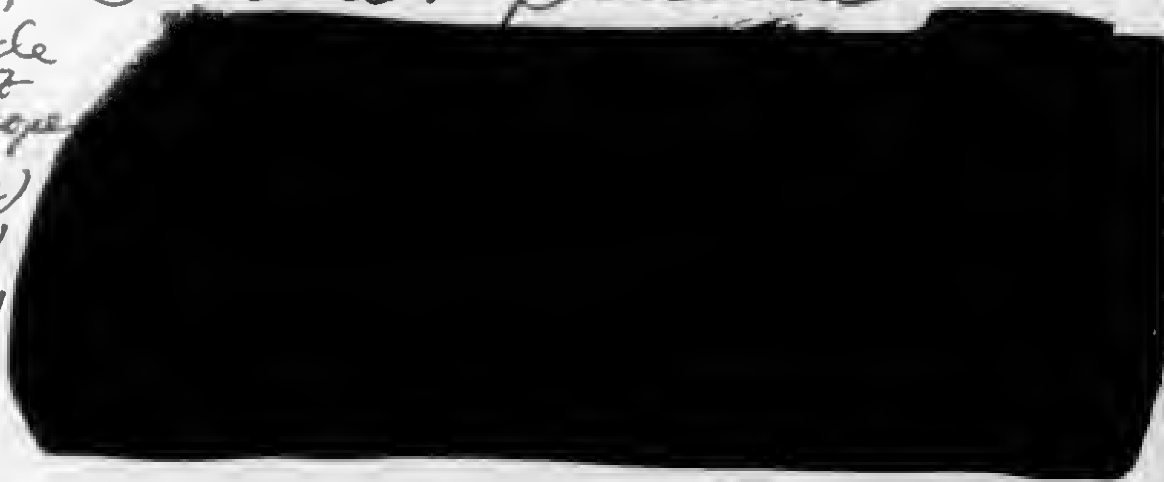
(S)  
(7)  
(C)  
outside  
of  
scope



The need Americanism  
Send the Communists  
with their leader, Emma  
\*Goldman back to  
Soviet Russia.

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of  
scope

(4)  
(7)  
(C)



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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report In re: Subject Deleted, 193-? (excerpt)] / [Agent? Federal Bureau of Investigation? Department of Justice]. — 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: A Federal Bureau of Investigation report mentions Goldman.

Notes: Censored by FBI.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

7  
(b)  
(2)  
(b)  
(7)  
(c)  
(b)  
(7)  
(d)  
outside  
of  
scope

## III. MISCELLANEOUS

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Passport issued to [REDACTED]

EMMA, obtained her own passport.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

(b)  
(7)  
(c)

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[File of Emma Goldman, 193-, Rome? (cover page?)] / [Ministero dell' Interno?]. —  
1 p. ; 26 × 18 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from Archivio Centrale dello Stato, Rome.

Summary: Goldman's file card observes that her vital statistics were obtained from Enrico Malatesta's notes.

Notes: In Italian.

R. N. *11*

*de H. 131*  
DIREZIONE GENERALE P. S.

DIVISIONE AFFARI GENERALI RISERVATI

*21*  
CASELLARIO POLITICO CENTRALE

GENERALITÀ

*Goldman Emma*  
*New York -*  
*1911 19028 - 55*  
*22/8*

N. B.

Le generalità suddette sono state rilevate da quaderni, rubriche ed appunti già appartenenti al defunto anarchico **Malatesta Enrico** che trovansi in apposito fascicolo intestato allo stesso con il N. 31568 che d'ordine Superiore dovrà rimanere sempre tra quelli permanenti ed attivi del Casellario Politico Centrale.

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325



**The Emma Goldman Papers**

[Property Tax Records] Draguignan [France, 1930 (cover page and index)] /  
Département du Var. — 3 p. ; 21 × 30 cm.  
Obtained from the Archives Départementales du Var, Draguignan, France.  
Notes: In French. Three sheets of two pages. For enclosure, see 891218012.

DES

**CONTRIBUTIONS DIRECTES  
ET DU CADASTRE.**

DÉPARTEMENT

de *Var*

ARRONDISSEMENT

de *Draguignan*

CANTON

de *Saint Cropez*

COMMUNE

de *Saint Cropez***CADASTRE.****MATRICE****DES PROPRIÉTÉS NON BÂTIES.****(Minute.)**

# The Emma Goldman Papers

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Département du Var. — 3 p. ; 21 × 30 cm.

Obtained from the Archives Départementales du Var, Draguignan, France.

Notes: In French. Three shots of two pages. For enclosure, see 891218012.

NOMS ET PRÉNOMS DES PROPRIÉTAIRES.	FOLIOS.	NOMS ET PRÉNOMS DES PROPRIÉTAIRES.	FOLIOS.	NOMS ET PRÉNOMS DES PROPRIÉTAIRES.	FOLIOS.
Courtin Eugène <sup>et Remondy</sup>	316	Coste Eugène	219	Chair employé	700
Crispoul J <sup>m</sup> B <sup>e</sup>	317	Castagnola André	1063	Chenide Louis	629
Crispoul Pierre	318	Elecci Guillaume	1064	Colambo second	1096
Crotte Augustin la dame <sup>veuve</sup>	319	Coccos Max	371	Contrasty Gaston	1175
Crotte <sup>veuve</sup> <sup>Guand</sup> <sup>Marie</sup>	320	Courbon François	1065	Crispola François	1228
Crotte Joseph André	321	Colambo second	1096	Coste J <sup>m</sup> B <sup>e</sup>	297
Crotte Louis	322	Comptoir d'Escompte du Golfe	1097	Coulomb Hédéric	305
Crotte Sébastien	323	Courau Paul	1098	Courchat Adolphe	1229
Crotte Prosper	324	Cuifaloy Maximin	1099	Crispoul la dame	864
Cyrille Joseph	325	Coudroyer Jean Baptiste	290	Castellino Jean	235
Cassini François Baptiste	942	Coutant Marie	1098	Castelnau Jules et Raoul	188
Cerisola François <sup>et Bernier</sup>	199	Camus Aimée	1184	Castelnau Jules et Raoul <sup>et veuve</sup>	361
Chambon Aristide	631	Carlevar François	1188	<sup>de</sup> Castelnau Colette Gabrielle	694
Cerisola Paul <sup>et</sup>	31	Casu Victor	158	Castellino André	94

# The Emma Goldman Papers

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<del>Sauvot Baptiste</del>	<del>968</del>	Corisole Marie	1015	Calé Julien	504
Corisole Francis	199	Chaurin Alexandre	5	Charnus Kimmée	506
<del>Costes Alexandre</del>	<del>967</del>	Carbonnel Marc	1143	Castaldi Jacques	635
Catino Antoine	978	Castor Hyacinthe	1198	<del>Castel 9752</del>	<del>234</del>
<del>Chaville Charles</del>	<del>984</del>	Compagnie des picholes	1109	Chaurmont de Gentry	507
Condroyer Antoine	997	Carlin Denise	287	Colomieu Eugène	511
<del>Condroyer Antoine</del>	<del>998</del>	Cavazza François	116	Courbet Eugène	529
Condroyer Pierre	999	Cezanne Eugène	1144	Calaguer Dominique	1254
Conkstable Joseph	994	Chais A.	287	<del>Castor Marie</del>	<del>1357</del>
<del>Coste H. Ange</del>	<del>1002</del> <del>967</del>	Coste G.	219	Courbon Marie	308
Coste Antoine	985	Coréine Bourdieu	508	<del>Corboud Louis</del>	<del>1255</del>
Coste Joseph	986	Coste F. v.	295	Cochard Gabriel	1258
Castagnola André	1010	Carpentier	1224	Condroyer Eugène	1173
Carbon Henri	1004	Caranda Pierre	1225	Costa Antoine	1259
Crozak Charles	398	Carpentier Anat	297	Costa François	1256
<del>Cafarnoy fallonne (indivis)</del>	<del>837</del>	Cauvy Maria v.	240	Collet Edmond	1307
Cavalletti Celestin	989	Celli v.	1226	Collon James	1304
Condroyer Antoine	1038	Cepaire François	1227	Coste Adolphe & Consorts	292

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Property Tax Records, Draguignon, France] 1930 [for Emma Goldman] /  
département du Var].— 4 p. ; 21 × 30 cm.

*Obtained from the Archives Départementales du Var, Draguignan, France.*

**Summary:** Property tax records show that Goldman acquired the house in St. Tropez in 1930.

**Notes:** In French. Four shots of two pages. Enclosed with 891218012. Records taxes on the land only. For records for the building, see 891218013 and 891218014.

Folio... 1112

**M.**

Pour

1926

**M.**

**M.**

M.

TOTAUX.					
ANNÉE. 1	CONTENANCE. 2			REVENU. 3	
	ha.	a.	ca.	fr.	c.
1913		4	27	23	48
1934		8	80	19	38
19 .....					
19 .....					
19 .....					
19 .....					
19 .....					
19 .....					
19 .....					
19 .....					
19 .....					
19 .....					
19 .....					

Continué au folio \_\_\_\_\_

[illegible]

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## The Emma Goldman Papers

*Obtained from the Archives Départementales du Var, Draguignan, France.*

**Summary:** Property tax records show that Goldman acquired the house in St. Tropez in 1930.

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[illegible]

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# 330



*Obtained from the Archives Départementales du Var, Draguignan, France.*

**Summary:** Property tax records show that Goldman acquired the house in St. Tropez in 1930.

**Notes:** In French. Four shots of two pages. Enclosed with 891218012. Records taxes on the land only. For records for the building, see 891218013 and 891218014.

Folio 190h.

M. <sup>the</sup> Cotton James nee Goldman Emma a. ~~Glasgow~~

Pour

19... **M.**

19... M.

19 ..... M.

19 M.

TOTAUX.					
ANNÉE. 1	CONTENANCE. 2			REVERU. 3	
	ha.	a.	ca.	fr.	c.
1930					
1930					
19					
19					
19					
19					
19					
19					
19					
19					
19					
19					
19					

TOTAUX.					
ANNÉE. 1	CONTENANCE. 2			REVERU. 3	
	ha.	a.	ca.	fr.	c.
19					
19					
19					
19					
19					
19					
19					
19					
19					
19					
19					
19					

Continué au folio .....

[illegible]

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

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[illegible]

# 332

# The Emma Goldman Papers

891218013

[Property Tax Records] Draguignan [France, 1930 (cover page and index)] /  
Département du Var. — 4 p. ; 21 × 30 cm.  
Obtained from the Archives Départementales du Var, Draguignan, France.  
Notes: In French. Four shots of two pages. For enclosure, see 891218014.

ET DU CADASTRE.

DÉPARTEMENT  
**DU VAR.**

**CADASTRE.**

ARRONDISSEMENT  
d.e. *Draguignan*

CANTON  
d.e. *S<sup>t</sup> Cropez*

COMMUNE  
d.e. *S<sup>t</sup> Cropez*

**MATRICE**

**DES PROPRIÉTÉS BÂTIES.**

**(Minute.)**

**333**

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Property Tax Records] Draguignan [France, 1930 (cover page and index)] /  
Département du Var. — 4 p. ; 21 × 30 cm.

Obtained from the Archives Départementales du Var, Draguignan, France.

Notes: 1a French. Four shots of two pages. For enclosure, see 891218014.

NOTA. — La loi du 8 août 1890 porte :

« ART. 8. — Les évaluations servant de base à la contribution foncière des propriétés bâties seront revisées tous les dix ans.

« Toutefois si, par suite de circonstances exceptionnelles, il se produit dans l'intervalle de deux revisions décennales une dépréciation générale des propriétés bâties, soit de l'intégralité, soit d'une fraction notable d'une commune, le conseil municipal aura le droit de demander qu'il soit procédé à une nouvelle évaluation des propriétés bâties de l'ensemble de la commune, à la charge pour celle-ci de supporter les frais de l'opération.

« Les évaluations ainsi établies seront néanmoins renouvelées à l'expiration de la période décennale en cours.

« ART. 9. — Les constructions nouvelles, les reconstructions et les additions de construction seront imposées par comparaison avec les autres propriétés bâties de la commune où elles seront situées.

D'autre part, l'article 2 de la loi du 13 juillet 1900 est ainsi conçu :

« La contribution foncière des propriétés bâties sera, à partir du 1<sup>er</sup> janvier 1901, réglée en raison de la valeur locative de ces propriétés, telle qu'elle résultera de la revision décennale effectuée conformément à l'article 8, §§ 1 et 3, de la loi du 8 août 1890, sous déduction de 25 p. 0/0 pour les maisons et de 40 p. 0/0 pour les usines, en considération du déperissement et des frais d'entretien et de réparations.

Les revenus inscrits dans les colonnes intitulées *Revenu net imposable* de la présente matrice se rapportent respectivement à la période décennale en vue de laquelle ils ont été déterminés.

Ceux des constructions nouvelles, des reconstructions et des additions de construction sont portés dans la colonne relative à la période décennale qui comprend l'année pour laquelle leur inscription est effectuée.

Dans le cas de division ou de réunion de propriétés constatée à l'occasion d'une revision décennale, on procède comme pour les mutations et on porte dans les colonnes *Tiré de...* et *Porté à...* l'annotation *R. B.* (revision des propriétés bâties).



The Emma Goldman Papers

[Property Tax Records] Draguignan [France, 1930 (cover page and index)] /  
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Notes: In French. Four shots of two pages. For enclosure, see 891218014.

TABLE ALPHABÉTIQUE DES PROPRIÉTAIRES.

NOMS ET PRÉNOMS DES PROPRIÉTAIRES.	CASES.	NOMS ET PRÉNOMS DES PROPRIÉTAIRES.	CASES.	NOMS ET PRÉNOMS DES PROPRIÉTAIRES.	CASES.
1	2	1	2	1	2
<del>Abbe A</del>	<del>13</del>	<del>Anselmi Louis</del>	<del>43</del>	<del>Ajoulet Chas</del>	<del>73</del>
Abeille alban	14	Anselmi Marius	44	Amiel Clarise	74
Abeille Emile V <sup>e</sup>	15	Anselmi Jean	45	Andrieu Jean François V <sup>e</sup>	823
Abeille Joseph	16	Arnaud Eugène	46	Aillaud Felipenne	850
Abeille Joseph Georges	17	Arnaud Jean B <sup>e</sup> Louis	47	Amblard Jean Marie	438
Abeille Marie Philomène	18	Arnaud Justin	48	Arnaud Eugène V <sup>e</sup>	46
Agnesi Constanten	19	Arnaud Louis	49	Aubourg Joseph Paulin	848
Aillaud Marie Philote	20	Arnaud Louis Marcelin	50	Albert Sébastien	877
Ajaccio Jean Louis	21	Arnaud Marie	51	Ami Louis Jean Paul	791
Allard Benjamin	22	Arnoux Veuve ve Baude	52	Arribat Baptiste	149
Allard Frédéric	23	Asquier Marie Marie	53	Augier Baptiste	58
Allard Henri	24	Astegiano Etienne	54	Auzily Albert	848
Alligre Louis	25	Astier Joseph	55	Auzille Leonard (indiv.)	873



# The Emma Goldman Papers

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Allemard Joseph Marie	26	Alibert Amédée	56	Agazzi Antoine Michel	483
Alloque Jean Baptiste	27	Alibert Jacques	57	Alibert Jacques	93
Alloque Jean Baptiste	28	Alibert Louis Paul Marie	58	Amic Marie	82
Alloque Pierre	29	Alibert La Cour	59	Agrise Constantin	916
Alsina Joseph François	30	Albin Marie Josephine	60	Audibert Baptiste	705
Amblard Jean	31	Albin Marie	61	Aumina Augustin	69
Amic Joseph Eugène	32	Albin Marie	62	Aumina Augustin	917
Amic Louis Cesar	33	Audibert Baptiste	63	Alloque Marie	929
Amic Marie Joseph	34	Audier Eugène	64	Aumina Valance V <sup>e</sup>	67
Amic Marie	35	Audier Jean Louis	65	Alain Marie	954
Amoi Achille	36	Augier Justine	66	Alard Emile	956
André François	37	Aumieran Hilare	67	Audibert B <sup>m</sup>	635
Angely Anne	38	Aumieran Hippolyte	68	Olzari Honore	978
Angely Jacques	39	Aumieran Joseph Louis	69	Astizan B <sup>m</sup>	957
Angely Jean B <sup>e</sup> Henry	40	Aumieran Joseph	70	Abille Joseph	18
Anno Jean Baptiste	41	Aumierand Louis Antoine	71	Allard Suzanne	959
Anrigou Louis	42	Auzias André Louis	72	Angilland Adèle	960

The Emma Goldman Papers

891218014

[Property Tax Records, Draguignan, France] 1930 [for Emma Goldman] / [Département du Var]. — 4 p. ; 21 x 30 cm.

Obtained from the Archives Départementales du Var, Draguignan, France.

Summary: The Département du Var keeps a record of the taxes paid on Goldman's St. Tropez house by her and previous owners.

Notes: In French. Four shots of two pages. Enclosed with 891218013. For tax records on the land, see 891218011 and 891218012.

MUTATIONS.						NU-MÉRO de PLAN.	LIEU-DIT, RUE ET NUMÉRO.	NATURE de la PROPRIÉTÉ.	REVENU NET IMPOSABLE										OUVERTURES IMPOSABLES.						
ANNÉE		TIRÉ de	PORTÉ à	LI- GNE.	SEC- TION.				pour la période commençant le 1 <sup>er</sup> janvier										Portes ecch. charr. ou de mag <sup>as</sup> .	Ouv- tures ordi- naires.					
de l'entrée. 1	de la sortie. 2					3	4	5	6	7	8	9	A L'ÉPOQUE de la confection de la matrice. 10		11		12				13		14		15
									fr.	c.	fr.	c.	fr.	c.	fr.	c.	fr.	c.	fr.	c.	fr.	c.			
Case 1041																									
Pour M. Mullier Alexandre <del>maître</del> à St Tropez																									
1926 M. Supérieur Jean Marie Rue Touchat 7 Colichy																									
19 M.																									
19 M.																									
19 M.																									
19 M.																									
1923	1933	493	1041	1	A	709	rue Fontaine	Atelier	37	50	12	50												1a 3	ENI
		493		2	A	709		Maison	187	50	532	50												7	E
	1930	694	1240	3	B	192	les Carles	batte	37	50	112	50												1a 4	E
1933		1041		4	A	709	rue Fontaine	Maison	2217	50															
				5																					
				6																					
				7																					
				8																					
				9																					
				10																					

# The Emma Goldman Papers

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TOTAL .....  
TOTAL .....  
TOTAL .....  
TOTAL .....  
TOTAL .....  
TOTAL .....

262 50 657 60  
848  
2217 50

532 50  
5217 50

Case 1042

Pour M.  
19 M.  
19 M.  
19 M.  
19 M.  
19 M.

Othon Louis Commercant à St. Tropez

Case de l'ancienne  
matrice :

1923

801  
801

1  
2  
3  
4  
5  
6  
7  
8  
9  
10

C 361  
C 367

Rue des 4 coins • maison  
four

375  
47 50

625  
2 50

6  
121

TOTAL .....  
TOTAL .....  
TOTAL .....

472 50 627 50

5-628

The Emma Goldman Papers

891218014

[Property Tax Records, Draguignan, France] 1930 [for Emma Goldman] / [Département du Var]. — 4 p. ; 21 x 30 cm.  
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ANNÉE		TIRÉ de	PORTÉ à	LI- GNE.	SEC- TION.	MÉRO de PLAN.	LIEU-DIT, RUE ET NUMÉRO.	NATURE de la PROPRIÉTÉ.	A L'ÉPOQUE de la confection de la matrice.	pour la période commençant le 1 <sup>er</sup> janvier						Portes coch. charr. ou de mag <sup>ts</sup> .	Dua- tres ordi- naires.				
de l'entrée.	de la sortie.									11	12	13	14	15	16						
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	fr.	c.	fr.	c.	fr.	c.	fr.	c.	fr.	c.	17	18
Pour M. <i>me. Nicolas née Mandin Chérie à St Tropez</i>																					
19 M.																					
19 M.																					
19 M.																					
19 M.																					
19 M.																					
1930	936			1		C 477 p	Suite de la ville maison		112 fr												
				2																	
				3																	
				4																	
				5																	
				6																	
				7																	
				8																	
				9																	
				10																	
TOTAL .....										112 fr											E-112/10
TOTAL .....																					
TOTAL .....																					
TOTAL .....																					



# The Emma Goldman Papers

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TOTAL											
TOTAL											
Pour	M. <sup>me</sup>	Colton James née Goldmann Emma à Glanumann Carine South Wales (Angleterre) / Chemin de St Antoine à St Croix									
19	M.										
19	M.										
19	M.										
19	M.										
19	M.										
19	M.										
1930	1041	1	191	Les Carles	Carline	112 80					
		2									
		3									
		4									
		5									
		6									
		7									
		8									
		9									
		10									
TOTAL							112 80				
TOTAL											
TOTAL											
TOTAL											
TOTAL											
TOTAL											



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1930 March 9, Baltimore [Md. to William D. Mitchell] Attorney General [Department of Justice], Washington, D.C. / H.L. Mencken. — 1 p. ; 35 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 60.

Summary: On behalf of Goldman, Mencken asks the Justice Department to find and return the material they confiscated at Goldman's 1917 arrest in the *Mother Earth* office.

Notes: Enclosed with 870708059. For reply, see 810930114 and 811016002.

COPY

from

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

Record Group No. 60

General Records of the Department of Justice  
D. J. Central Files — Straight Numerical Files  
File Number 133149

H.L. MENCKEN  
1524 HOLLINS ST.  
BALTIMORE.

133149-  
Baltimore, March 9th, 1930

RECORD

MAR 14 1930

Dear Sir:-

The following is submitted as a petition:  
In January last, in Paris, I had a meeting with Emma Goldman, the anarchist, who is now living there. She has a British passport and is unmolested by the French police. She desires a visa to visit the United States, where she spent most of her youth and has many friends, and I am petitioning the Acting Secretary of State that it be granted.

In 1917, at the time of the raid on the *Mother Earth* office in New York, certain of her private papers were seized, and are still, she believes, in the custody of the Department of Justice. She now desires to recover them, and has asked me to petition you to that end. I'll be glad to submit any evidence or argument that you may deem proper. In particular, she desires the return of the MS. of a book on American literature, and of a MS. dealing with Nietzsche.

I am appearing in the matter because of my interest in her purely literary work, and because she wants her case presented by someone not associated with her political views.

Very truly yours,

The Attorney-General,  
Washington, D.C.

*H. Mencken*

pu 186233-13-

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1930 March 11 [Washington, D.C. to] H.L. Mencken, Baltimore, Md. / O.R.  
 Luhring, Assistant Attorney General [Department of Justice]. — 1 p. ; 34 × 22 cm.  
*Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 60.*  
 Summary: Luhring promises to search for Goldman's papers and advise Mencken of the results.  
 Notes: Reply to 810930113.

COPY

from  
 THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES  
 Record Group No. 60

General Records of the Department of Justice  
 D. J. Central Files — Straight Numerical Files  
 File Number 133149

FMP-ZCB

ORL-

133149-

March 11, 1930.

MAR 14 1930

Mr. H. L. Mencken,  
 1524 Hollins Street,  
 Baltimore, Maryland.

My dear Mr. Mencken:

The Department is in receipt of your letter of the 9th instant relative to the desire of Emma Goldman to have returned to her certain papers belonging to her, which, she states, were seized in 1917 during a raid on the MOTHER EARTH office in New York, and which are now supposed to be in the custody of this Department.

You are advised that the Department will make a search of its files for the purpose of ascertaining whether the documents desired are now in its custody. Upon completion of such search, you will be further advised in the premises.

Respectfully,

For the Attorney General,

O. R. LUHRING, Assistant Attorney General.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

870708099

[Memorandum] 1930 March 12, Washington, D.C. [to J. Edgar Hoover] Director, Bureau of Investigation [Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.] / O.R. Luhring, Assistant Attorney General, Department of Justice. — 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.  
Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: Luhring asks Hoover to find out if the Bureau of Investigation has any of Goldman's papers, taken in the 1917 raid on her office, in its files.

Notes: For enclosure, see 810930113. For reply, see 811016001.

ADDRESS REPLY TO  
"THE ATTORNEY GENERAL"  
AND REFER TO  
DETAILS AND NUMBER

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
WASHINGTON, D. C.

FMP-ZCB

ORL- *SM*

133149-

March 12, 1930.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE DIRECTOR, BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

There is transmitted herewith a copy of a letter received from Mr. H. L. Mencken, 1524 Hollins Street, Baltimore, Maryland, relative to the desire of Emma Goldman, the anarchist, now in Paris, to have certain papers returned to her, which, she contends, were seized in 1917 at the time of the raid on the Mother Earth office in New York and are now supposed to be in the custody of this Department. In particular, she desires the return of the manuscript of a book on American literature, and a manuscript dealing with Nietzsche.

Will you please advise me whether there are any documents in the Bureau files seized at the time of the above raid and which belong to Emma Goldman?

Respectfully,

*O. R. Luhring*  
O. R. LUHRING,  
Assistant Attorney General.

Inclosure #455274.



MAR 13 1930

RECORDED &amp; INDEXED

MAR 13 1930

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343

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Memorandum] 1930 March 18, Washington, D.C. [to O.R.] Luhring, Assistant Attorney General [Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.] / J. E[dgar] Hoover, Director, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice. — 1 p. ; 34 × 22 cm.

*Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 60.*

**Summary:** Hoover notifies Luhring that he could not find any of Goldman's papers in the Bureau of Investigation's files.

**Notes:** Reply to 870708059. For reply, see 870708061.

COPY

from

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

Record Group No. 60

General Records of the Department of Justice  
D. J. Central Files — Straight Numerical Files  
File Number 133149

JOHN EDGAR HOOVER  
DIRECTOR

U. S. Department of Justice  
Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D. C.

March 18, 1930

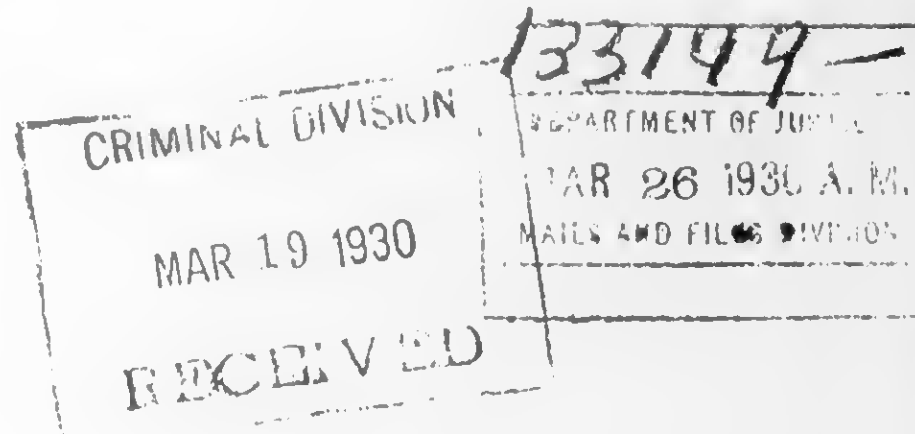
MEMORANDUM FOR ASSISTANT ATTORNEY GENERAL LUHRING.

Reference is made to your memorandum dated March 12, 1930, initialed FMP, Department file #133149, having attached copy of a letter received from Mr. H.L. Mencken, 1524 Hollins Street, Baltimore, Md., relative to the desire of Emma Goldman, the anarchist, now in Paris, to have certain papers returned to her that she contends were seized in 1917 and are now supposed to be in the custody of the Department of Justice.

A thorough search has been made of the Bureau files, but the manuscripts referred to in your memorandum have not been found, nor has any property of Emma Goldman been found therein.

Very truly yours,

J. E. Hoover  
Director.



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344

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Memorandum] 1930 March 21, Washington, D.C. [to J. Edgar Hoover] Director, Bureau of Investigation [Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.] / O.R. Luhring, Assistant Attorney General, Department of Justice. — 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.  
Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

**Summary:** Luhring asks Hoover to extend his search for Goldman's manuscripts to the Bureau of Investigation's field offices.

**Notes:** Broken type. Reply to 811016001. For reply, see 811016000.

ADDRESSEE ONLY TO  
THE ATTORNEY GENERAL  
AND REFER TO  
DETAILS AND NUMBER

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
WASHINGTON, D. C.

EMP-2CB

ORL-

March 21, 1930.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE DIRECTOR, BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

I have your memorandum of the 18th instant, stating that after a thorough search the records and manuscripts desired by Emma Goldman were not found in the Bureau files.

Will you please advise me whether any inquiry has been made of the appropriate Bureau field office as to whether the documents desired might be in their files?

Respectfully,

O. R. LUHRING,  
Assistant Attorney General.

MAR 26 1930

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

345



# The Emma Goldman Papers

811016000

[Memorandum] 1930 March 24, Washington, D.C. [to O.R.] Luhring, Assistant Attorney General [Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.] / J. Edgar Hoover, Director, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice. — 1 p. ; 34 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 60.

Summary: Hoover notifies Luhring that he asked the New York field office to look for Goldman's papers, seized during the 1917 raid on her office.

Notes: Reply to 870708061. For letter mentioned, see 870708065.

COPY

from  
THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES  
Record Group No. 60

General Records of the Department of Justice  
D. J. Central Files — Straight Numerical Files  
File Number 133149

JOHN EDGAR HOOVER  
DIRECTOR

U. S. Department of Justice  
Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D. C.

March 24, 1930

## MEMORANDUM FOR ASSISTANT ATTORNEY GENERAL LUHRING.

Receipt is acknowledged of your memorandum dated March 21, 1930, initialed FMP, relative to a search made in the Bureau in an endeavor to secure information concerning the records and manuscripts desired by EMMA GOLDMAN, and alleged to have been seized in 1917 at the "Mother Earth" office in New York.

A letter is being directed to the New York office of the Bureau, requesting that a search be made of the records of that office in an endeavor to obtain information concerning the manuscripts referred to.

Very truly yours,

J. E. Hoover  
Director.

CRIMINAL DIVISION

MAR 25 1930

RECEIVED

MAR 24 1930

133149-

7 26

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

346

## The Emma Goldman Papers

870708065

[Letter] 1930 March 25 [Washington, D.C. to] [Clarence] D. McKean [Agent in Charge, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice], New York / [J. Edgar Hoover] Director [Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice]. — 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: Hoover instructs the New York office of the Bureau of Investigation to look for Goldman's papers, seized in the 1917 raid on her office.

Notes: Broken type; barely legible. For reply, see 870708062. For the documents mentioned, see 870708059 and 870708061.

9FB:XP  
61-291-215

March 25, 1930

Mr. C. D. McKean,  
P.O. Box 70,  
Wall Street Station,  
New York City, N.Y.

Dear Sir:

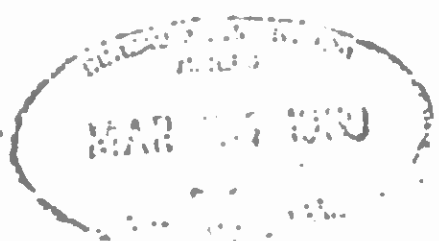
The Bureau is in receipt of a memorandum from Assistant Attorney General J. H. Ladd, advising that a letter has been received in the Department concerning certain papers alleged to have been seized in 1917 in a raid on the "Mother Earth" office in New York, these papers being the property of Emma Goldman. In particular, reference is made to the manuscript of a book on American literature, and a manuscript dealing with Nietzsche.

A search has been made of the Bureau's file, but the documents referred to have not been found therein. The Department has requested that a search be made of the file in your office to ascertain whether the manuscripts referred to are contained therein.

Please give this matter your prompt attention and advise the Bureau the result.

Very truly yours,

Director.



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347

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1930 March 27, Baltimore [Md. to Department of Labor, Washington, D.C.] /  
H.L. Mencken. — 2 p. ; 15 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the Immigration and Naturalization Service via FOIA.

Summary: Mencken petitions the Department of Labor to revoke Goldman's deportation order so she can re-enter the United States.

H. L. MENCKEN  
1524 HOLLINS ST.  
BALTIMORE.

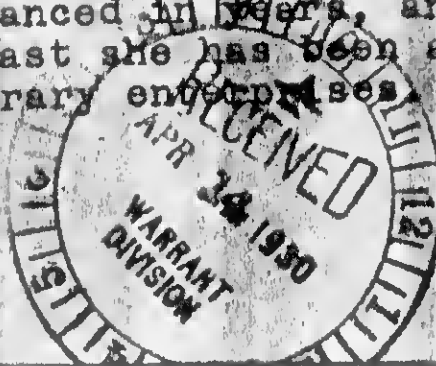
March 27, 1930

Dear Sir:

The following is in the nature of a petition:

186 In January, while visiting in Paris, I encountered Emma Goldman, the anarchist, and she told me that she greatly desired to return to the United States for a visit. On my return to America, I, accordingly, applied to the Department of State for a visa for her. I am now informed by Mr. John Parr Simmons, Chief of the Visa office, that he is unable to issue it because of the provisions of the immigration acts which forbid the State Department to issue visas to aliens who have been deported. I, accordingly, offer a petition that the order deporting Miss Goldman be revoked in order that the State Department may legally grant her a visa.

My reasons for making this request are that Miss Goldman is now somewhat advanced in years, and has abandoned active politics. For a year or two past she has been at work upon her autobiography, and upon other literary enterprises. She greatly desires to visit



*Handwritten notes:*  
Grand  
Division  
quite full  
K 9

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1930 March 27, Baltimore [Md. to Department of Labor, Washington, D.C.] /  
H.L. Mencken. — 2 p. ; 15 x 22 cm.

*Obtained from the Immigration and Naturalization Service via FOIA.*

**Summary:** Mencken petitions the Department of Labor to revoke Goldman's deportation order so she can re-enter the United States.

H. L. MENCKEN.  
1524 HOLLINS ST.  
BALTIMORE.

-2-

Re # 133149 ORL

some of her old friends in the United States, where she spent most of her youth. She maintains that her deportation was ordered under a misapprehension, and that the verdict of the court, which declared her husband an alien, was reached on a basis of insufficient evidence. She has since married a British subject, and has a British passport.

My interest in her case is purely personal. She desired to have her application presented by some one not associated with her political ideas.

Sincerely yours,



BEST COPY AVAILABLE

349

# The Emma Goldman Papers

870708062

[Letter] 1930 April 7, New York [to J. Edgar Hoover] Director, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. / [Clarence] D. McKean, Agent in Charge, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice. — 2 p.; 28 x 22 cm. Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: Agent McKean describes his unsuccessful efforts to locate Goldman's papers in the New York office of the Bureau of Investigation.

Notes: Broken type; barely legible. Enclosed with 811016006. Reply to 870708065. For copy, see 870806000.

## U. S. Department of Justice Bureau of Investigation

Post Office Box #70,  
Wall Street Station,  
New York, New York.

JCT:CB

April 7, 1930  
D.V. 12.11



APR 9 1930

61 291

Director,  
Bureau of Investigation,  
Department of Justice,  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

Reference is made to your communication of March 25th directing that a search be made of the files in this office to ascertain whether they contained certain documents, the property of Emma Goldman, consisting of a manuscript of a book on American literature and a manuscript dealing with "Nietzsche", both of which are alleged to have been seized in a raid on the office of "Mother Earth" in New York City in 1917.

A search of the files in this office fails to disclose any trace of the documents referred to. The raid on the office of "Mother Earth" was made on Jan. 15, 1917 by United States Marshal Thomas McCarthy and members of the Bomb Squad of the New York Police who at the time apprehended Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, at the same time seizing a number of papers and books and the complaint on which the warrants of arrest were issued and sworn to by George D. Barnitz, since deceased, who was then a member of the Bomb Squad.

The case was prosecuted by Assistant U. S. Attorney Harold Content and Agent Tucker, of this office who was present during the entire trial, in handling a great many of the papers involved in the case, states that he never saw any manuscript of Miss Goldman. Mr. Content stated that he had no knowledge of these papers and Detective Leberthy of the New York Police Department who was also present during the trial had no recollection of them.

APR 18 1930

RECEIVED	
APR 8 1930 A.M.	
RECEIVED	FILE
Dir. Room	

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

350



## The Emma Goldman Papers

870708062

[Letter] 1930 April 7, New York [to J. Edgar Hoover] Director, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. / [Clarence] D. McKean, Agent in Charge, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice. — 2 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.  
Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: Agent McKean describes his unsuccessful efforts to locate Goldman's papers in the New York office of the Bureau of Investigation.

Notes: Broken type; barely legible. Enclosed with 811016006. Reply to 870708065. For copy, see 870806000.

-2-

Agent Tucker also searched the files of the United States Attorney's Office for the Southern District of New York and failed to find any record of the papers referred to:

Very truly yours,

*C. D. McKean*

C. D. MCKEAN  
Special Agent in Charge

*KWR*

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351

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1930 April 7, New York [to J. Edgar Hoover] Director, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. / [Clarence] D. McKean, Agent in Charge [Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice]. — 2 p. ; 34 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 60.

Notes: Copy of 870708062.

**C O P Y**  
from  
**THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES**  
Record Group No. 60

General Records of the Department of Justice  
D. J. Central Files — Straight Numerical Files  
File Number 133149



JGT:OB

Post Office Box #70,  
Wall Street Station,  
New York, New York .

April 7, 1930

Director,  
Bureau of Investigation,  
Department of Justice,  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

Reference is made to your communication of March 25th directing that a search be made of the files in this office to ascertain whether they contained certain documents, the property of Emma Goldman, consisting of a manuscript of a book on American Literature and a manuscript dealing with "Nietzsche", both of which are alleged to have been seized in a raid on the office of "Mother Earth" in New York City in 1917.

A search of the files in this office fails to disclose any trace of the documents referred to. The raid on the office of "Mother Earth" was made on June 15, 1917 by United States Marshal Thomas McCarthy and members of the Bomb Squad of the New York Police who at the time apprehended Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, at the same time seizing a number of papers and books and the complaint on which the warrants of arrest were issued and sworn to by George D. Barnitz, since deceased, who was then a member of the Bomb Squad.

The case was prosecuted by Assistant U. S. Attorney Harold Content and Agent Tucker, of this office who was present during the entire trial, in handling a great many of the papers involved in the case, states that he never saw any manuscripts of Miss Goldman. Mr. Content stated that he had no knowledge of these papers and Detective McCarthy of the New York Police Department who was also present during the trial had no recollection of them.

## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1930 April 7, New York [to J. Edgar Hoover] Director, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. / C[larrence] D. McKean, Agent in Charge [Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice]. — 2 p. ; 34 × 22 cm.

*Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 60.*

Notes: Copy of 870708062.

COPY

from  
THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES  
Record Group No. 60

General Records of the Department of Justice  
D. J. Central Files — Straight Numerical Files  
File Number 133149

-2-

Agent Tucker also searched the files of the United States Attorney's Office for the Southern District of New York and failed to find any record of the papers referred to.

Very truly yours,

C. D. McKEAN  
Special Agent in Charge

353

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1930 April 8 [Washington, D.C. to] C[larrence] D. McKean [Agent in Charge, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice], New York / [J. Edgar Hoover] Director [Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice]. — 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: Hoover asks Agent McKean why he has not answered his request for a search for Goldman's papers.

Notes: Broken type; barely legible. For reply, see 870708069. Follow-up to 870708065.

TFB:KP  
61-291-123

April 8, 1930

Mr. C. D. McKean,  
P.O. Box 70,  
Wall St. Station,  
New York City, N.Y.

Dear Sir:

Reference is made to Bureau letter dated March 25, 1930, requesting that a search be made of the files in your office for the purpose of ascertaining whether they contain certain papers alleged to have been seized in 1917 in a raid on the "Mother Earth" office in New York, these papers being the property of EMMA GOLDMAN.

To date the Bureau has received no reply from you concerning this matter.

Very truly yours,

Director.

RECORDED

61-291-123
BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
APR 9 1930

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354

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1930 April 9, New York [to J. Edgar Hoover] Director, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. / H.H. Reinecke, Acting Agent in Charge, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice. — 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: Agent Reinecke explains that Agent McKean answered Hoover's request on April 7.

Notes: Broken type. Reply to 870708067. For letter mentioned, see 870708062.

U. S. Department of Justice  
Bureau of Investigation  
Post Office Box #70  
Wall Street Station  
New York, New York

WHR:ED

April 9, 1930

Director  
Bureau of Investigation  
Department of Justice  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

Receipt is acknowledged of your communication of the 8th instant advising you had received no reply to your letter of March 25th, 1930 in which you asked information as to certain papers, seized in 1917 in a raid on the "Mother Earth" office in New York, these papers being the property of Emma Goldman.

On April 7, 1930 a reply went forward from this office covering your request and should have reached you prior to the mailing of your letter of the 8th instant. If you have not received this please advise and a copy will be transmitted immediately.

Very truly yours,

*H. H. Reinecke*

H. H. Reinecke  
Acting Agent in Charge

APR 14 1930

BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION	
APR 10 1930	
RECEIVED	FILED
Div. 1	Div. 2

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Memorandum] 1930 April 14, Washington, D.C. [to O.R.] Luhring, Assistant Attorney General [Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.] / J. Edgar Hoover, Director, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice. — 1 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.

*Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 60.*

**Summary:** Hoover notifies Luhring that the New York office of the Bureau of Investigations could not locate any of Goldman's papers.

**Notes:** For enclosure, see 870806000. For memoranda mentioned, see 870708059 and 870708061.

COPY  
from  
THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES  
Record Group No. 60

General Records of the Department of Justice  
D. J. Central Files — Straight Numerical Files  
File Number 133149

JOHN EDGAR HOOVER  
DIRECTOR

U. S. Department of Justice  
Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D. C.

April 14, 1930

MEMORANDUM FOR ASSISTANT ATTORNEY GENERAL LUHRING.

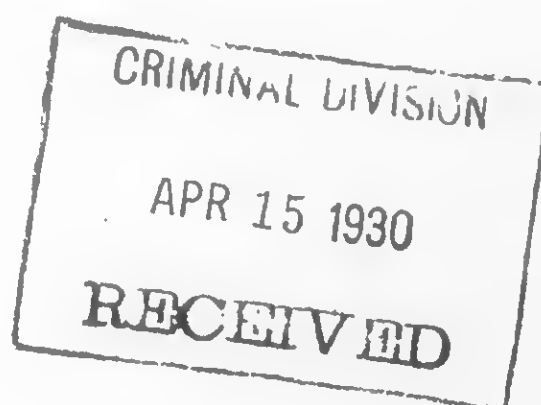
Reference is made to your memoranda of March 12th and March 21st, 1930, Department file 133149, relative to the desire of EMMA GOLDMAN to have certain papers returned to her, which she contends were seized in 1917 and are now supposed to be in the custody of the Department of Justice.

There is attached hereto, for your information, copy of a letter from the Special Agent in Charge of the New York City office of the Bureau, dated April 7, 1930. It will be noted in this letter that no manuscripts belonging to Miss Goldman appear to be contained in the files of the New York office.

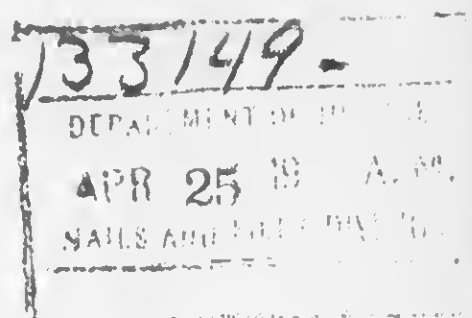
Very truly yours,

J. E. Hoover  
Director.

Incl. 454562



APR 25 1930



356

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1930 April 24 [Washington, D.C. to] H.L. Mencken, Baltimore, Md. / O.R. Luhring, Assistant Attorney General [Department of Justice]. — 1 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 60.

Summary: Luhring explains that he was unable to find Goldman's papers at either the Justice Department or the Bureau of Investigation.

Notes: Broken type; light copy. Reply to 810930113. For reply, see 810930115.

COPY

from

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

Record Group No. 60

General Records of the Department of Justice  
D. J. Central Files — Straight Numerical Files  
File Number 133149

CRL-

FMP-ZCB

April 24, 1930.

E. J.

Mr. H. L. Mencken,  
1524 Hollins Street,  
Baltimore, Maryland.

My dear Mr. Mencken:

Further reference is made to your letter of the 9th ultimo relative to the desire of Emma Goldman to have returned to her certain papers belonging to her, which, she states, were seized in 1917 during a raid on the Mother Earth Office in New York and which are now supposed to be in the custody of this Department.

You are advised that a careful search has been made of the files of this Department as well as the files of the New York Office of the Bureau of Investigation and the Office of the United States Attorney there and no papers of the nature described were found.

Respectfully,

For the Attorney General,

O. R. Luhring

O. R. LUHRING,  
Assistant Attorney General.

APR 25 1930

133149-

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357

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1930] April 28, New York [to O.R.] Luhring [Assistant Attorney General, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.] / H.L. Mencken. — 1 p. ; 32 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 60.

Summary: Mencken thanks Luhring for looking for Goldman's missing papers, taken from her office in the 1917 raid.

Notes: Reply to 811016002.

COPY

from

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

Record Group No. 60

General Records of the Department of Justice

D. J. Central Files — Straight Numerical Files

File Number 133149

H. L. MENCKEN · Editor · ALFRED A. KNOFF · Publisher · SAMUEL KNOFF · Business Manager



THE AMERICAN MERCURY

730 FIFTH AVENUE  
NEW YORK

Cables: KNOFF · NEW YORK

Telephones: CIRCLE 7670

April 28th.

In Re FMP-ZCB

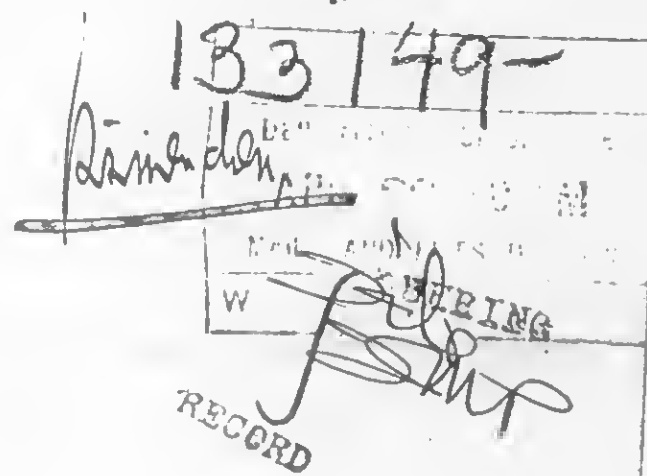
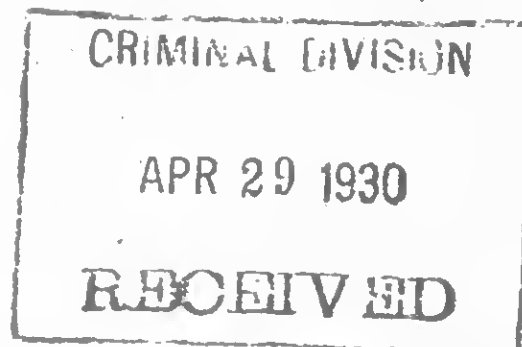
Dear Mr. Luhring:

Thanks very much for your letter of April twenty-fourth replying to my petition regarding Emma Goldman. I am sorry, indeed, that her papers have not been discovered. I assume that they were destroyed at the time she left the United States. I am writing to her by this mail.

Meanwhile, my best thanks again.

Sincerely yours,

MAY 1 1930



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358

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[File of Emma Goldman] Rome, 1930 May 28 / Capo Sezione. — 1 p. ; 30 × 21 cm.  
 Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from Archivio Centrale dello Stato, Rome.  
 Summary: Goldman is identified as a German in Italian government files.  
 Notes: In Italian.

## CASELLARIO POLITICO CENTRALE

Trattandosi di sudditi

tedeschi

si trasmette

alla On. Ser. III.

per competenza

Roma, 28 Maggio 1930.

IL CAPO SEZIONE

*Goldman  
Germana*

6/6/30  
 già segnalata alle  
 autorità di frontiera

*(Stef)*

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1930 July 10 [to] William Dewitt Mitchell, Attorney General [Department of Justice], Washington, D.C. / [author unknown]. — 1 p. ; 28 x 20 cm.  
 Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

**Summary:** An undisclosed writer asks Mitchell if an undisclosed individual was involved with Goldman.

(4)(7)(C) COPY

July 10, 1930.

Hon. William Dewitt Mitchell,  
 United States Attorney General,  
 Washington, D. C.

Dear General:

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Statements were made that  
 was mixed up in the Emma Goldman affair.

I am interested in knowing the facts in  
 this matter and am addressing you for the purpose of  
 ascertaining whether the stories are founded on fact.

[REDACTED]

Respectfully,

[REDACTED]

RECORDED & INDEXED

JUL 22 1930

61-6743-1	
BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION	
JUL 18 1930 A. M.	
DEPT. OF JUSTICE	FILE
Div. Two	7107

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360



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report In re:] Dill Pickle Club of Chicago [Chicago, 19]30 July 23 / August H. Loula [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice]. — 1 p. ; 19 x 14 cm.  
 Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.  
 Summary: Agent Loula reports that Reitman's Dill Pickle Club is defunct, due to police harassment.  
 Notes: Barely legible.

AUGUST H. LOULA

PAGE 4

July 23 - 30

## "DILL PICKLE CLUB OF CHICAGO"

The "Dill Pickle Club" of Chicago founded by MR. BEN REITMAN, Chicago anarchist has gone out of existence due to the almost constant attendance of members of the Chicago Police Department and Agents of the Chicago Intelligence Division of this office at all of the club functions.

LUCY PARSONS, EMMA GOLDMAN, BERRAMAN and other well known anarchists were idolized by the Dill Picklers and friends of the "Haymarket Riot Martyrs" and their families congregated there. Since the closing of the "Dill Pickle" the stragglers are patronizing the lecture forum of the Radical Book Shop on North Clark Street, Chicago.

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## The Emma Goldman Papers

890414091

Investigation of Communist Propaganda / [Special Committee to Investigate Communist Activities... House of Representatives].— p. 81, 124 ; 23 cm. In [Hearings before a Special Committee... House of Representatives, 71st Cong., 2nd Sess.— Pt. 1, Vol. 4 (Dec. 2 57 1930)].

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: The House of Representatives' report on communist propaganda explores ways to deport alien communists. They regret that the United States has deported very few radicals since Goldman and Berkman.

Notes: For related document, see 890414136.

### INVESTIGATION OF COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA

81

Mrs. TILLINGHAST. We have one English citizen, but this is a Portuguese. The Englishman is out on bond.

The CHAIRMAN. What are the names of those two?

Mrs. TILLINGHAST. Richard Davies is the Englishman and Augusto C. G. Pinto, or Augusto Gonzalves, is the other. He is in the detention quarters; he is unable to furnish bond. We secured the arrest and secured a warrant of deportation of another man. The bureau released him under bond and he was in the country for some time. I do not know whether he has life now or not.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have any authority as to the granting of citizenship?

Mrs. TILLINGHAST. No. That is the district director of naturalization. Our only connection with that department is to verify the arrivals of applicants for naturalization, as we have all of the records of arrivals.

Mr. NELSON. Do you know of any deportations at all to Russia since 1919, when they sent Emma Goldman, Alexander Bergman, and the Soviet army over there?

Mrs. TILLINGHAST. No; I do not.

Mr. NELSON. Well, in 1921, or thereabouts, they had seventy and odd Russians under orders of deportation at Ellis Island, did they not, and kept them there for months and then finally let them go?

Mrs. TILLINGHAST. I do not know; that was before I became commissioner.

Mr. NELSON. You have not been able to deport any from Boston?

Mrs. TILLINGHAST. No; I have not, to Russia. As I say, I have about 100 warrants in my files now.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there any other information you want to submit, or any recommendations?

Mrs. TILLINGHAST. I do not wish to make any recommendations orally. I would like to think that over and submit that to you in writing.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much. Now, is there any member of the American Civil Liberties Union here who wants to be heard? (No reply.)

The CHAIRMAN. Is there anybody present who would care to give any information in regard to communist activities?

Mr. JOLLES. Yes.

### TESTIMONY OF MORRIS JOLLES

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. Do you represent any organization?

Mr. JOLLES. Well, I am a member of the Socialist Party.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you hold any office in the Socialist Party?

Mr. JOLLES. No; I was a candidate for representative at the last election.

The CHAIRMAN. On the ticket of the Socialist Party?

Mr. JOLLES. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you any connection with the Communist Party?

Mr. JOLLES. None.

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## The Emma Goldman Papers

890414391

Investigation of Communist Propaganda / [Special Committee to Investigate Communist Activities... House of Representatives]. — p. 81, 124 ; 23 cm. / In [Hearings before a Special Committee... House of Representatives, 71st Cong., 2nd Sess. — Pt. 1, Vol. 4 (Dec. 7 57 1930)].

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: The House of Representatives' report on communist propaganda explores ways to deport alien communists. They regret that the United States has deported very few radicals since Goldman and Berkman.

Notes: For related document, see 890414136.

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### INVESTIGATION OF COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA

tions for a change of that law, so it would be workable, so we could after proving those people are communists, advocating the overthrow of our Government by force and violence, deport them under the law to the countries that permit deportation; or whether we would suggest that we do not care whether those countries would receive them or not, but would just say "we do not want you any longer in this country; you are a guest here; you are an alien; you have violated the laws of the United States and we order you to leave this country within a week's time."

Mr. BONHAM. The difficulty, as I see it, in your suggestion is in trying to pass a law in America telling a foreign nation what it shall do in regard to people who are trying to get into their country.

The CHAIRMAN. Not at all; we do not care where they go. We serve notice on those aliens, who are guests of our country, that they have violated our laws and they must leave this country in two weeks time, or whatever it is, instead of putting them on a boat, paying their way to some other country, where the country does not want them anyhow. It must be self-evident they do not want those people, so I want to find out from you whether you have any suggestions to handle that situation.

Mr. BONHAM. Well, you could meet that by having some place, perhaps an island, where you could put those people and allow them to stay there or to go to some other country of their own choice, not requiring that they stay there but putting them there and not allowing them to come back to the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. You must be thoroughly familiar with the difficulties of deporting from the United States, because only 15 have been deported within the last five years.

Mr. BONHAM. The difficulty is not with the Russians in getting the other country to accept them, but in proving they are communists and getting the courts to sustain us. That is my experience.

Mr. NELSON. I understand in 1919 we gathered together about 250 of these radicals, including Emma Goldman and Alexander Bergman, and put them on a boat, and they marched up through the Estonian country and got across the Russian border.

Mr. BONHAM. Yes.

Mr. NELSON. That was in 1919. Then Russia closed the border. Now I have seen somewhere in these reports where in 1921 we had 70 Russians at Ellis Island, including a number of communists, and they could not deport them and finally had to release them. I think that is correct. It has also cropped up at various hearings that undesirable communists, pernicious communists, men who had been sentenced to deportation, because of no method of deportation, were still at large and still active in this country. I think that is true, is it not?

Mr. BONHAM. Yes.

Mr. NELSON. We have not deported anybody to Russia, then, since 1919?

Mr. BONHAM. Yes; they have deported a few.

Mr. NELSON. Well, how? We have no official relations with Russia. We can not get a passport from Russia. The Russian border is closed, and how have we deported anybody to Russia?

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## The Emma Goldman Papers

890414090

Investigation of Communist Propaganda [excerpt] / [Special Committee to Investigate Communist Activities... House of Representatives]. — p. 517 ; 23 cm. In [Hearings before a Special Committee... of the House of Representatives, 71st Congress, 2nd Session. — Pt. 1, Vol. 4 (Dec. 7 57 1930?)].

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: The House of Representatives' report on communist propaganda notes that the Federated Press printed Goldman and Berkman's appeals for political prisoners in Russia.

Notes: Barely legible. For related documents, see 89041409t and 890414t36.

### INVESTIGATION OF COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA

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#### "SCOOPS"—CHAIN PAPERS

The news enterprise of the Federated Press is best attested by the fact that the Chicago Tribune, which admits of being "the world's greatest newspaper," does not scorn to pick up scoops from the labor news service. An example was the Federated Press scoop on the strike ballots authorized by the biennial convention of the railway employees' department, A. F. of L. The most famous scoop was the news that Big Bill Haywood had jumped bail and escaped to Russia. The most recent one was the announcement of the arbitrator's award in the Chicago Typographical Union case.

A growing department of the Federated Press is the publication of chain papers, of which the Federated Press Bulletin is the most widely known. The daily press dispatches are utilized for the news matter of these weekly chain papers, with headlines and illustrations and cartoons to make a 12-page paper of three wide columns per page. One to four pages are reserved for local news and advertising for each chain paper. There are seven of these weeklies now published, serving communities in Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, and Iowa. Others are about to be organized.

All these matters are sources of pride to the friends of the Federated Press.

#### THE SAD FINANCIAL STORY!

But there is a sad financial story. The Federated Press is still dependent for a considerable proportion of its income on donations from individuals and from trade-unions. Fifty thousand dollars in bonds mature in 1925. News development is hampered on every hand by lack of operating capital. The organization has, however, survived the unprecedentedly lean labor years following the war-time boom, which critics sometimes forget. Many labor papers during that period went under, and many of those who struggled through did so in part by postponing payments of their assessments to the Federated Press.

The Federated Press is unable, with its present equipment, to furnish an all-around service. As an impartial labor news service it must concentrate on the most vital news demanded by its member papers. It supplements and corrects the other services. One of its most pleasant duties, for example, is keeping watch over the devils course of its neighbor, the Chicago Tribune. A triumph in this department was the reprinting in mat form of an alleged false picture published by the Tribune as a photograph of the soviet bullets, supposedly showered upon the hungry in Moscow in 1921, together with the Tribune's recantation the next day with the confession that the photograph actually pictured a street scene in Petrograd during the war, and had previously appeared before in the Tribune in the issue of November 4, 1917, before the bolsheviks came into power.

#### ENEMIES AND FRIENDS.

The enemies of the Federated Press, who first disdained to notice us, are now active and far-reaching in their hostility. The inner circle of the A. F. of L. have launched heavy attacks, culminating at the 1922 convention. The accusations are in large measure a tribute to the success of the Federated Press in maintaining a news service that caters to all factions in the labor movement.

It has reported, for example, the bitter attacks made by Samuel Gompers on William Z. Foster, and it has printed Foster's reply. It has presented both sides of the John L. Lewis-Alexander Hownt controversy among the United Mine Workers. It has kept abreast of the fight between Andrew Furuseth's International Seamen's Union and the Maritime Transport Workers (I. W. W.). It has carried the charges of Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman regarding bad treatment of political prisoners in Russia, and the plea of Anatole France and of Eugene V. Debs that they be given better treatment, as well as the favorable reports of visitors to the Soviet Republic. Serving no one group exclusively, it has drawn down the wrath of the faction at present dominating the A. F. of L.

Friends and enemies seem to be confident that the Federated Press will survive. The A. F. of L. inner circle would not waste ammunition on a dying institution.

Its friends see in it the first successful co-operative enterprise on a national and international scale undertaken by the joint efforts of dissenters of all

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

Investigation of Communist Propaganda [excerpt] / Special Committee to Investigate Communist Activities... House of Representatives. — p. 169-170 ; 23 cm. In Hearings before a Special Committee... of the House of Representatives, 71st Congress, 2nd Session. — Pt. 1, Vol. 4 (Dec. 5, 1930).

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: Louis McGrew, editor of *The Labor World* in Pittsburgh, testifies on the history of communism in that area, beginning with Goldman.

## INVESTIGATION OF COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA

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Mr. Eslick. Those interracial dances—are they promoted by communists?

Mrs. Holloway. Well, each one I have read about, they have met at the hall where the communists have their meetings, where they had the interracial dances, so I suppose the communists would have charge of it.

Mr. Eslick. It is the regular meeting place, anyway, of the communists?

Mrs. Holloway. No; they say it is at Elks Hall, and for all of these communist meetings they go to this headquarters up on Madison Avenue. Then they have numerous headquarters; there is one on East Baltimore Street, one on Madison Avenue, one on Kenyon Street. I think I have read of the one on Greene Street. In fact, there are a good many others of which I have not the addresses here and would prefer not to give until I verify my statement.

The Chairman. Thank you very much for appearing before us and giving this information.

Mrs. Holloway. I thank you very much for the privilege of speaking for my State on what I feel is a very vital time in the history of our country.

## TESTIMONY OF LOUIS MCGREW

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

The Chairman. State your full name.

Mr. McGrew. Louis McGrew.

The Chairman. Do you represent any organization?

Mr. McGrew. No.

The Chairman. From what city do you come?

Mr. McGrew. Pittsburgh.

The Chairman. You appear here as an individual and not as the representative of any organization?

Mr. McGrew. I am the editor of a newspaper.

The Chairman. What newspaper?

Mr. McGrew. The Labor World, of Pittsburgh.

The Chairman. Will you proceed and tell the committee what information you have in regard to communist activities in this country, and tell us particularly what you know about any communist activities in Pittsburgh?

Mr. McGrew. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, you gentlemen have invited me to come here and testify on communism and particularly concerning the Pittsburgh district. I will not take much of your time, but will bring out a few things I can not find in your record.

I am the editor of the Labor World, at Pittsburgh, Pa. Our paper at one time carried a lot of union indorsements, but, in 1900, when I took control of the paper, we dropped all of our indorsements in order that we might be untrammelled in fighting the radical and other socialists and anarchists who were then trying to gain control of the labor movement.

We are pioneers in advocating what the American Federation of Labor now advocates in these matters. The labor press at that time was crowded with socialist papers. These have all been weeded out except the press of the Socialist Party and the Communist Party too.

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## The Emma Goldman Papers

Investigation of Communist Propaganda [excerpt] / Special Committee to Investigate Communist Activities... House of Representatives. — p. 169-170 ; 23 cm. In Hearings before a Special Committee... of the House of Representatives, 71st Congress, 2nd Session. — Pt. 1, Vol. 4 (Dec. 5, 1930).

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: Louis McGrew, editor of *The Labor World* in Pittsburgh, testifies on the history of communism in that area, beginning with Goldman.

I was down here in April, 1928, testifying before the Senate coal hearings on communism, and I would suggest that you add this to your record. It has been garbled some and names changed by some—I do not know who—but I have straightened this out as given for your record.

Mr. BACHMANN. We already have a report of those hearings in the Senate.

Mr. McGREW. Well I would like to have my record changed, because there have been a lot of names changed. I do not know for what purpose it was done; I think I know who did and why it was done, but that is none of my business. I would like for you to have it right.

I have read a great deal of the testimony before this committee. It is very good. It covers the case, is by excellent witnesses, so I will endeavor to add but little to it, most of which will be matters I do not find in your record, although I may be mistaken about this.

Over in the Pittsburgh district, since about 1890, we have had almost continuously the various groups of radicals, starting with the anarchist group, but followed by Emma Goldman, Berkman, Schulerberg, Merrick, Trotsky, Etter, and finally Bill Foster, and the communist group. I might say they get off the ship and they come into the anthracite region of the Pittsburgh district, and then go to Ohio, and then farther West. I have followed these groups on both coasts and in the Pittsburgh district in many places personally and through our own staff and various other organizations, but also the bureau American and the Department of Labor. In 1897, 1898, and 1899 I visited nearly every iron and steel mill in the United States east of the Mississippi River, and as far East as Harrisburg, and as far South as Birmingham, Ala. I noticed that the men in the mills were studying socialism, but particularly Marxonian socialism, which is at the bottom of all our labor troubles and the basis of communism. The present communist government is the scheme of Carl Marx as outlined and suggested by DeLeon, probably the ablest of all the Marxonian socialists.

The I. W. W. had much the same scheme at one time, and the American Communist Party has abandoned its original scheme of "boring within" the unions. It has right-about faced, is breaking them up and building its own, and is practically the DeLeon scheme of the I. W. W., with the political aspect which he advocated. The group that organized the Soviet Government in Russia—Lenin, Trotsky, and others—were in the United States and affiliated with the I. W. W. Trotsky was in Pittsburgh as a bookbinder for a considerable length of time and on the I. W. W. board, and helped to get out a paper up there called Justice, which had a greater circulation in the steel mills than all the papers in Pittsburgh put together. In December, 1918, Bill Foster came to Pittsburgh and organized the steel workers. Foster had been an anarchist syndicalist with the Seattle (Wash.) Call, a radical daily; then he became active in the I. W. W.

After Foster had been in Pittsburgh about six weeks he was pointed out to me on the street. His office was about a block and a half from ours. I immediately recognized him as an I. W. W. who had been connected with Solidarity, the eastern official organ of the

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

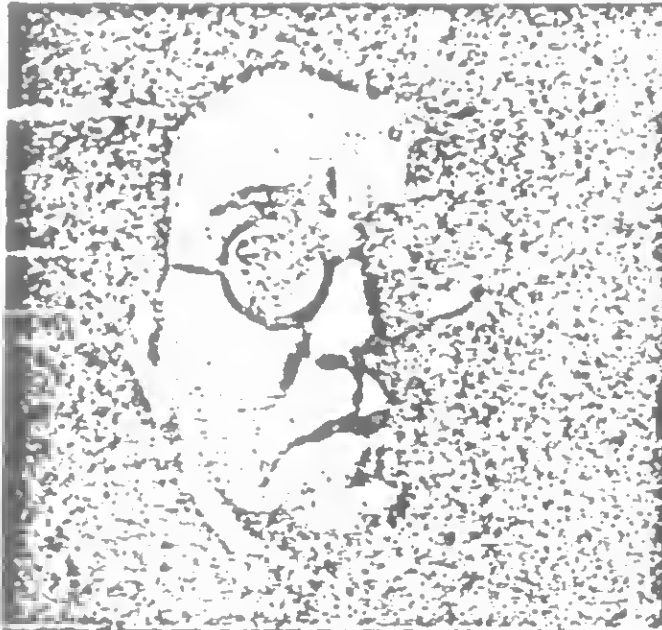
870708070

[Letter, 1931 Oct. 7 to Bureau of Investigation? Department of Justice?, Washington, D.C.?] / An Alien American. — 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: An anonymous writer warns that Goldman's autobiography is about to be distributed in the United States.

Notes: Handwritten on Publisher's Weekly advertisement.



121-291  
The Publ. Weekly  
Week of Oct. 10  
RECORDED  
&  
INDEXED  
61-291-120  
Dr. Four

## You Know This Woman

*This is the back cover of the Publisher's Weekly N.Y. City.*

*You may wish to know the contents of this publication before it is scattered broadcast among impressionable Americans.*

*I am sending this for your information list-g.n. may not know of it.*

For fifty years she fought bitterly against a world whose standards she could not accept. She was implicated in the assassination of a president and admittedly responsible for acts of gravest violence. She was arrested for lecturing on Ibsen, yet was never punished for her part in the attempted murder of a great industrialist. She edited a magazine and experienced all the horrors of solitary prison confinement. She had dozens of lovers yet never believed herself unfaithful to her first great love. She had practically no schooling, yet she writes vibrant, vivid prose, potent and sincere.

**SHE IS EMMA GOLDMAN**

who, after fifty turbulent years, has paused to write their thrilling history. Omitting no detail, however intimate, she pours forth the true story of a career that has always been front page copy. Justly enough, she calls this memoir

**Living My Life**

To be published Oct. 23rd. 13 illustrations; 6 1/4" x 9 1/2" 993 pp. and index. Two volumes, \$7.50

ALFRED A. KNOPF  
730 FIFTH AVENUE · N · Y ·

HIDER PRESS, INC., NEW YORK

*An Alien American*

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1931 Nov. 30, Atlantic City, N.J. [to Nugent Dodds, Assistant Attorney General] Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. / Mary N. Hendrickson.— 1 p.; 32 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 60.

Summary: Hendrickson believes that the Department of Justice should not allow Goldman to publish *Living My Life* in the United States.

Notes: For reply, see 810930116.

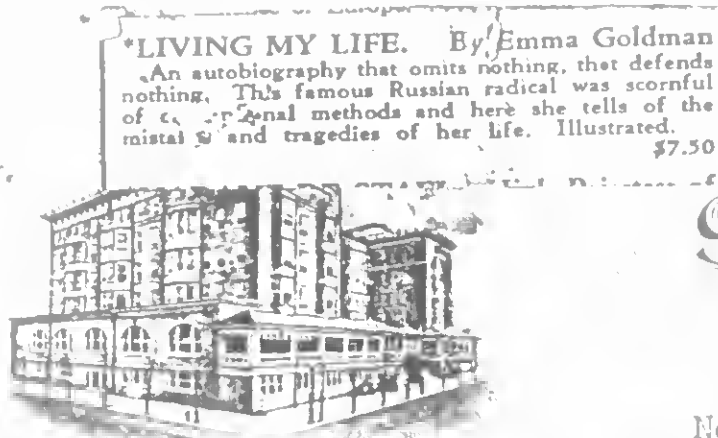
C O P Y

from

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

Record Group No. 60

General Records of the Department of Justice  
D. J. Central Files — Straight Numerical Files  
File Number 133149



**"LIVING MY LIFE."** By Emma Goldman  
An autobiography that omits nothing, that defends nothing. This famous Russian radical was scornful of conventional methods and here she tells of the mistakes and tragedies of her life. Illustrated. \$7.50

Galen Hall  
Atlantic City, N.J.

November 30, 1931.

Department of Justice,  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sirs:

This morning, in a book catalogue from John Wanamaker, Philadelphia, Penna., I note the offering of "Living My Life," by Emma Goldman, at \$7.50; on inquiry at the library here, I find it is published by Knopf, and came out this month.

Once before, I wrote you about her book, "My Disillusionment in Russia," and now, again, I should like to know how it can be that this woman, deported from this country, as I understand it never to be allowed to return, is allowed to publish her books in this country. Granted, people are not obliged to buy them, but why is she permitted to have them published here if she may not come into the country? If she was here, Americans might profit by such money as she might spend here, but if her books sell, she profits as against people here if they buy her books.

I am sending a copy of this letter to the National Security League, of which I am a member, as I did with the other letter I wrote you about this woman's other book.

Yours very truly,

(Miss) *Mary N. Hendrickson,*  
Galen Hall,

Atlantic City, N. J.

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1931 Dec. 7 [Washington, D.C. to] Mary N. Hendrickson, Atlantic City, N.J. / Nugent Dodds, Assistant Attorney General [Department of Justice]. — 1 p. ; 34 x 22 cm. Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 60.

**Summary:** Dodds informs Hendrickson that no federal law allows the Justice Department to stop publication of Goldman's book.

**Notes:** Reply to 870806001.

COPY

from

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

Record Group No. 60

General Records of the Department of Justice

D. J. Central Files — Straight Numerical Files

File Number 133149

ND

133149

DEC 8 1931

December 7, 1931.

HAF-kcc

Miss Mary N. Hendrickson,  
Galen Hall,  
Atlantic City, N. J.

E. J.

Madam:

Replying to your letter of the 30th ultimo, complaining of the publication of a book entitled "Living My Life" by Emma Goldman, I beg to advise you that it does not appear that there is any Federal law under which this Department would have jurisdiction concerning such publications.

Respectfully,  
For the Attorney General:

(signed) Nugent Dodds

NUGENT DODDS,  
Assistant Attorney General.



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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Report: Emma Goldman in Copenhagen] 1932 Feb. 15 / Legazione d'Italia. —  
2 p.; 35 x 24 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from Archivio Centrale dello Stato, Rome.

Summary: The Italian Legation in Copenhagen transmits excerpts from Goldman's speech on the dictatorships in Russia, Italy, and Germany.

Notes: In Italian. Broken type; barely legible. Enclosed with 880511022.



*Regia Legazione d'Italia*  
*Copenaghen*

TELESPRESSO N. 119/50.

*indirizzato a*

Regio Ministero degli Affari Esteri  
R o m a

*Copenaghen, 15* Febbraio 1932- X.

*Posizione* 3

*Oggetto* Emma Goldmann a Copenaghen.

*Riferimento*

*Testo*

E' venuta a Copenaghen Emma G O L D M A N N, definita dai giornali "la nota anarchica tedesca-russa-ebrea-americana-inglese". Essa ha tenuto una conferenza alla "Associazione degli Studenti" (Studenterforeningen).

Questa Associazione l'aveva invitata a parlare della Russia, ma essa ha preferito parlare delle dittature in Russia, in Italia, ed in Germania (movimento hitleriano). Ha detto male di tutti

" Lenin era un grande idealista e sognatore. Come risultato dei suoi sogni si può constatare che in Russia, spezzate e distrutte le immagini religiose, si è appeso al loro posto il ritratto di Lenin".

" Mussolini, come dittatore, non ha mai avuto un'idea originale. Senza Lenin egli sarebbe oggi un semplice reporter di decimo rango di qualche giornale socialdemocratico. Mussolini ha l'idea fissa di essere una reincarnazione di Giulio Cesare del quale vuole occupare il trono. Ma lungo è il cammino che gli resta da percorrere".

" Nelle sue conseguenze la dittatura di Lenin è da rigettare si come qualsiasi altra dittatura. Un mondo di disillusi con l'enorme peso delle conseguenze della crisi è proclive a vedere nel piano quinquennale una panacea. Il piano quinquennale viene considerato come una meteora caduta dall'alto. Ma poche settima-

*Alleg. N.*

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

890721014

[Report: Emma Goldman in Copenhagen] 1932 Feb. 15 / Legazione d'Italia. —  
2 p. ; 35 x 24 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from Archivio Centrale dello Stato, Rome.

Summary: The Italian Legation in Copenhagen transmits excerpts from Goldman's speech on the dictatorships in Russia, Italy, and Germany.

Notes: In Italian. Broken type; barely legible. Enclosed with 880511022.



Regia Legazione d'Italia  
Copenaghen

TELESPRESSO N°

indirizzata a

Copenaghen, li

Posizione

Oggetto

Riferimento

Testo

fra i capi del bolscevismo, riuniti in congresso, riconobbero il fallimento del piano. Il popolo non può nutrirsi nè di macchinari nè di opifici colossali. In Russia non vige una dittatura proletaria, ma una dittatura sul proletariato. Gli operai sono oggi meno liberi, in Russia, di quanto lo fossero ai tempi dello Tsarismo: la potenza dello Tsar era unicamente politica: quella della dittatura è anche economica."

"Le dittature sono corte perchè ormai il mondo non si nutre più che di principi materialisti: l'idealismo non ha più valore. Dall'alto di un benessere generale siamo precipitati nella miseria e ci siamo trasformati in pezzenti. Per soffocare le aspirazioni delle masse occorre un "macchinismo speciale": la dittatura. Ma le dittature, siano di Lenin, di Mussolini, di Hitler o di qualsiasi altro, non durano: oggi ci sono, domani non più".

"Il mio grande sogno, conosciuta la Goldmann, è una libera collaborazione fra grandi uomini e donne che abbiano volontà di agire per il bene dell'umanità. E per questo io combatterò fino all'ultimo contro le dittature, ovunque esse sorgano".

La Goldmann, nel ringraziare degli applausi tributati da un auditorio composto in gran parte di donne, ha aggiunto:

"Vi ringrazio degli applausi. Purtroppo, quando parlo, in America, mi prendono a sassate."

Alleg N°

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## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1932 Feb. 26, San Francisco [to J. Edgar Hoover] Director, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. [excerpt] / [Agent?] Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice. — 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: The San Francisco Bureau of Investigation office asks for information linking a woman who supported *The Blast* to German spy efforts during World War I.

Notes: Broken type. Censored by FBI.

U. S. Department of Justice  
Bureau of Investigation  
P. O. Box 507  
San Francisco, Calif.  
February 26, 1932

Director,  
Bureau of Investigation,  
Department of Justice,  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

Following is copy of a communication received from the ~~██████████~~  
~~██████████~~, relative to a ~~██████████~~, which is self-explanatory:

"Will you kindly communicate with the Chief of The Department of Justice, Washington, D. C., and obtain for us, the following information: .

"Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman were arrested in New York for entering into conspiracy against this government during the World War.

~~██████████~~ a resident of New York, was associated with Alexander Berkman in various enterprises.

"In 1915, she sent \$500.00 to Berkman to start the "Blast", an extremely radical newspaper in this city. This paper violently attacked the patriotic citizens of this city for participating in the Preparedness Parade. This parade was bombed and 10 people were killed and 40 more injured. ~~██████████~~ immediately forwarded \$1000.00 to defend Mooney and Billings who were arrested for this crime.

"We would like to obtain all the information connecting ~~██████████~~ with the German Secret Agents. When Berkman was arrested in New York, communications were found in the office of the "Blast" in New York or in Berkman's possession, definitely connecting him with the Hindu Conspiracy. We have reason to believe that ~~██████████~~ was working with the German Foreign Agents in New York City.

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372

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1932 Feb. 26, San Francisco [to J. Edgar Hoover] Director, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. / [Agent?] Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice. — 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

**Summary:** The San Francisco Bureau of Investigation office asks for information linking a woman who supported *The Blast* to German spy efforts during World War I.

**Notes:** Censored by FBI. For more complete version, see 870708089.

U. S. Department of Justice  
Bureau of Investigation  
P. O. Box 507  
San Francisco, Calif.

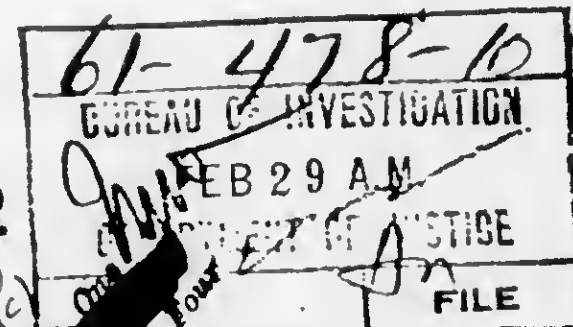
February 26, 1932

249,870  
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 3/14/79 BY 2333

7-9-85  
Director,  
Bureau of Investigation,  
Department of Justice,  
Washington, D. C.

MAR 7 - 1932



Dear Sir:

Following is copy of a communication received from [redacted] which is self-explanatory:

"Will you kindly communicate with the Chief of The Department of Justice, Washington, D. C., and obtain for us, the following information:

"Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman were arrested in New York for entering into conspiracy against this government during the World War.

[redacted] would like all information possible on this subject.

"Thanking you, I am"

(4) (7) (c) (8) (9) (d) outside of copies

Reply  
3/14/32

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

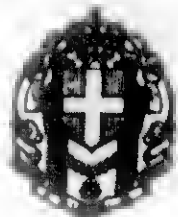
880511022

[Memorandum] 1932 March 28, Rome [to] Ministero dell'Interno, [Rome] / Ministero degli Affari Esteri. — 1 p. ; 30 x 24 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from Archivio Centrale dello Stato, Rome.

Summary: The Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs sends the Ministry of the Interior a report on Goldman's speech at the anarchist conference in Copenhagen.

Notes: In Italian. For enclosure, see 890721014.



TELESPRESSO N.306577

Ministero degli Affari Esteri

Indirizzo a # - 952

Riservato 3985

SERVIZIO CORRISPONDENZA ED ARCHIVI

Ufficio 1°



R. MINISTERO DELL'INTERNO  
Direzione Generale della P.S.  
Affari Generali e Riservati

e, per conoscenza:

ALLA DIREZIONE GENERALE E.L.A.

Posizione B.63.2165.1931

Roma, addì

28 MAR 1932 Anno X

193

Anno .....

(Oggetto) Conferenza dell'anarchica E. GOLDMANN a Copenhagen.

(Riferimento)

(Testo) Per opportuna conoscenza si ha il pregio di trasmettere copia del teletypewriter della R. Legazione a Copenhagen n.119/50 del 15 febbraio u.s. riguardante l'argomento in oggetto.

Ordine di

L. Bucci

Indicare nella risposta la data, il numero di protocollo, la Direzione, l'Ufficio e la posizione.

ALLEG.

N. 1/.

20.1.8

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Review of the Danish Press, Copenhagen, 1932 April 1-15 (excerpt)] / [Department of State]. — 2 p. ; 32 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: The Review of the Danish Press summarizes Goldman's lecture in Copenhagen on conditions in the United States.

Notes: Enclosed with 810617060.

Decimal File 859.911 / 39

- 15 -

theater in Washington the night President Lincoln was murdered. Not long afterward he returned to Denmark. His love for America was manifest through the years. In the office of his firm in Copenhagen hangs his framed American citizenship and a picture of himself painted with the American flag in the background. (Dagens Nyheder)

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The unemployment in Denmark has dropped to 129,336 on April 8 from 138,075 the week before. (Berlingske Tidende)

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The Director of the Physiological Department of the Carlsberg Laboratories in Copenhagen, Professor Johannes Schmidt, has been invited by the Harvard University to lecture at the university during the coming winter semester. (Berlingske Tidende)

-----  
The Russian-American anarchist, Mrs. Emma Goldman, who spoke in Copenhagen not long ago by invitation of the Students' Union, is again visiting Copenhagen, this time as the guest of "The Society for the Protection of Personal Liberty" before which she lectured on April 11. Her remarks were mainly directed against the conditions in the United States to-day where, she said, personality had either ceased to exist altogether or was artificially upheld.

311.6124  
Goldman  
Emma

375



## The Emma Goldman Papers

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upheld. She also reviewed the question of prohibition and said that life - public and private - was poisoned by it; the police were working officially to maintain it, but behind the scenes they helped the smugglers.

Mrs. Goldman's lecture was warmly applauded by an almost full house.

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Prince Peter of Greece (and Denmark), son of Prince George and grandson of the Danish Prince, King George I of Greece, will this summer enter the Danish military school at Jägersborg. (Politiken)

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859.0073

Communist demonstrations in Copenhagen on April 14 against reduction in unemployment relief resulted in skirmishes with the police in which three officers were badly though not seriously hurt. The demonstrators, numbering a couple of thousand, marched through the city and assembled as usual in front of the City Hall where speeches were made. No disorders occurred until the evening when the Communists tried to force their way into a general meeting held by the labor organizations in one of their halls. The police intervened and the Communists replied by throwing stones at them. It took an extra police squad to restore order.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1932 April 18, Copenhagen [to Henry L. Stimson] Secretary of State [Department of State], Washington, D.C. / F.W.B. Coleman, United States Legation [Department of State]. — 1 p. ; 34 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Coleman sends the American Legation's Review of the Danish Press to Washington, D.C.

Notes: For enclosure, see 870807000.



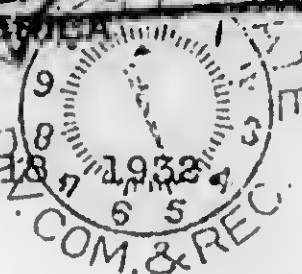
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LEGATION OF THE  
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

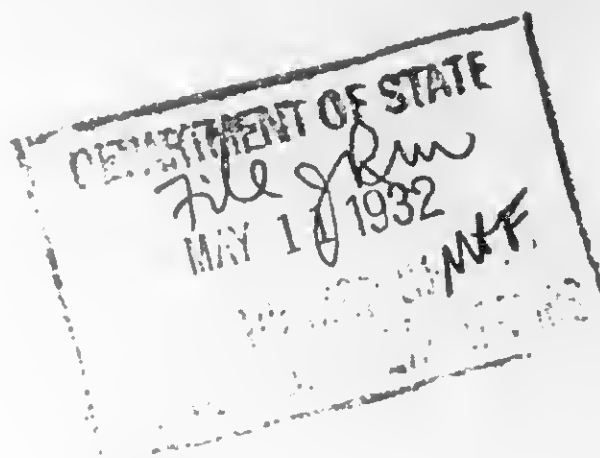
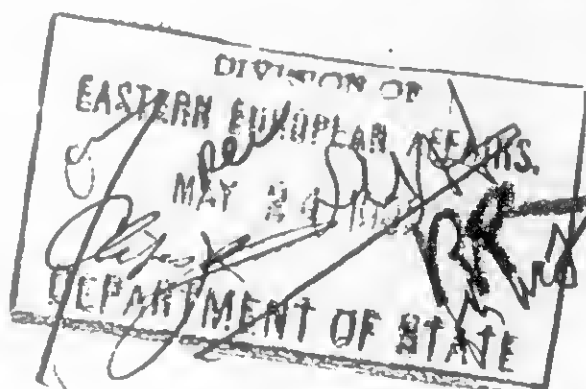
Copenhagen, April 18, 1932

LEGAL ADVISOR  
MAY 21 1932

DEPARTMENT OF STATE



REVIEW OF THE DANISH PRESS MAY 10 32



FP 859.9111/39

FOR DISTRIBUTION - CHECK		Yes	No
To the Field			
In U. S. &			

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington, D.C.

Sir:

I have the honor to enclose herewith a Review of the Danish Press for the period from April 1 to April 15, 1932.

Respectfully yours

*F. W. B. Coleman*

F. W. B. Coleman.

Enclosure: ✓  
Review of the Danish Press

File No. 800

Two copies to E.I.C., Paris

C/GNA

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

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In the Matter of the Application Made on Behalf of Thomas J. Mooney for a Pardon,  
1932 April 21 [excerpt] / Matt I. Sullivan, Special Adviser to the Governor of California. — 20 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

**Summary:** Sullivan argues against a pardon for Thomas Mooney.

**Notes:** Broken type; portions illegible. Includes only those pages that mention Goldman.

## In the Matter of the Application

Made on Behalf of

Thomas J. Mooney  
for a Pardon

Decision of Hon. James Rolph, Jr., Governor of  
the State of California, Together with the  
Report of Hon. Matt I. Sullivan, Former  
Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of  
the State of California, and Special  
Adviser to the Governor in  
the Above Entitled  
Proceeding

SACRAMENTO, CALIFORNIA

APRIL 21, 1932



CALIFORNIA STATE PRINTING OFFICE  
HARRY HANCOCK, STATE PRINTER  
SACRAMENTO, 1932

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### JUDGE GRIFIN'S POSITION NOT JUSTIFIED BY THE FACTS

We have inserted in full the foregoing telegram and letter from Judge Dunne to offset the effect of the fulminations of Judge Franklin A. Griffin, a much younger judge, in favor of Mooney's pardon. No one who knows Judge Griffin can seriously question his integrity. He is an honest man, an able lawyer and an upright judge. We regret, however, to state that in our opinion he has made a grave mistake in advocating Mooney's pardon, in view of the overwhelming evidence against Billings, Mooney's coconspirator. Judge Griffin bases his conduct on the alleged false testimony given by Frank C. Oxman on the trial of Mooney, and Oxman's letter to Bigall.

If Oxman's testimony constituted the only material evidence connecting Mooney with the crime, Judge Griffin's attitude would be commendable, and all fairminded men would agree with him, but Oxman's testimony was not indispensable in support of the People's case against Mooney. If we eliminate Oxman's testimony in its entirety, more than sufficient evidence remains to justify Mooney's conviction. Oxman did not testify at the trial of Billings. Yet the evidence at the trial clearly established the guilt of Billings.

### MOONEY CAN NOT BE INNOCENT IF BILLINGS IS GUILTY

If Mooney had been tried jointly with Billings, as could have been done under our rules of practice and procedure, judgment of conviction against both, based solely upon the evidence in the Billings case, would have been unassailable. As Frank C. Oxman was not a witness in the Billings case, his testimony against Mooney, whether true or false, had no bearing whatever upon the guilt or innocence of Billings. Billings' guilt was established beyond a reasonable doubt and to moral certainty by facts and circumstances which should convince all unprejudiced minds. Billings having been proven guilty, it follows that Mooney is also guilty, regardless of the testimony of Oxman, in Mooney's case.

### WAS MOONEY CAPABLE OF COMMITTING THE CRIME OF WHICH HE WAS CONVICTED?

Before considering the evidence upon which Mooney and Billings were found guilty, it is well to consider whether or not Mooney was capable of committing the hideous crime of which he was convicted. Mooney's letters and public utterances, his criminal activities before his arrest, his association with Alexander Berkman, Emma Goldman and other anarchists who preach and practice "direct action" and sanction or condone every kind of crime, even murder, in the war of "Rebels" against the State, his lack of patriotism, his fanatical oppo-

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sition to my preparation for the first day in anticipation of its entry into the World War and his connection with the "Black" and the "Blasters" clearly indicate that he was capable of committing the crime for which he is now paying the penalty.

### THE CONTRA COSTA COUNTY DYNAMITING PLOT INCIDENT

One event in his career which happened two and a half years before the day of the Preparedness parade proves beyond question that he is and was capable of committing the crime which resulted in the slaughter of ten and the mutilation of more than two score men, women and children on the twenty-second day of July, 1916.

On Christmas Day in the year 1913, when peace and good will were presumed to prevail among the people in all Christian countries, Mooney and two associates, Joe Brown and H. G. Haulen, concocted a plot, which if carried to its intended conclusion might have been more calamitous in its results than the bomb explosion at Stewart and Market streets.

In 1912 and 1914 a strike of the employees of the Pacific Gas and Electric Company was pending. Mooney, though never employed by or connected with the company, contributed his services, whether for pay or not is immaterial, to the work of destroying the company's property.

On December 25, 1915, Mooney purchased from one Gust Gregores a fishing boat and received a bill of sale for the same. After the purchase he placed aboard the boat an infernal machine with a timing clock device similar to that contained in the suitcase deposited by Billings on Stewart Street near Market. The clock was set for 12.30 o'clock. It was attached by wire to thirteen ever-ready batteries. The batteries were wired together and connected with 565 feet of annunciator wiring. This wire was soldered to fourteen electric exploders or blasting caps of fulminate of mercury. The caps were set at certain distances apart corresponding exactly with the distance apart of the girders of fourteen piers of the tower of the Pacific Gas and Electric Company located on the north side of Carquinez Straits in Contra Costa County.

This tower was 225 feet high. It sustained wires which carried sixty thousand volts of electricity equivalent to a hundred thousand horsepower. These wires furnished electric energy to Oakland, Alameda, Berkeley, San Francisco, San Angelo Peninsula and San Jose.

Mooney and his confederates intended to destroy this tower. If the tower had been destroyed, one-third of the territory supplied through these wires would have been left in utter darkness during the Christmas holidays or until proper steps had been taken to restore the service. If the tower had been dynamited, aside from the great

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*at this instant.* The Defense League would like to have you come on here to help to pay off its debt that was incurred in my defense and also the defense of Ford and Sule, who were convicted of murder in a strike on the hop fields and were sentenced to life at Folsom Prison, Cal."

### THERE IS NO PRESUMPTION OF INNOCENCE AFTER CONVICTION

Mooney having been adjudged guilty of the Preparedness Day crime, no presumption of innocence in his favor can be indulged. The presumption of innocence was destroyed by the judgment of conviction and can not be indulged for the purpose of determining his guilt or innocence. In fact the final judgment of conviction necessitates a conclusive presumption of guilt, the effect of which can be removed by executive clemency only.

Mooney does not come before the Governor as a penitent, craving pardon for his offense, but he bases his plea on the ground that he is absolutely innocent. He asserts that he will accept from the Governor naught but an unconditional pardon. We are satisfied that he is guilty and is not entitled to the pardon.

Not only do the dynamiting operations in which Mooney engaged prior to his conviction show his criminal instincts, but his declarations privately and publicly expressed, his association with Alexander Berkman, Emma Goldman and other notorious anarchists who preach and practice anarchism and sanction or condone even murder in their war against society sufficiently indicate that he is and was capable of committing the crime for which he is now paying the penalty.

From his early manhood Mooney has been a fanatical radical and avowed anarchist. He stated in his letter to Mother Jones, "I toured the country on the Red Special with Gene Debs in 1908." He was then twenty-five years of age. He and those with whom he associated have contempt for all religions, all laws and all forms of existing civilized government. He favors direct action and force and violence to change the existing social and political conditions. Mooney's background is decidedly against him. His life history before his conviction portrays a character which indicates that he was capable of committing the Preparedness Day crime.

### WHAT THE GOVERNOR SHOULD CONSIDER IN DECIDING MOONEY'S APPLICATION FOR PARDON

Under our State Constitution, the Governor has the power to grant or refuse a pardon to Mooney. It is a matter of discretion with him whether he shall exercise that power favorably or adversely to

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fair and honest trial, that he was tried without council to represent him. We demand you to act in his behalf. We ask you to pardon him if you are in favor of justice. If you are not in favor of Justice, then you can only be expected to be treated as you would treat all men. This defense league is on record to do all in its power morally, financially and otherwise to defend Joe Hillstrom, and we are not going to see any working man perish without being avenged, when we are satisfied he was not proven guilty of the crime charged in our estimation. Every principle of a fair trial was denied this man, and this is our principle reason for acting as we do at this time. We are for Justice for the Workers every where and all of the time. Hillstrom did not get it yet, and it remains for yourself as Governor to prove yourself a man, by seeing to it that the name of the State of Utah was not placed on the black list of the same. *If Utah takes this life it is up to you. Act, and Act right, or others will act right. Our demand is that Hillstrom be pardoned. Remember it, dont for get us it dont pay in this day of fairness to do otherwise.*"

Governor Spry paid no attention to this demand, and Hillstrom was executed in pursuance of the judgment of conviction against him.

## THE "BLAST" AND THE "BLASTERS" AND MOONEY'S CONNECTION WITH SAME

Mooney's "Revolt" was short-lived and was followed by another revolutionary paper called "The Blast," published and edited by Alexander Berkman a notorious anarchist. He is the same Berkman who in 1892 in cold blood attempted to assassinate Henry C. Frick, then a steel magnate of Pennsylvania. He had no personal grievance against Frick, but sought to murder him as an enemy of the cause for which Berkman stood. He entered Frick's private office armed with a revolver and a dagger. He aimed deliberately at Frick and fired several shots. Though seriously wounded, Frick was not killed, and perceiving that the bullets from the revolver had not the desired effect, Berkman attempted to finish his murderous work with a dagger but attendants prevented the consummation of the intended crime.

For this attempted assassination, Berkman was sent to the Pennsylvania penitentiary for the term of 21 years. After serving his sentence, he came to California, located in Los Angeles and there took the lead in the campaign to save from the gallows Caplan and Schmidt, jointly indicted with the McNamara brothers for the wholesale slaughter of innocent victims at the time the Los Angeles Times Building was dynamited. Having finished his labors in southern California, he came to San Francisco and with Mooney's assistance, launched the "Blast" and continued its publication until shortly after the Preparedness Day tragedy.

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He then went to New York, where he was convicted of felony for a crime committed in the federal penitentiary. Both were subsequently reported as undesirable citizens to Russia, the land of their birth.

In October, 1915, from Los Angeles he came across Mrs. J. S. Cram, a prominent socialist, and her husband, a publisher of a radical newspaper. In that letter he said:

"I have talked this matter over with some of our best workers here and in S. F. and they are all very keen about it. We could have a gathering of people in S. F. as a gathering point, or to speak of the 'Reds' in the United States, among the socialist, socialists, anarchists, and I. W. W. Such a paper would be a powerful factor in the labor movement of America."

I think this is the psychological moment for an anti-military campaign but it would have to be planned in a systematic manner and carried out effectively."

Berkman soon got in touch with Mr. E. D. Morton, another anarchist, and on October 23, 1915, requested him to write to Mooney on the subject of publishing the paper. Morton wrote to Mooney and also Ed Nolan, who was subsequently indicted with Mooney for conspiracy in the Preparedness Day shooting. In that letter Morton said:

"I have been talking over with Berkman the matter that was mentioned shortly before you left, relative to the establishment of a radical labor paper in San Francisco. You will probably remember that at that time it was suggested that Berkman, Tom and myself possibly might form a combination that would make it go. I do not know whether you have talked this matter over with Tom, but I am sending him a copy of this letter."

The idea is, as I understand it, to establish a paper free from any particular 'ism,' dealing with the Labor Movement from the Revolutionary viewpoint.

I would like to have you (Tom) and I'd take this matter up so as to ascertain the best possible way to get started with this project. I would also like to have you get some of the 'Reds' together with a view of obtaining their cooperation."

"Tom" referred to in the foregoing letter is Tom Mooney.

On the same day that Morton wrote this letter, Berkman wrote to Nolan, saying:

"I'm going up to S. F. for about a week. In the interest of the paper I spoke to you about. This moment is very much taken with the idea he had of a conference there with a good strong weekly."

I want to talk things over with you & Mooney personally. Could I see both of you sometime? Say in your hotel or anywhere else you choose. You could also write Kasat, if you wish;

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but nobody else for Tuesday evening. We'll talk matters over among ourselves first, then we'll take the necessary steps."

On October 27, Morton wrote another letter to Ed Nolan and Tom Mooney, in which, referring to the contemplated publication he said:

"To succeed, it (the paper) must have some individuality to it. I believe that the combination of Berkman, Mooney and myself is about as good a working combination as we are able to pick up. With Rena and Fitz on the job as they always are, I think we could make things amounting a little."

After consultation and agreements, by all parties concerned, it was determined to publish the "Blast." Berkman became its publisher and editorial writer. Morton became associate editor, and Elsie Fitzgerald (Mary Eleanor Fitzgerald) became its business manager. Mooney himself, as one of the combination, became the most active solicitor for subscribers. At one time he procured sixty subscribers, whose names and addresses were written with his own hand, he himself leading the list. A form of letter was sent out by Berkman to those supposed to be interested in the paper, in which he said:

"Knowing your interest in the labor movement, Tom Mooney asked us to put your name on the "Blast" subscription list, and we have been sending you the paper for some time. I hope you like The "Blast" and find it worthy of support," etc.

All subscribers and those in sympathy with the policy of the paper publicly proclaimed themselves as the "Blasters" and were generally so known in San Francisco.

### THE BLAST AN ADVOCATE OF LIBER AND ASSASSINATION

The "Blast" had not long been established before the postal authorities denied the paper mailing privileges for the reason, as stated in the report of the Department of Justice to the Sixty-sixth Congress:

"Several issues of the paper had violated section 211 of the Criminal Code, which prohibits the circulation by the mail of matter intended to incite arson, murder or assassination."

It is apparent from the foregoing correspondence that Mooney was very interested with Berkman in the "Blast" and was equally responsible with Berkman for the radical and revolutionary doctrine which was promulgated by that paper.

That Ed Nolan also conferred with Berkman and Mooney for the purpose of starting the "Blast" was well pleased with the paper is evidenced by a letter to Morton, dated January 17, 1915, in which Nolan said:

"I for one have revolutionized my mind and the encyclopedia of labor papers and doctrine. I liked the first

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"Blast," a lot of the good letters, and that damn old in the park, and the police in the world and the put in back, and take down the whole damn machine. *Sullivan* to appear in order to be in the world and the put in back, and the machine of the world, and my head hope is that we can form a road for the siege."

Mooney was evidently as well pleased as Nolan with the joint newspaper venture of his old, Berkman, Cohen and Motion. In a letter dated February 8, 1916 to ~~the~~ fellow, ~~the~~ in the red cause, one C. L. Landert, while disclaiming connection "in any way officially" with the paper, he said:

"Would you like to subscribe for the Blast? If so, let me know, and I will have it put you on the mailing list. *I am going to help it all I can as long as the paper tells to be what Berkman said it was going to be, as I feel the need for a paper on the Coast that is free from all groups and at the same time broad enough to give expression to and act on action by the workers, regardless of their affiliation.* The paper is trying to do all that it said it would do, and I feel that it is up to the reds to give it their support. I don't know if you received any samples as yet. If not, I will mail you a few and you can judge for yourself. *We need a paper. Any news you might have that will be of general information, the "Blast" would gladly publish same.*"

Upon the publication of the first issue in January 10, 1916, the notorious Emma Goldman wired to Berkman as follows:

"Birthday greetings! Let THE BLAST resound from coast to coast, inspiring strength and courage in the disinherited, and striking terror into the hearts of the craven enemy, now that one more of our brothers has fallen victim to the insatiable Moloch (referring to the conviction of Matthew A. Schmidt for complicity in the dynamiting of the Los Angeles Times Building).

May THE BLAST tear up the solidified ignorance and cruelty of our social structure. Fast away! To the daring belongs the future."

The author of this birthday greeting and Berkman were the champions of anarchism in the United States before their deportation. The doctrine which they taught is thus tersely defined in one of Emma Goldman's publications:

"Anarchism is the only philosophy which brings to man the consciousness of himself, which maintains that God, the State and Society are non-existent, that their promises are null and void, since they can be fulfilled only through man's subordination. Anarchism, therefore, stands for direct action, the open defiance of and resistance to all laws and restrictions, economic, social and moral."

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With Emma Goldman's blessing, the "Blad" started on its career as an official organ of the anarchist group in San Francisco, as shown by the following:

## INFLAMMATORY APPEALS BY THE BLAD PRECEDING THE PREPAREDNESS DAY SLAUGHTER OF JULY 12, 1916

From the issue of January 15:

"Do you mean to destroy?  
Do you mean to build?"

Superficial minds speak sneeringly of destruction. O, it is easy to destroy—they say—but to build, to build, that's the important work.

To destroy the Old and False is the most vital work. We emphasize it: To blast the bulwarks of slavery and oppression is of primal necessity. It is the beginning of really lasting construction.

It's time to act.  
The time is NOW.

To work, then, and blast every obstacle in the way of the Regeneration."

### "THE MATTHEW A. SCHMIDT CASE.

The Schmidt trial was conducted like an ordinary murder case. Attorney N. Coghlan, in charge of the defense, repeatedly emphasized that it was no labor trial.

With the inevitable tragic result.

How long is this to go on? How long are the militant workers of this country to permit their best men to be sacrificed to the hand of legality?

Joe Hill, a comrade, Ford and Schar, Rangel and Cline, the McNamara brothers and numerous other noble souls are rotting in the prisons. Now Schmidt joins them. Coghlan is to come next, and then another and another, and it will never end till the lawless situation boldly and throws its del to the law and order establishment.

To hell with the rules of game guard! We'll play it our own way."

The Joe Hill named was the same Hill or Hill named David, convicted for the murder in Salt Lake City. The David Hill named was convicted for murdering the daughter of a wealthy American family. The Schmidt named was convicted of murdering a woman, the daughter of the Los Angeles Times. Building with the aforementioned brother, J. B. McNamara pleaded guilty to murder in the first degree for the Los Angeles Times job with his comrade named David J. McNamara.

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throughout the world in their favor. After the conviction of Mooney and Hammel, the propaganda to procure their pardon was intensified and was carried not only throughout the United States, but to Russia and other European countries. The purpose of this propaganda was to convince the people that Mooney and Hammel were innocent, were the victims of persecution by a government that they had been framed and that their conviction was brought about through fraud and trickery, perpetrated by officials of San Francisco.

This movement was initiated by Alexander Berkman, who well knew the efficacy of well directed propaganda. On April 13, 1915, while in Los Angeles actively working in defense of Caplan and Schmidt, he wrote to Arthur J. Ganssman a letter explaining his views on the subject as follows:

"I have had some experience in labor matters. I have also participated in the strike work of various labor organizations in the East. And all my experience has convinced me that in such matters the thing of chief importance is to create favorable public sentiment. Funds, money for the defense, are of secondary importance. Take for instance the case of Alexander Abderius, the Spanish Marine worker. He was arrested during the Haymarket Workers strike of some three years ago and he was sentenced with cutting a comb and slitting three pubesmen. The District Attorney claimed he would also kill four persons. I was secretary of the Abderius Defense Committee when William Pollack, one of our attorneys, came with a number of complaints from the District Attorney; Abderius should plead guilty and get off with seven years State prison. We had no money. Lawyer Darling of Brooklyn had expended over seven thousand dollars of our hard collected funds but we gave him the cash and engaged Pollack but we did not depend on money. We at once organized a wide campaign of publicity; held numerous mass meetings, indicated the matter in the press and got in touch with people all over the country for purposes of agitation. When Abderius was first arrested our group called 'Young Men'. Within two months of intense agitation we succeeded in getting him released on the matter. The Abderius was sentenced to one and a half years instead of ten years. The District Attorney had threatened to slay him and in fact of seven years the lawyers were quite ready to accept for him. The moral is obvious. Stick to your guns, get organized and with dire circumstances and further public agitation to clear up the pathology of the public mind and the case will be cleared up. That is the way to go."

[illegible]

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## The Emma Goldman Papers

In the Matter of the Application Made on Behalf of Thomas J. Mooney for a Pardon,  
1932 April 21 [excerpt] / Matt I. Sullivan, Special Adviser to the Governor of California. — 20 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

**Summary:** Sullivan argues against a pardon for Thomas Mooney.

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### COLLECTION OF FUNDS FOR THE MOONEY PROPAGANDA

Shortly after the bomb explosion, Mother Jones went to New York and there inaugurated a campaign for the collection of funds for the defense of Mooney and his codefendants. "I have been the first to see and others who serve the indicted, falsely named, and convicted defendants were prosecuted and convicted by reason of their activities in labor movements. The charge was made that the District Attorney's office and the Police Department had corruptly framed the defendants. Immediately the International Workers Order of America got busy to raise the necessary funds. In his letter to Mother Jones, to which reference has heretofore been made, a delegate who was then secretary-treasurer of the League thus described its functions:

"In short, the Defense League conducts its activities to the defense of men (labor) who are in a jam during times of strikes, lock-outs, boycotts or any labor trouble. Similar leagues were formed all over the country during the Moore-Haywood & Pettibone episode. This league was organized during the Mayer-Haywood Pettibone trouble and was much reorganized during the Eitar C. Giovanitti trials, and after that it was organized for good and all time under the International Workers Defense League. A delegated body, at the present time with about fifty organizations most of which are regular A. F. of L. trade unions affiliated with their respective Internationals, the Calif. State Federation of Labor, the San Francisco Labor Council, San Francisco Building Trades Council, etc. Most of the active delegates in the League are also the representatives of their respective unions in the various councils of Labor in San Francisco and California. This League is in no wise dual or secession, but it more truly represents the militant than the conservative element in the Labor movement. Most all the League's delegates believe in staying in the A. F. of L. and developing that organization into a real world force in the Labor movement. We are convinced that the best result will only be produced in the Labor Movement through solidarity, and not the kind that proposes to start one more organization. (One more division) of Labor so-called in order to bring about this thing called solidarity. There are some men in the labor movement of Calif. as well as other States who have more or less control of labor organizations, but not always in the interest of these organizations as the respective members see it. This difference belongs to each organization.

The defense League lets each organization of labor take care of its own troubles and differences, and even to the extent of not defending me if his organization desires to carry on the defense itself. Many of the leaders of the labor organizations in this city and some in the city are opposed to the Defense League secretly but not in the open, as they have no real excuse. The principal reason they are opposed to the League is because it is different in character and its makeup is of the mass and ideas that have been the impelling motive in your whole life work, the things which you have worked for for years."

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We have before us a statement of receipts of the International Workers' Defense League from August 13, 1916, to and including December 31, 1917, a period of sixteen months and eighteen days. During that period of time the amount collected by the League was \$108,225.61. Monies were collected apparently from every section of the world. The first five names on the list of donors are

Old League fund for Tom Mooney	\$65 00
Loan per Mrs. J. S. Crane	1,000 00
Loans and collections per Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman	1,369 55
Frank P. Walsh (Mooney's attorney)	250 00

The I. W. W. in practically every locality where organized throughout the United States contributed liberally to the fund. Reds and radicals of every shade made their contributions. Workers in Russia and in the United States likewise contributed. Anarchists, socialists, communists and syndicalists, including the Italian syndicalists of Chicago and the Syndicalist Fed. of Netherlands, were in the list of donors. The Union of Russian Workers and Anarchist Red Cross of Chicago also contributed. The Croner Sovetskaya made several contributions. Belle Lavin contributed \$75. Alexander Berkman appears in the list of donors for substantial amounts at different times. "The Blast" also made a contribution. Emma Goldman reported collections in addition to the first amount reported. From "Frankup System" booklet sales a large amount was received. Many garment labor organizations and unions throughout the United States contributed liberally to the fund sincerely believing that Mooney, Billings and their codefendants were the victims of oppression by capital, and that the case against them was a frameup to satisfy the vengeance of capital against labor.

### WHAT WAS DONE FOR THE MOONEY CASE

The expense account is quite interesting. The attorney's fees and legal expenses amounted to \$52,726.21. Among the legal expenses is the sum of \$1,000 paid to Claud O. Ellis of Graysville, to whom Rigall delivered letters received by him from Frank C. Oxman. The grand total of expenses during the listed period covered is the sum of \$105,790.11. Among these expenses are the interesting items:

"Theodore H. Haskin, handwriting and photographic expert, for a photograph"	\$1,416 00
Expert, Haskin, expert, to prove defense theory, expert, handwriting and photographic expert	2,891 48
Photographs, several assembly of parade parade and enlargement for exhibit on trial	597 50

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MOONEY AND BILLINGS ARE NOT THE VICTIMS OF PERSECUTION BY CAPITAL. THEY WERE PROSECUTED NOT BY REASON OF THEIR CONNECTION WITH LABOR MOVEMENTS IN CALIFORNIA, BUT SOLELY BECAUSE THEY COMMITTED THE ATROCIOUS CRIME OF WHICH THEY WERE CONVICTED.

On the title page of a pamphlet bearing in large letters the caption "Labor Leaders Betray Tom Mooney" issued last year by the International Workers' Defense League appears this statement purporting to be signed by United States Senator Burton K. Wheeler:

"Tom Mooney is a victim of one of the foulest conspiracies ever perpetrated in this country, and it was done because he was active in labor circles in California."

This declaration was, of course, induced by the same propaganda which influenced Senator Copeland to join his heart and soul with the material and immaterial vipers of Tom Mooney. This statement by Senator Wheeler is a slander made against the State of California, its courts and public officials, for which the Senator should apologize.

Mooney and Billings are not and never have been representatives of labor. They were not prosecuted at the instance of capitalists. Not one dollar was contributed by any private corporation, association or individual for their prosecution. No chamber of commerce, no industrial, financial or commercial institution assisted, directly or indirectly, in the prosecution. No special counsel was employed, as should have been done, to oppose the phalanx of the able and well paid lawyers for the defense. None but the District Attorney and his assistants engaged in the prosecution. The only financial assistance given to the prosecution of Mooney and his co-defendants was an appropriation of \$25,000 by the Board of Supervisors of San Francisco, and the sum of \$85,000 expended by the city of Los Angeles in running down and prosecuting the McNamara brothers, his place and place, in the afternoon of the Los Angeles Times of July 1, 1919.

Mooney and Billings and their sympathetic claim and from the beginning have claimed that the prosecution was a frame-up carried on at the instance of enemies of organized labor. No law can be further from the truth.

Instead of being a representative of labor, Mooney has been for many years an militant, championing physical work. He has been active in the cause of labor for many years. His beliefs and his associates undoubtedly have preached and practiced labor unionism, and violence in furtherance of their war against capitalist society. The working classes of the United States, organized and unorganized, with the exception of a comparatively small number of reformed agitators, have no

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use for revolutionists, who are all bent to our government, the best on earth, and who believe that no laws enacted by the Federal or State Governments are entitled to respect or obedience.

### WHAT ORGANIZED LABOR REALLY THINKS OF TOM MOONEY

On Friday, July 21, 1916, the day before the bomb explosion, the Labor Union, the official organ of the California State Federation of Labor and the San Francisco Labor Council, thus fittingly refers to Mooney and his associates, who unsuccessfully attempted to bring about a strike of the platform men of the United Railroads:

"Last Friday evening Thomas Mooney, a member of a local union, and steeped in the doctrines of that combination of mental defectives known as the Industrial Workers of the World, attempted to make good his threat to pull out 90 per cent of the platform men of the United Railroads of this city.

Mooney had previously, in some manner not easily understood, induced International President Nathan of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America, who is by some persons credited with possessing fairly sound judgment, to appoint him a special committee to attempt to bring the platform men of the United Railroads within the fold. Because he had credentials from Nathan the San Francisco Labor Council gave him hearings before committees, and before the Council itself. He had nothing to present except the wild hangings of a disordered brain and the Council refused to approve his program, suggesting instead a conference with the president of the railroad. Mooney, of course, as is the custom of his kind, decided to ignore the judgment of the Council and carry out his own ideas.

On Friday evening at 5.30 o'clock Mooney issued his strike order. Reports are to the effect that his psychological deductions were fulfilled to the extent of one man leaving his post. This, however, is disputed by other reports which aver there was no response whatever on the part of the platform men of the United Railroads. At any rate the strike, with psychology as its foundation instead of judgment, was a miserable failure.

The truth is these persons, with I. W. W. proclivities never produce anything but trouble and bring on disaster wherever they appear, whether in union circles or elsewhere. They have destroyed every union in which they gained a controlling hold. In the affairs of nations they have always blundered and brought on misery and suffering and death among the gullible innocents who have been foolish enough to trust them."

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The afireth convention of the A. F. of L. held in Boston clearly demonstrated that not only the California labor leaders are corrupt and treacherous, but that the whole A. F. of L. leadership is lousy.

Out of the present leadership, which is thoroughly corrupted, no fundamental progress can be expected. That need pass from the rank and file of the labor movement. Therefore, I am placing one case and the facts proving the labor leaders betrayed us before the organized labor movement of America for its judgment. Those lieutenants of Capital outwitting of labor leaders should be exposed; they are the worst enemies of a real organized labor movement. It is our duty to help expose their culpability. They are our worst foes. They are the foes of all militant workers.

The major labor leaders have not only betrayed us, but they have also our defense, and vilified our character; they have been equally villainous toward other militant workers. Did the A. F. of L. make any effort to prevent Sacco Vanzetti, the noble labor martyrs, from being hanged by the electric chair? No. They refused to help the long suffering Centralia boys. Are they doing anything to aid J. B. McNamara and Matthew Schacht?

If I were given a choice of submitting my case for solution to a jury of 12 major labor leaders of San Francisco, or 12 members of the Chamber of Commerce, I would choose the latter. I know the Chamber of Commerce is openly and determinately resolved that we should never secure a pardon. I also know that the labor leaders share the same point of view, but they are too hypocritical and cowardly to overtly and honestly state they do not want us pardoned. I would much rather face avowed enemies, such as the Chamber of Commerce, than treacherous and iniquitous "friends" such as the Scharrenbergs, Caseys, Mullens, and O'Connells."

### MOONEY ALWAYS OPPOSED INDUSTRIAL PEACE

Excerpts from the "Revolt" published by Mooney before he, Nolan and Berkman established the "Blast" in San Francisco hereinafore set forth show that he is opposed to "all elements that stand or profess to stand for industrial peace." He views industrial peace as dangerous and advocates strikes and boycotts to "get possession of the world." He is a member of the I. W. W. which in the "Revolt" he declared is frankly the exponent of antipatriotism, while the American Federation of Labor is a patriotic organization. While the American Federation of Labor "respects the American flag, the I. W. W. substitutes the red flag of revolt for the Stars and Stripes, and holds up to approbrium all who affiliate with military organizations." While he declares the

"A. F. of L. has sought to harmonize the interests of capital and labor, its only demand being that the workers shall be fairly treated, and that he shall receive a fair day's wage for a fair day's work."

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Having defended Mooney, Brown and Haddon in the criminal action brought against them for having 144 explosives in their possession when they contemplated the destruction of the tower of the Pacific Gas and Electric Company near La Puentez Struts, he became thoroughly familiar with Mooney's criminal intentions and tendencies to such an extent that after the explosion on the 22d day of July, and before his employment, he felt justified in expressing his opinion to Kytka, Hugo Asher and C. M. Wollenberg that his former client, Mooney, was guilty of the Preparedness Day crime.

### BERKMAN'S LETTER TO FRANK P. WALSH

In a letter to Frank P. Walsh dated September 25, 1916, after Billings' conviction, Berkman, who evidently had much if not everything to do with the employment of Mr. McNutt and other attorneys for Mooney, wrote in part as follows:

"McNutt is broken down with nervous strain. You may remember that I told you that he was capable, and that he might yet find a social vision, but now I have to modify that. He is capable in a small temporary way, in hanging out some facts on examination, but when it comes to summing up, he assumes that all he has to do is to calmly show that his client is innocent, and then sit down, letting the beast for the State get up and shout about the Star Spangled Banner. McNutt will recover in a day or two enough to plead for a new trial. Then McNutt will have to go to the hospital for a week or two. This is a secret that I am taking upon myself to betray to you, through great necessity. He made me pledge my honor not to tell this. McNutt thinks he has a law case, or did think so, and now he is dazed as to what happened. That he does not know what the social war is will be indicated by the following conversation:

McNutt: 'Well these fellows, the Labor element, have no business to get connected with that "sabotage" stuff.' (He was trying to show me his familiarity with the Labor vocabulary.)

A Partner of McNutt: 'Well, I heard a man say that anybody with unexplained dynamite in his possession ought to be hanged, and he wasn't an extremist, either, but a conservative business man.'

I have to join with the boys in jail in saying that I see no way on earth to save their lives except Frank P. Walsh.

I don't want you to think that we are irrevocably tied up to McNutt, but I do think that he is the very best man in San Francisco for the job of backing you up. He would be splendid. He is broad, considering his origin and position. But he would have to go, if he couldn't get along with you."

In August, 1916, about one month after Mooney's arrest, Frank P. Walsh contributed \$250 to Mooney Defense Fund. In 1921 Mr. Walsh prepared the affidavit which was signed and sworn to by John

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MacDonald, in which MacDonald repudiated his testimony as given before the Grand Jury and at four separate trials, which remained unbroken under most rigid cross-examination by able counsel, and branded himself as a conscienceless perjurer.

This letter from Berkman indicates his great anxiety to save from the gallows Mooney, his associate and cofounder of the Blast. He himself was fearful of arrest, because shortly after the explosion he sent to revolutionary papers in the United States a circular, in which he said:

"The reaction is rampant in San Francisco. • • • I may be arrested at any moment, but the Blast must be kept up at all costs."

MAXWELL MCNUFF AND FREMONT OLDER, TWO COMPETENT JUDGES, FORMED THE OPINION IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE EXPLOSION ON PREPAREDNESS DAY THAT MOONEY WAS GUILTY OF PERPETRATING THE BOMB OUTRAGE ON THAT DAY.

Two men above all others in California who had good reasons for suspecting Mooney and charging him with the crime of planting the bomb which exploded, slaughtering ten and maiming forty or fifty other human beings are Maxwell McNuff and Fremont Older. Both of them knew Tom Mooney intimately.

Maxwell McNuff defended Mooney during the three trials of the charge against him for having unlawfully in his possession an infernal machine and explosive which he intended to use for the purpose of destroying the electric tower of the Pacific Gas & Electric Company near Carquinez Straits. From his intimate knowledge of Mooney's character, he knew Mooney was capable of committing the atrocious crime, and so expressed himself before his employment by Mooney.

Mr. Older had an intimate acquaintance with Mooney and knew of his dynamiting activities. To use his own words, "I associated him (Mooney) with dynamiting the P. G. & E. poles." Mr. Older displayed a lively interest in Mooney's welfare at the time of the arrest of Mooney, Brown and Hanlon for having high explosives in their possession and procured the bail bonds which enabled them to keep out of jail during their trial.

During Mr. McNuff's examination by Justice Preston at the Billings pardon hearing, he admitted that his client at the time of his arrest with Brown and Hanlon contemplated the destruction of the property of the Pacific Gas & Electric Company. He testified before the justices as follows:

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Q. In your opinion do you credit him (Mooney) with having this explosive for the purpose of using it against property or person?

A. You can take as the proof in everything that has been charged against him except 1913.

Q. You do then, as I understand it, in expressing an opinion here, give full credit to all other accusations against Mr. Mooney?

A. Yes.

Q. Whatever type they are?

A. That I ever heard of.

Q. Do you credit Mr. Mooney in connection with the destruction of property by the use of explosives in the opinion that you have just expressed today?

A. Yes, sir.

Referring to the infernal machine and explosives taken from Mooney, Brown and Harbo, Mr. McNitt stated:

"My opinion is that if they had that stuff, the probability is that they were going to use it in connection with some other stuff which they never produced or found, and the whereabouts of which I have no knowledge of.

Q. Have you credited Mooney in your opinion with having that material for the purpose of destruction of property or lives or both? A. Certainly.

### MOONEY'S PRIOR TESTIMONY AND CIRCUMSTANCES JUSTIFY THE SUBMISSIONS OF HIS GUILT FOLLOWING THE PREPAREDNESS DAY SLAUGHTER.

There is no doubt that Mooney, Brown and Harbo when caught with the infernal machine during the Christmas season, 1913, intended to procure dynamite and blow up the tower of the Pacific Gas and Electric Company, sustaining wires carrying sixty thousand volts of electric energy with a capacity of a hundred thousand horsepower. There is no doubt that if the wires fell over a passing boat or over the railroad track on the south side of the Straits, the slaughter of men, women and children would have been greater than that at Stuart and Market Streets or even greater than that at the time the Los Angeles Times Building was dynamited. The hatred which Berkman and Mooney as Reds and anarchists entertained against our existing form of government was no more intense than that which they had and expressed against preparedness by the United States in the event of war between our country and the Central European powers. As shown by the extracts from "The Blast," murder, even wholesale murder is by them regarded as no crime when committed in carrying on the war of radicals against society and our form of government as now organized.

Not only did Mr. McNitt believe that Mooney was capable of carrying on and did actually carry on dynamiting operations "for the

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purpose of destruction of property or lives or pain," but he also testified that McNeely's hostile attitude toward property owners was commensurate with that of Beckham. We quote the following material from the answer from Mr. McNeely's testimony given before the Justice of the Supreme Court at the hearing of the affidavits in support of the petition for writ of habeas corpus:

“Q. Do you exhibit 350-22 with a collection of the same type as that expressed in the exhumed collection of the letters with respect to preparedness and the Preparedness Parade?”

A. Well, I never thought of the extent that I have said it be coincident with Berkman. I would like to say to be commensurate with Berkman."

According to the accepted definition of the word "contaminated," Mr. McNutt admits that Memphis shows no propensities "equalled in measure and extent and corresponded with those of Charleston, who thus expressed himself concerning the cleanliness in the column of "The Blast":

"Preparedness is folly. The man who advocates preparedness has no right to denounce a man who carries a gun in a peaceful community."

To hell with the governing lot. Today as ever he fills to our slogan: 'Down with capitalists and government, all that is left is all government.'

A preparedness demonstration is the worst insult there can be offered labor. It is, therefore, urgent upon the workers and all others opposed to militarism not only to boycott and non-involvement from the preparedness parade but to also publicly and unequivocally demonstrate their opposition in organized manner. Great anti-preparedness demonstrations are therefore, imperative and necessary. That class, however, who object to it, are very negative in character. I almost said something more for them. More action is needed."

THE REQUEST FOR MOORHEAD FARMER, MADE BY REPRESENTATIVES OF THE JURY WITH OTHER OFFICIALS AND NOT LIMITED TO ANYONE ELSE.

No importance should be attached to the reasons for Morgan's pardon signed by eight members of the jury who convicted him. Such petitions are always easily obtained, especially when supported by interested friends and relatives, by a large majority. We were all fully informed that all or nearly all of the jurors were persistently informed by Mr. O'Leary in oral and written communications, to sign such petitions and were likewise posted by means of his agents and hired day and night in a relative and friendly manner, and by means of his five and five, he could by means of his paid staff of agents, and by means of his agents, they added to the number of the pardon.

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pardon. The Pardon Board during Governor C. C. Young's administration recommended to Governor Young the denial of a pardon. Governor Young, after an exhaustive examination of all records affecting Mooney's case, denied his application for a pardon.

Since his conviction there has been no evidence discovered indicating his innocence. No grounds, other than those presented to the predecessors of the present Governor have been presented in support of his application for pardon.

We, therefore, conclude as follows:

### CONCLUSION

1. Prior to the 22d day of July, 1916, Thomas J. Mooney, Alexander Berkman and other radicals publicly and privately opposed the Preparedness Parade.

2. To carry out their design, and for the purpose of stopping the parade on Preparedness Day, Mooney, Billings and others entered into a conspiracy to terrify our citizens by exploding a bomb filled with dynamite in a densely crowded part of our city.

3. Their insensate hatred of our present form of government and their fanatical efforts to substitute the red flag of revolt for the Stars and Stripes impelled Mooney and his fellow conspirators to perpetrate the Preparedness Day outrage.

4. Billings, the tool and agent of Mooney, carried the bomb in a suitcase to the dental office of Strub & Shane about 1:30 o'clock p.m. on July 22, 1916. From there he went in Weinberg's Ford to Stuart and Markets streets and there, acting in concert with Mooney, Billings placed the suitcase containing the death-dealing bomb against the wall of the building at the southwest corner of Stuart and Market streets. Thereupon Mooney and Billings hurriedly left the spot. The bomb exploded at six minutes after 2 o'clock, killing ten people and wounding forty or fifty others.

5. Mooney has not presented any facts in support of his petition which have not heretofore been presented to the courts and to the three preceding Governors of the State of California.

We, therefore, recommend that Thomas J. Mooney's application for an unconditional pardon be denied.

MATT I. SULLIVAN.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1932 April 29, Stockholm [to Henry L. Stimson] Secretary of State [Department of State], Washington, D.C. / Edward Savage Crocker, Interim Charge d'Affaires, United States Legation [Department of State].— 1 p.; 32 x 21 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Crocker sends the secretary of state a report on general conditions in Sweden which includes a description of Goldman's lecture.

Notes: For enclosure, see 870807001.



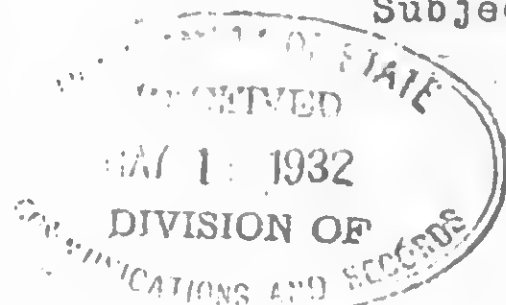
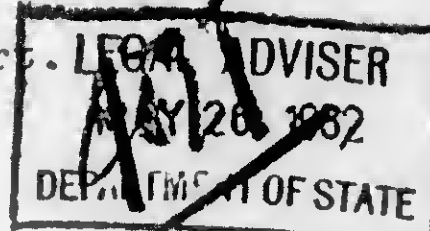
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MAY 27 1932 UNITED STATES OF AMERICA  
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

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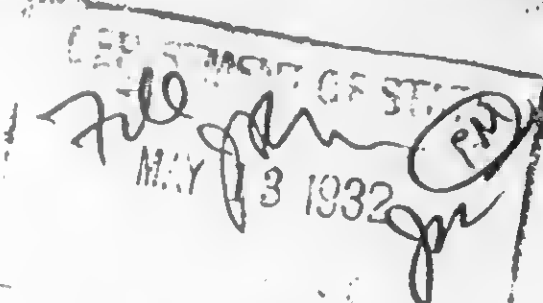
No. 484

Stockholm, April 29, 1932

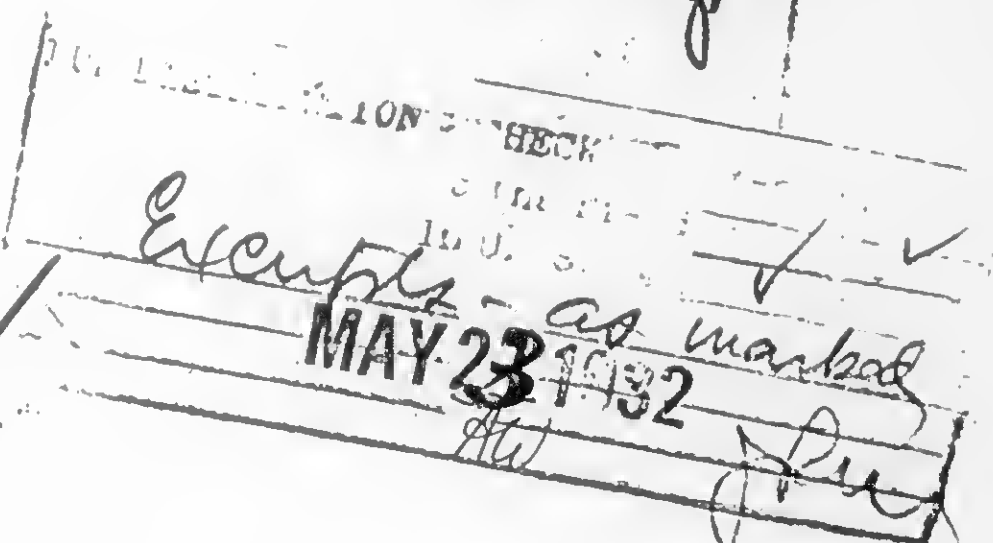
Subject: General Conditions Report.



MAY 11 1932



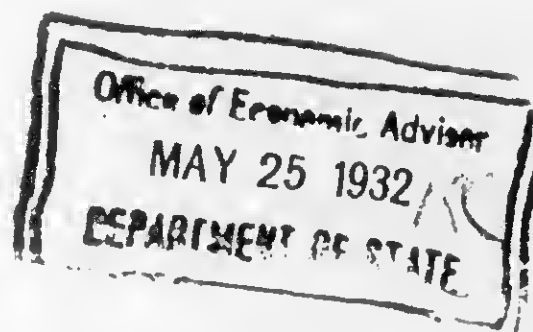
FILE



FP 858.00 P. R./113

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,  
Washington, D.C.



Sir:

I have the honor herewith to enclose a report  
on general conditions in Sweden during the past two  
weeks.

Respectfully yours,

*Edward Savage Crocker*  
Edward Savage Crocker  
Chargé d'Affaires ad interim

Enclosure:  
General Conditions Report.

In quintuplicate, enclosure in quintuplicate.  
Copy to E.I.C., Paris.  
File No. 800.  
FEW:MN

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

870807001

[General Conditions Report on Sweden, Stockholm, 1932 April 16?-29 (excerpt)] /  
[Department of State]. — 1 p. ; 32 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: The State Department briefly reports on Goldman's Stockholm lecture on the Mooney case.

Notes: Enclosed with 810617059.

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reelected: Professor Chr. Barthel, Minister Harald Bildt, Minister E.E. Ekstrand, Counselor of Commerce A.F. Enström, Director General G. Huss, Counselor of Legation H. Ax:son Johnson, Mr. A.R. Nordvall, Mr. B. Prytz, Mr. O. Rydbeck, Professor T. Segerstedt, Dr. Axel Wahlberg and Mr. J. Wallenberg. Professor The Svedberg was also elected a trustee and Vice Chairman, and Counselor of Commerce A.F. Enström and Mr. A.R. Nordvall were likewise reelected Vice Chairmen of the organization.

### 3. EMMA GOLDMAN LECTURES ON THE MOONEY-BILLINGS CASE:

Emma Goldman lectured at the Peoples' House in Stockholm on April 20 under the auspices of the Stockholm Mooney-Billings Committee. She gave a detailed account in German of the Mooney-Billings case, and made certain condemnatory remarks about the administration of justice in general in the United States. Between two hundred forty and two hundred sixty people were present at the meeting which adopted a resolution in harmony with the tenor of the remarks of the speaker.

311.6124  
Goldman  
Emma at PL

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1933, Stony Creek, Conn. to] Frances Perkins, Secretary of Labor [Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / Mabel Carver Crouch. — 1 p. ; 17 × 28 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations. Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Papers, Rare Books and Manuscripts Division.

Summary: Carver Crouch urges Perkins to grant Goldman's visa request when she receives it.

Hon. Frances Perkins -  
Secretary of Labor -  
Washington D. C.

Dear Madam -  
Emma Goldman is  
coming to Canada in December  
on a prolonged lecture trip -  
some time during the period  
that she is in Canada Miss Goldman  
I understand will apply for  
permission to re-enter the United States  
on a visit.

May I say that when her  
application reaches I know  
you will deal with it in a  
very reasonable way - and  
that I trust you will feel you  
are able to grant her request.

Most Sincerely -  
Mabel Carver Crouch.

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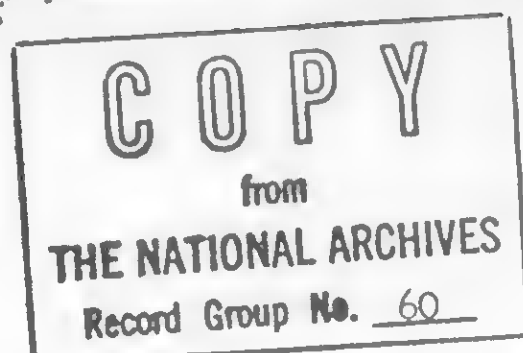
# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1933 April 13, Richmond Hill, N.Y. [to Frank M. Parrish, Acting Head, Criminal Division] Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. / Arthur M. Scherr. — 1 p. ; 33 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 60.

Summary: Scherr asks the Justice Department's help in locating the materials taken from the *Mother Earth* office in 1919.

Notes: For reply, see 880329036.



Record Group 60: Records of the Department of Justice  
Department of Justice Central Files  
Classified Correspondence Subject File # 9-12-301

8711 116 Street  
Richmond Hill, N. Y.  
April 13, 1933

Department of Justice  
Washington, D. C.

Gentlemen:

In about the year 1919, Department of Justice agents searched the premises of the Mother Earth Publishing Company at 20 East 125 Street, New York City. I understand that certain pamphlets, books, and papers described as seditious were confiscated and removed by these agents. I am interested in locating the whereabouts of this material for its historical value, since it would no longer be considered seditious.

Any assistance which you could give me in locating this material, and any information regarding the case against the Mother Earth Publishing Company will be greatly appreciated.

Thank you in advance.

Respectfully yours,

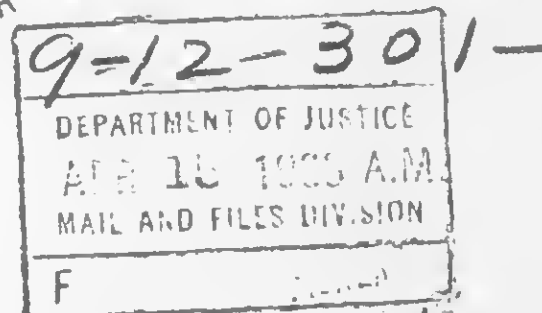
*Arthur M. Scherr*

AS:RS

APR 15 1933

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APR 19 1933



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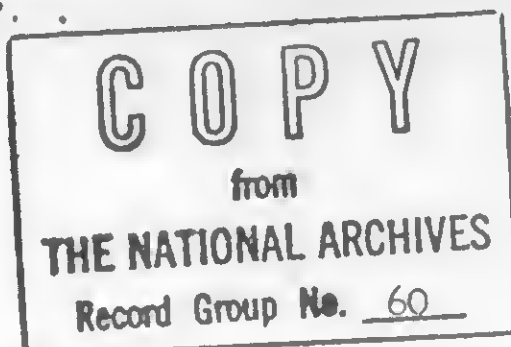
# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1933 April 18 [Washington, D.C. to] Arthur M. Scherr, Richmond Hill, N.Y.  
/ Frank M. Parrish, Acting Head, Criminal Division [Department of Justice].—  
1 p.; 32 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 60.

Summary: For reasons of confidentiality, the Justice Department cannot reveal information regarding Goldman's papers allegedly seized in 1917.

Notes: Reply to 880329037.



Record Group 60: Records of the Department of Justice  
Department of Justice Central Files  
Classified Correspondence Subject File # 9-12-301

FMP

HAF:KCC

9-12-301

April 18, 1933.

Mr. Arthur M. Scherr,  
8711 116 Street,  
Richmond Hill, New York.

Sir:

This Department is in receipt of your letter of the 13th instant, in which you state that you understand that certain pamphlets, books and papers were seized on the premises of the Mother Earth Publishing Company, New York City, in 1919; that you are interested in locating the whereabouts of this material, and request information regarding the case against the Mother Earth Publishing Company.

In reply, I beg to advise you that information obtained by the Department through official investigations is considered as confidential, and according to a long established practice, the same cannot be divulged.

Respectfully,

For the Attorney General:

FRANK M. PARRISH,  
Acting Head of the Criminal Division.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

890414042

[Letter] 1933 Aug. 14, Baltimore, Md. [to] Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. /  
[author unknown]. — 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: Citing Goldman as a bad example, a World War I veteran urges the Department of Justice to investigate radical labor unions, particularly if their members are not citizens.

Notes: Broken type.

COPY

HOTEL RENNERT  
Baltimore, Md.  
Aug. 14, 1933.

Department of Justice,  
Washington, D. C.

Attention Sirs:

As a four minute man during the World War I wish to advise that a great deal of investigation should be given to this so-called International Labor Association, also to all labor unions where the largest membership are not American citizens and the Unions of this country should not admit members who are not in the making of naturalized citizens also to the attorneys that represent these organizations, these men disrespect the flag and all laws of our Government, and this is the nest where most crime comes from we have cases here in Maryland the same as in Alabama and the Attorneys that represent them seem to be at the bottom of all I have had the experience among this class and I know they are bad actors and ever ready to trample on the American Flag, and all laws of our Government. A few years ago Emma Goldman was deported from our country and when she was leaving she stated she would return and today our country is a dumping ground for her class and they should be gotten rid of as soon as found out. They defie the law and all walking delegates should be gotten rid off and our American unions placed on high American plane when they would receive the respect of our own American people and I wish to also state that there are many employees in this class also that will use the N.A.A. as a joke and laugh at our laws. They should be made produce their naturalization papers before being allowed to start any business in this country, and compete with our American people. If America has a business and is prospering and one of this tribe opens a place in the same line next to the American they will drive him out of business with they cut throat dealing and our people will support this tribe and they are loading our country. Now that we have started in the right direction we should have a perfect house cleaning and get rid of them and their dealings. They are the people that will and are trying every way to destroy our square deal but this can not be some of the men who are looking for votes also help this cause. There should be but two Great Parities in this country and not allow any others to enter in these two parities, the American people can get what they want and our belived President started the ball rolling and I trust he will be with us as President for many years to come and the American people will back him up to the end of time. I wish to state I am a native of Baltimore and always at his command.

Sincerely,

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INDEXED

11-24-90

(b)(7)(c) Baltimore, Md.

AUG 22 1933

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Div. One

FILE

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1933 Nov. 22 New York to] Frances Perkins [Secretary of Labor, Department of Labor, Washington, D.C. (fragment)] / Roger Baldwin. — 1 p. ; 28 x 18 cm.

*Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations. Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Papers, Rare Books and Manuscripts Division.*

**Summary:** Baldwin asks Perkins a series of questions regarding the legal status of Goldman's proposed temporary visit to the United States.

**Notes:** Broken type; light copy; barely legible. For response, see 830214078.

Miss Frances Perkins

-1-

2. In that event is it necessary for Miss Goldman to fill out one of the forms of application for re-admission required by deported aliens?

3. It will be understood, of course, that Miss Goldman has not changed her views in regard to organized government, that she is still an anarchist and will answer honestly the questions concerning her beliefs.

We note, however, that the Department admitted the well-known labor leader, Von Mann despite his assertion of views condemned in the Immigration Act and we assume that a similar exception can be made in Miss Goldman's case for the purpose of a short stay.

No public reference is being made at this time to the request nor will any be given to your reply. We do not desire to have any publicity until the whole matter is determined and the evidences of widespread interest in Miss Goldman's coming are put before you.

Sincerely yours,

(signed) Roger Baldwin

RLB/LE  
Copy to Col. MacCormack

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

830214078

[Memorandum] 1933 Nov. 8, Washington [D.C. to Daniel W. MacCormack] Commissioner [Immigration and Naturalization Service, Department of Labor, Washington, D.C.] / T[homas] B. Shoemaker [Deputy Commissioner] Immigration and Naturalization Service, Dept. of Labor. — 8 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the Immigration and Naturalization Service via FOIA.

Summary: Shoemaker analyzes the legal status of Goldman's proposed visit to the United States and concludes that the secretary of labor could permit her entry.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR  
IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION SERVICE  
WASHINGTON

ADDRESS REPLY TO COMMISSIONER OF  
IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION  
AND REFER TO FILE NUMBER

November 8, 1933.

52410/43-D

MEMORANDUM FOR THE COMMISSIONER:

The following is submitted in response to your request that a memorandum be made on the points raised by Mr. Roger Baldwin in his letter to the Secretary dated November 2, 1933, with reference to the desire of Emma Goldman to enter the United States temporarily.

Emma Goldman was deported on the SS "Buford" December 21, 1919, on the following grounds:

- That she is an alien anarchist;
- That she has been found advocating or teaching anarchy;
- That she has been teaching the overthrow by force or violence of the government of the United States or of all forms of law;
- That she believes in the overthrow by force or violence of the government of the United States;
- That she believes in the overthrow by force or violence of all forms of law;
- That she advocates the overthrow by force or violence of the government of the United States;
- That she advocates the overthrow by force or violence of all forms of law;
- That she advocates the assassination of public officials;
- That she teaches the assassination of public officials;
- That she disbelieves in all organized government; and
- That she is an opponent of all organized government.

These grounds were based on Sections one and two of the Act of October 16, 1918, which are as follows:

176 "Aliens who are anarchists; aliens who believe in or advocate the overthrow by force or violence of the Government of the United States or of all forms of law; aliens who disbelieve in or are opposed to all organized government; aliens who advocate or teach the assassination of public officials; aliens who advocate or teach the unlawful destruction of property; aliens who are members of or affiliated with any organization that entertains a belief in, teaches, or advocates the overthrow by force or violence of the Government of the United States or of all forms of law, or that entertains or teaches disbelief in or opposition to all organized government, or that advocates the duty, necessity, or propriety of the unlawful assaulting or killing of any officer or officers, either of specific individuals or of officers generally.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

830214078

[Memorandum] 1933 Nov. 8, Washington [D.C. to Daniel W. MacCormack] Commissioner [Immigration and Naturalization Service, Department of Labor, Washington, D.C.] / T[homas] B. Shoemaker [Deputy Commissioner] Immigration and Naturalization Service, Dept. of Labor. — 8 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the Immigration and Naturalization Service via FOIA.

**Summary:** Shoemaker analyzes the legal status of Goldman's proposed visit to the United States and concludes that the secretary of labor could permit her entry.

November 8, 1933.

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of the Government of the United States or of any other organized government, because of his or their official character, or that advocates or teaches the unlawful destruction of property;

"SEC. 2. That any alien who, at any time after entering the United States, is found to have been at the time of entry, or to have become thereafter, a member of any one of the classes of aliens enumerated in section one of this Act, shall, upon the warrant of the Secretary of Labor, be taken into custody and deported in the manner provided in the immigration Act of February fifth, nineteen hundred and seventeen. The provisions of this section shall be applicable to the classes of aliens mentioned in this Act irrespective of the time of their entry into the United States."

Miss Goldman, so far as known, has never returned to the United States since her deportation. She now resides near Nice, France. It is understood that she plans to come to Canada for a lecture tour and desires also to enter the United States for a limited stay for a similar purpose.

The points raised are--

- (1) Whether the Department has discretion to admit Miss Goldman to the United States for a limited stay as a visitor?
- (2) Whether it is necessary for Miss Goldman to fill out a form of application for readmission required of deported aliens?

As to Point (1):

It is represented that Miss Goldman has not changed her views in regard to organized government, that she is still an anarchist and will answer honestly all questions concerning her belief. She is an alien who has been deported in pursuance of law. When she seeks to enter the United States it is foreseeable that she will be confronted with at least two provisions of law, to wit: (1) The Act of October 16, 1918, as amended by the Act approved June 5, 1920, and (2) The Act of March 4, 1929, as amended June 24, 1929, and May 25, 1932. These acts are discussed in order. The Act of October 16, 1918, as amended, is as follows:

"That section 1 of the act entitled 'An act to exclude

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

830214078

[Memorandum] 1933 Nov. 8, Washington [D.C. to Daniel W. MacCormack] Commissioner [Immigration and Naturalization Service, Department of Labor, Washington, D.C.] / T[homas] B. Shoemaker [Deputy Commissioner] Immigration and Naturalization Service, Dept. of Labor. — 8 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

*Obtained from the Immigration and Naturalization Service via FOIA.*

**Summary:** Shoemaker analyzes the legal status of Goldman's proposed visit to the United States and concludes that the secretary of labor could permit her entry.

November 8, 1933.

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and expel from the United States aliens who are members of the anarchistic and similar classes," approved October 16, 1918, is amended to read as follows:

"That the following aliens shall be excluded from admission into the United States:

(a) Aliens who are anarchists;

(b) Aliens who advise, advocate, or teach, or who are members of or affiliated with any organization, association, society, or group, that advises, advocates, or teaches opposition to all organized government;

(c) Aliens who believe in, advise, advocate, or teach, or who are members of or affiliated with any organization, association, society, or group, that believes in, advises, advocates or teaches: (1) the overthrow by force or violence of the Government of the United States or of all forms of law, or (2) the duty, necessity or propriety of the Government of the United States or of all forms of law, or (3) the unlawful assault, or killing of any officer or officers (either of specific individuals or of officers generally, of the Government of the United States or of any other organized government, because of his or their official character, or (3) the unlawful damage, injury, or destruction of property, or (4) sabotage;

(d) Aliens who write, publish, or cause to be written or published, or who knowingly, circulate, distribute, print, or display, or knowingly cause to be circulated, distributed, printed, published or displayed, or who knowingly have in their possession for the purpose of circulation, distribution, publication, or display, any written or printed matter advising, advocating, or teaching, opposition to all organized government, or advising, advocating, or teaching; (1) The overthrow by force or violence of the Government of the United States or of all forms of law, or (2) the duty, necessity or propriety of the unlawful assaulting or killing of any officer or officers (either of specific individuals or of officers generally) of the Government of the United States or of any other organized government, or (3) the unlawful damage, injury or destruction of property, or (4) sabotage;

(e) Aliens who are members of or affiliated with any organization, association, society, or group, that writes, circulates, distributes, prints,

# The Emma Goldman Papers

830214078

[Memorandum] 1933 Nov. 8, Washington [D.C. to Daniel W. MacCormack] Commissioner [Immigration and Naturalization Service, Department of Labor, Washington, D.C.] / T[homas] B. Shoemaker [Deputy Commissioner] Immigration and Naturalization Service, Dept. of Labor. — 8 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

*Obtained from the Immigration and Naturalization Service via FOIA.*

**Summary:** Shoemaker analyzes the legal status of Goldman's proposed visit to the United States and concludes that the secretary of labor could permit her entry.

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publishes, or displays, or causes to be written, circulated, distributed, printed, published, or displayed, or that has in its possession for the purpose of circulation, distribution, publication, issue, or display, any written or printed matter of the character described in subdivision (d). For the purpose of this section: (1) the giving, loaning or promising of money or anything of value to be used for the advising, advocacy, or teaching of any doctrine above enumerated shall constitute the advising, advocacy, or teaching of such doctrine; and (2) the giving, loaning or promising of money or anything of value to any organization, association, society, or group of the character above described shall constitute affiliation therewith; but nothing in this paragraph shall be taken as an exclusive definition of advising, advocacy, teaching, or affiliation.

"SEC. 2. That any alien who, at any time after entering the United States, is found to have been at the time of entry, or to have become thereafter, a member of any one of the classes of aliens enumerated in section one of this act, shall, upon the warrant of the Secretary of Labor, be taken into custody and deported in the manner provided in the immigration act of February fifth, nineteen hundred and seventeen. The provisions of this section shall be applicable to the classes of aliens mentioned in this act irrespective of the time of their entry into the United States.

181 "SEC. 3. That any alien who shall, after he has been excluded and deported or arrested and deported in pursuance of the provisions of this act, thereafter return to or enter the United States or attempt to return to or to enter the United States shall be deemed guilty of a felony, and upon conviction thereof shall be punished by imprisonment for a term of not more than five years; and shall, upon the termination of such imprisonment, be taken into custody, upon the warrant of the Secretary of Labor, and deported in the manner provided in the immigration act of February fifth, nineteen hundred and seventeen."

Since Miss Goldman still possesses views denounced by the foregoing act,

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Memorandum] 1933 Nov. 8, Washington [D.C. to Daniel W. MacCormack] Commissioner [Immigration and Naturalization Service, Department of Labor, Washington, D.C.] / T[homas] B. Shoemaker [Deputy Commissioner] Immigration and Naturalization Service, Dept. of Labor. — 8 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

*Obtained from the Immigration and Naturalization Service via FOIA.*

**Summary:** Shoemaker analyzes the legal status of Goldman's proposed visit to the United States and concludes that the secretary of labor could permit her entry.

November 8, 1933.

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she is necessarily excluded from admission under its provisions and in entering or attempting to do so would be guilty of a felony.

Moreover, Section 28 of the Immigration Act of February 5, 1917, is relevant and provides:

"That any person who knowingly aids or assists any anarchist or any person who believes in or advocates the overthrow by force or violence of the Government of the United States, or who disbelieves in or is opposed to organized government, or all forms of law, or who advocates the assassination of public officials, or who is a member of or affiliated with any organization entertaining or teaching disbelief in or opposition to organized government, or who advocates or teaches the duty, necessity, or propriety of the unlawful assaulting or killing of any officer or officers, either of specific individuals or of officers generally, of the Government of the United States or of any other organized government, because of his or their official character, to enter the United States, or who connives or conspires with any person or persons to allow, procure, or permit any such anarchist or person aforesaid to enter therein, shall be deemed guilty of a felony, and on conviction thereof shall be punished by a fine of not more than \$5,000 or by imprisonment for not more than five years or both.

"Any person who knowingly aids or assists any alien who advocates or teaches the unlawful destruction of property to enter the United States shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and on conviction thereof shall be punished by a fine of not more than \$1,000, or by imprisonment for not more than six months, or by both such fine and imprisonment."

Nevertheless, to be considered in connection with these provisions of law is the ninth proviso to Section 3 of the Act of February 5, 1917, which provides:

182 "That the Commissioner General of Immigration, with the approval of the Secretary of Labor shall issue rules and prescribe conditions, including exaction of such bonds as may be necessary, to control and regulate the admission and return of otherwise inadmissible aliens applying for temporary admission."



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Memorandum] 1933 Nov. 8, Washington [D.C. to Daniel W. MacCormack] Commissioner [Immigration and Naturalization Service, Department of Labor, Washington, D.C.] / T[homas] B. Shoemaker [Deputy Commissioner] Immigration and Naturalization Service, Dept. of Labor. — 8 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

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In a communication to the Secretary of State, dated June 19, 1931, (copy attached) the Attorney General considered the proviso just quoted in connection with the other provision of law already quoted and reached the conclusion that under it the Secretary might issue regulations permitting the temporary admission of aliens otherwise inadmissible because of the provisions of either the Act of 1917 or the Act of October 16, 1918, as amended. In reaching his conclusion the Attorney General considered not only the Act of October 16, 1918, as amended, but also Section 28 of the Immigration Act of 1917 heretofore mentioned. It appears from the opinion of the Attorney General mentioned that Miss Goldman might lawfully be admitted temporarily notwithstanding her present beliefs, subject to the discretion of the Secretary.

Since Miss Goldman is one who has been deported pursuant to law, it is pertinent to examine, so far as material, the Act of March 4, 1929. That Act as amended June 24, 1929, provides:

"That subdivision (a) of Section 1 of the Act entitled 'An Act making it a felony with penalty for certain aliens to enter the United States of America under certain conditions in violation of law,' approved March 4, 1929 (Public Law Numbered 1018, Seventieth Congress), is amended to read as follows:

"That (a) if any alien has been arrested and deported in pursuance of law, he shall be excluded from admission to the United States whether such deportation took place before or after the enactment of this Act, and if he enters or attempts to enter the United States after the expiration of sixty days after the enactment of this Act he shall be guilty of a felony and upon conviction thereof shall, unless a different penalty is otherwise expressly provided by law, be punished by imprisonment for not more than two years or by a fine of not more than \$1,000, or by both such fine and imprisonment; Provided, That this Act shall not apply to any alien arrested and deported before March 4, 1929, in pursuance of law, in whose case prior to his embarkation at a place outside the United States, or his application in foreign contiguous territory for admission to the United States, and prior to March 4, 1929, the Secretary of Labor has granted such alien permission to reapply for admission."

However, by Section 7 of the Act of May 25, 1932, the same act was



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Memorandum] 1933 Nov. 8, Washington [D.C. to Daniel W. MacCormack] Commissioner [Immigration and Naturalization Service, Department of Labor, Washington, D.C.] / [Thomas] B. Shoemaker [Deputy Commissioner] Immigration and Naturalization Service, Dept. of Labor. — 8 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

*Obtained from the Immigration and Naturalization Service via FOIA.*

**Summary:** Shoemaker analyzes the legal status of Goldman's proposed visit to the United States and concludes that the secretary of labor could permit her entry.

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further amended. Section 7 is as follows:

"SEC. 7. Despite the provisions of subdivision (a) of section 1 of the Act entitled 'An Act making it a felony with penalty for certain aliens to enter the United States of America under certain conditions in violation of law,' approved March 4, 1929, as amended, an alien, if otherwise admissible, shall not be excluded from admission to the United States under the provisions of such subdivision after the expiration of one year after the date of deportation, if, prior to his reembarkation at a place outside of the United States, or prior to his application in foreign contiguous territory for admission to the United States, the Secretary of Labor, in his discretion, shall have granted such alien permission to reapply for admission."

In view of this last amendment of the Act of 1929, and in view of the fact that more than a year has elapsed from the date of Miss Goldman's deportation, it appears the Secretary, in her discretion, may grant Miss Goldman permission to reapply for admission. If such permission is granted she would not be excluded on arrival under the Act of March 4, 1929, as one previously deported.

Answering point one, it may be concluded that the Secretary has discretion to admit Miss Goldman temporarily to the United States, first by granting her permission to reapply for admission, which would obviate the bar to her admission by virtue of her previous deportation, and second by admitting her upon arrival at a port in this country under the ninth proviso of Section 3 of the Act of 1917, imposing such conditions, including bond, as she may see fit at that time. It should be understood that while the discretion to permit temporary admission exists, it need not be favorably exercised and a denial of permission to reapply under the Act of March 4, 1929, as amended, would be amply supported and could in no wise be considered an arbitrary exercise of discretionary power in this case. The suggestion is offered that inasmuch as the Act of 1929 and the Acts of 1917 and 1918 are involved there would seem to be no good reason for granting permission to reapply for admission under the Act of 1929, as amended, prior to the embarkation of the alien from a place outside the United States, or prior to application for admission from foreign contiguous territory unless it was proposed also to admit her temporarily under the ninth proviso to Section 3 of the Immigration Act of 1917 when she arrives at a port of entry in this country.

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## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Memorandum] 1933 Nov. 8, Washington [D.C. to Daniel W. MacCormack] Commissioner [Immigration and Naturalization Service, Department of Labor, Washington, D.C.] / T[homas] B. Shoemaker [Deputy Commissioner] Immigration and Naturalization Service, Dept. of Labor. — 8 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

*Obtained from the Immigration and Naturalization Service via FOIA.*

**Summary:** Shoemaker analyzes the legal status of Goldman's proposed visit to the United States and concludes that the secretary of labor could permit her entry.

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November 8, 1933.

Neither the statute nor the rules, as far as I can discover, provides how the application of an alien for permission to reapply for admission to the United States, following deportation, shall be made. They simply provide that an alien, once deported, shall not be excluded after the expiration of one year following the date of deportation if, prior to his reembarkation at a place outside of the United States, or prior to his application in foreign contiguous territory for admission to the United States, the Secretary of Labor shall have granted such alien permission to reapply for admission. It would appear any form of application suitable to the purpose would suffice. However, a form of application has been prepared and mimeographed, known as Form 173-W, and any alien wishing to make such an application is at liberty to use that form if he so desires.

LPW/VBE



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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1933 Nov. 18, Arlington, Vt. [to] Frances Perkins, Secretary of Labor  
[Department of Labor, Washington, D.C.] / Dorothy Canfield Fisher.—  
2 p. ; 26 x 20 cm.

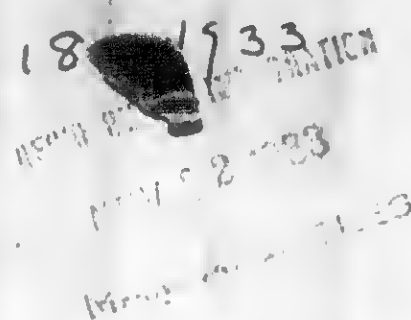
Obtained from the Immigration and Naturalization Service via FOIA.

Summary: Fisher urges Perkins to allow Goldman back in the United States to lecture.



Arlington Vermont.

November 18 1933



To the

Honorable Frances Perkins  
Secretary of Labor to the United States

Dear Miss Perkins.

I am among those  
who earnestly hope that you will  
favor the re-entry of Emma  
Goldman to this country for  
the purpose of giving some  
public lectures. The cause of  
freedom of speech could not  
be, I feel, better served  
than by allowing this scholar

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File  
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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1933 Nov. 18, Arlington, Vt. [to] Frances Perkins, Secretary of Labor  
[Department of Labor, Washington, D.C.] / Dorothy Canfield Fisher.—  
2 p. ; 26 x 20 cm.

Obtained from the Immigration and Naturalization Service via FOIA.

Summary: Fisher urges Perkins to allow Goldman back in the United States to lecture.

address American  
know that she is permitted  
to express her convictions  
would cheer all lovers of  
free speech, those who disagree  
completely with this Goldman's  
views or much or those  
who agree.  
with Cooper that you  
may feel it wise to make  
her re-entry possible.

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I am

Sincerely yours

Dorothy Canfield Fisher

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1933 Nov. 22, New York [to] Frances Perkins, Secretary of Labor [Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / Sherwood Anderson. — 1 p. ; 26 x 21 cm.  
 Obtained from the Immigration and Naturalization Service via FOIA.

**Summary:** Anderson hopes that Perkins can allow Goldman back into the United States.

**Notes:** Broken type; light copy; barely legible.

58 Washington Ave.  
 New York, N.Y.  
 November 22, 1933



Honorable Frances Perkins  
 Secretary of Labor  
 Washington, D.C.

Dear Secretary Perkins:

I am writing you a little note at the suggestion of some friends of Emma Goldman's. I am very sure, Miss Perkins, you know about this case and Miss Goldman's great hunger to get back into America. You probably know her better than I do.

I am sure we both look upon her as a great old warrior and I do hope there will be some way - without too much noise - of letting her come back into America.

Sincerely,

*Sherwood Anderson*  
 Sherwood Anderson

SA:MS

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## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1933 Nov. 22 [New York to] Frances Perkins, Secretary of Labor [Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / Arthur Garfield Hays. — 1 p. ; 24 × 17 cm.

*Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations. Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Papers, Rare Books and Manuscripts Division.*

**Summary:** Hays urges Perkins to grant Goldman's visa request.

C  
O  
P  
Y

November 22, 1933

Honorable Frances Perkins  
Secretary of Labor  
Washington D C

My dear Miss Perkins:

I understand that the question has arisen as to a possible permit for Emma Goldman to come to this country on a visit. I wish to urge that a permit be granted.

It seems preposterous that this old lady should not be permitted to come to the United States. The fact that so many persons in the present administration are of a liberal turn of mind, leads some of us to hope that the "bogie man," who heretofore seemed to play such an important part in Washington, has disappeared.

Very truly yours,

ARTHUR GARFIELD HAYS

AGH/p

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## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1933 Nov. 24, Saratoga Springs, N.Y. [to Frances] Perkins, Secretary of Labor [Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / Charlotte Wilder. — 1 p. ; 28 x 21 cm.  
Obtained from the Immigration and Naturalization Service via FOIA.

Summary: Wilder urges Perkins to allow Goldman to return to the United States.

November 24, 1933

The Honorable Florence Perkins,  
Secretary of Labor,  
Washington, D.C.

My dear Miss Perkins:

I am told that a committee made up of persons notable for liberal and disinterested public service - are urging that Emma Goldman be permitted re-entry into the United States, for a period of six weeks. May I add my name to the list of those requesting this: it will not be known to you, but I speak as a representative of the teaching profession, having been for five years, an assistant professor of English at Smith College, and a teacher in the movement for the education of women workers in industry.

Very sincerely yours,

Charlotte Wilder



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## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1933 Nov. 25 [to] Frances Perkins, Secretary of Labor [Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / Eugene O'Neill. — 1 p.; 28 × 20 cm.  
Obtained from the Immigration and Naturalization Service via FOIA.

Summary: O'Neill asks Perkins to grant Goldman's petition for re-entry.

November 25, 1933

Hon. Frances Perkins  
Secretary of Labor  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Miss Perkins:

May I respectfully urge  
you to consider the application of Miss Emma  
Goldman for re-entry to this country in a  
favorable light?

Miss Goldman has the admiration and  
respect of many of the leading citizens of  
this country, and thousands would welcome  
her re-entry to this country.

Respectfully yours,

*Eugene O'Neill*

Eugene O'Neill

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## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1933 Nov. 25 [Westport, Conn. to] Frances Perkins, Secretary of Labor [Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / Lawrence Langner. — 1 p. ; 28 x 17 cm.  
*Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations. Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Papers, Rare Books and Manuscripts Division.*  
**Summary:** Langner urges Perkins to grant Goldman's application to re-enter the United States.

November 25, 1933

Hon. Frances Perkins  
Secretary of Labor  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Miss Perkins:

May I respectfully urge you to consider the application of Miss Emma Goldman for re-entry to this country in a favorable light?

Miss Goldman has the admiration and respect of many of the leading citizens of this country, and thousands would welcome her re-entry to this country.

Respectfully yours,

Lawrence Langner

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Memorandum] Re: Prospective Application of Emma Goldman for Permission to Enter the Country Temporarily..., Washington [D.C.] 1933 Dec. 4 [fragment?] / Immigration and Naturalization Service [Department of Labor].— 3 p.; 26 x 21 cm.  
Obtained from the Immigration and Naturalization Service via FOIA.

Summary: Someone in the Immigration and Naturalization Service submits extracts from letters urging the secretary of labor to approve Goldman's petition for re-entry.

WASHINGTON

AND REFER TO FILE NUMBER

52410/43-D

December 4, 1933.

## MEMORANDA RE PROSPECTIVE APPLICATION OF EMMA GOLDMAN FOR PERMISSION TO ENTER THE COUNTRY TEMPORARILY TO GIVE LECTURES AND TO VISIT FRIENDS.

### I. List of Committee understood to be urging the admission of Emma Goldman.

John Haynes Holmes  
Roger Baldwin  
Ben Huebsch  
Peter Neagoe  
Anna Strunsky Walling  
Leonard Abbott  
Anna Sloan  
Mabel Carver Crouch  
Katharine Anthony  
Ruth Pickering Pinchot  
Louis Bromfield

Dr. Josephine Baker  
Fannie Hurst  
Mary Ware Dennett  
Ami Mali Hicks  
Mrs. Gilbert E. Roe  
Elizabeth Irwin  
Inez Haynes Irwin  
Evelyn Scott  
Dorothy Canfield Fisher  
Ada Davenport Kendall  
John Dewey

Alfred A. Knopf

### II. Letters addressed to the Secretary urging admission.

Ami Mali Hicks, 141 East Seventeenth St., New York City.  
"As the cause for which she was deported is no longer a vital issue, I hope that you will interest yourself in her application"

John Haynes Holmes (Minister), The Community Church of New York,  
26 Sidney Place, Brooklyn, N. Y.

"I have invited Miss Goldman, if she is able to come, to occupy my pulpit on a Sunday morning, and address my congregation. I am not in any sense an anarchist in my opinions and ideals, and thus have little sympathy with Miss Goldman's philosophy of life. But I have long admired her as a great, heroic, and devoted woman, to whom I am glad to do honor. Some two years ago, I named her in a public address as one of the ten greatest women now living, and I took pains to state that her greatness was greatness of character and spirit as well as of intellect."

Charlotte Wilder, Yaddo, Saratoga Springs, N. Y.

"but I speak as a representative of the teaching profession".

M. P. Froehlich, The Froehlich School of Music,  
211 State Street, Harrisburg, Pa.

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## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Memorandum] Re: Prospective Application of Emma Goldman for Permission to Enter the Country Temporarily..., Washington [D.C.] 1933 Dec. 4 [fragment?] / Immigration and Naturalization Service [Department of Labor].— 3 p. ; 26 x 21 cm.

*Obtained from the Immigration and Naturalization Service via FOIA.*

**Summary:** Someone in the Immigration and Naturalization Service submits extracts from letters urging the secretary of labor to approve Goldman's petition for re-entry.

"I therefore feel I know her attitude well enough to be able to assure you that there would be no political significance attached to such a visit. Miss Goldman has now for a good many years devoted herself to lecturing on cultural topics of a catholic interest, and, chiefly, on literature and the drama. Miss Rebecca West was responsible for most of the arrangements for her lectures in England in which there was much interest. And Miss Goldman is such an outstanding figure, a woman of such personality and one whose life is (I believe) of such historical importance, that I found the liberality of England toward her something I have ever since very much wished might be reflected here; for it seems such a pity to deprive the American public of the stimulus of a truly great personality when other countries enjoy it."

Idez Haynes Irwin, 240 West Eleventh St., New York City.  
"I was never at any time one of those who believed that Miss Goldman should have been deported. I believe she should be permitted to come back. I can think of no finer gesture toward liberalism of a liberal government than to grant that small favor."

B. W. Huebsch, The Viking Press Inc., 18 East 48th St., New York City.  
"I think that it is a safe bet that the "dangerous" woman will disport herself innocuously. She is intelligent enough not to misuse the privilege, and certainly she will do nothing that will embarrass those who are asking you to employ your discretionary power for her benefit."

Oswald Garrison Villard, 20 Vesey St., New York City.  
"May I associate myself with the group that is urging upon you permission to Emma Goldman to enter the country and deliver a series of lectures here? I am sure that in her chastened frame of mind not the most hidebound conservative could find fault with her utterances, to say nothing of the N R A!"

John Dewey, 320 East 72nd St., New York City.  
"her history and that her reputation as a dangerous person was built up entirely by a conjunction of yellow journalism with ill-advised police raids. She is a romantically idealistic person with a highly attractive personality. It would add to the well deserved reputation of the Administration for good sense and liberality if she were to be admitted."

Rev. Eliot White, 126 Gordon St., Roselle, N. J.

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## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Memorandum] Re: Prospective Application of Emma Goldman for Permission to Enter the Country Temporarily..., Washington [D.C.] 1933 Dec. 4 [fragment?] / Immigration and Naturalization Service [Department of Labor]. — 3 p. ; 26 x 21 cm.  
Obtained from the Immigration and Naturalization Service via FOIA.

Summary: Someone in the Immigration and Naturalization Service submits extracts from letters urging the secretary of labor to approve Goldman's petition for re-entry.

"Her deportation was of course the result of the high feeling of the war period. Soberer thoughts should prevail now. I welcome the thought of her return."

Arthur Garfield Hays, 43 Exchange Place, New York City.  
"It seems preposterous that this old lady should not be permitted to come to the United States." The fact that so many persons in the present administration are of a liberal turn of mind, leads some of us to hope that the "bogie man" who heretofore seemed to play such an important part in Washington, has disappeared."

Alfred A. Knopf, Alfred A. Knopf Inc., 730 Fifth Ave., New York City.  
"I cannot believe that any harm could possibly come about as a result of such lectures as Miss Goldman might deliver. I think a great many Americans would welcome the opportunity to hear her speak, and it would be a great human kindness to allow the old lady to pay us a visit."

Maxwell Hyde (Architect), 101 Park Av., New York City.  
"I have known Miss Goldman for many years and believe that any public utterance she might make would be in the interest of World Peace."

Mrs. Gilbert Roe, 158 Waverly Place, New York City.  
"It would seem to me to be not only justice but a gesture showing our return to the very proud status of welcoming people of differing opinions."

Dorothy Canfield Fisher, Arlington, Vermont.  
"To know that she is permitted to express her convictions would cheer all lovers of free speech, those who disagree completely with Miss Goldman's views as much as those who agree."

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Helen R. Martin, 3201 N. Front st., Harrisburg, Pa.  
"our own institutions are still too strongly entrenched to be jeopardized by a woman who may not approve of them, and that the American treasured tradition of free speech is jeopardized by excluding from our country any one who may hold political opinions differing from those of most of us."

Susan Hoagland, Les Deux, Stony Creek, Conn.  
"I shall be glad for her sake but more glad for my country if this leave can be granted to such a distinguished great hearted woman."

Mrs. Louise G. Tausig, 325 West 77th St., New York City.  
"I believe that our country is so firmly established in Democracy that the beliefs, tho, perhaps, mistaken ones, of an individual or a group of individuals could not prove disruptive."

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1933 Dec. 5, New York [to] Emma Goldman, [Toronto] / [Mabel Carver Crouch]. — 1 p. ; 26 × 20 cm.

*Obtained from the Immigration and Naturalization Service via FOIA.*

**Summary:** On behalf of the Committee to arrange Goldman's visit to the United States, Crouch formally invites Goldman to apply for admission to the country.

**Notes:** For copy, see 830214069.

Gramercy Arms  
102 East 22nd Street  
New York City

December 5, 1933.

Dear Emma Goldman:

I have been asked by the Committee, whose names appear below to write to invite you to come to the United States for a visit and to lecture to us here in New York. Will you please make application at once to the United States Consul in Toronto, and come as soon as your Canadian plans permit?

May we hear immediately what date we may hope to expect you?

With all good wishes,

Very faithfully yours,

Katharine Anthony  
Leonard Abbott  
Dr. Josephine Baker  
Roger Baldwin  
Louis Bromfield  
Mabel Carver Crouch  
Mary Ware Dennett  
John Dewey  
Dorothy Canfield Fisher  
Ami Mali Hicks  
John Haynes Holmes  
Mrs. Frederick C. Howe  
B.W. Huebsch  
Fannie Hurst  
Elizabeth Irwin  
Inez Haynes Irwin  
Eliot White

Ada Davenport Kendall  
Alfred A. Knopf  
Lawrence Langner  
Fola LaFollette  
Sinclair Lewis  
George Middleton  
Helen Martin  
Peter Neagoe  
Mildred Scott Olmsted  
Ruth Pickering Pinchot  
Mrs. Gilbert E. Roe  
Leonard Ross  
Evelyn Scott  
Anna Sloan  
Robertson Trowbridge  
Anna Strunsky Walling  
Harry Weinberger

Authorized list of Committee.  
Re: Emma Goldman's visit to the U.S.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

830214069

[Letter] 1933 Dec. 5 [New York to] Emma Goldman [Toronto] / Mabel Carver Crouch. — 1 p. ; 24 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the Immigration and Naturalization Service via FOIA.

Notes: Broken type. Same text as 830214072, but in different format.

December 5, 1933.

Dear Emma Goldman:

I have been asked by the Committee, whose names appear below to write to invite you to come to the United States for a visit and to lecture to us here in New York. Will you please make application at once to the United States Consul in Toronto, and come as soon as your Canadian plans permit.

May we hear immediately what date we may hope to expect you.

With all good wishes,

Very faithfully yours, *DB*

(sgd) Mabel Carver Crouch.

KATHARINE ANTHONY	ADA DAVENPORT KENDALL
LEONARD ABBOTT	ALFRED A KNOFF
JOSEPHINE BAKER, M.D.	LAWRENCE LANGNER
ROGER BALDWIN	FOLA LA FOLLETTE
LOUIS BROMFIELD	SINCLAIR LEWIS
MEBEL CARVER CROUCH	GEORGE MIDDLETON
MARY WARE DENNETT	HELEN MARTIN
JOHN DEWEY	PETER NEAGOE
DOROTHY CANFIELD FISHER	MILDRED SCOTT OLMSTED
AMI WALI HICKS	RUTH PICKERING PINCHOT
JOHN HAYNES HOLMES	MRS. GILBERT E. ROE
MRS. FREDERIC C. HOWE	ARTHUR LEONARD ROSS
B. W. HUEBSCH	EVELYN SCOTT
FANNIE HURST	ANNA SLOAN
ELIZABETH IRWIN	ANNA STRUNSKY WALLING
INEZ HAYNES IRWIN	HARRY WEINBERGER
ELIOT WHITE	

165  
Authorized List of Committee.  
Re Emma Goldman's visit to the U.S.

SHERWOOD ANDERSON.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1933 Dec. 19 [New York to] Frances Perkins, Secretary of Labor [Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / [Committee for Emma Goldman's Visit to the United States].— 2 p. ; 28 x 21 cm.

Obtained from the Immigration and Naturalization Service via FOIA.

Summary: The Committee urges Perkins to allow Goldman's return for the purpose of lecturing on current events.

HARRY F. WARD, *Chairman*  
HELEN PHELPS STOKES, *Vice-Chairman*  
JAMES H. MAURER, *Vice-Chairman*  
FREMONT OLDER, *Vice-Chairman*

B. W. HUEBSCH, *Treasurer*  
ROGER N. BALDWIN, *Director*  
ARTHUR GABRIEL HAYS, *Counsel*  
MORRIS L. ERNST, *Counsel*

LUCILLE B. MITCHELL, *Secretary*  
EDMUND D. CAMPBELL, *Washington Counsel*  
*Attorneys and Correspondents*  
*in leading cities*

## National Committee

CHARLES F. AMIDON  
GEORGE W. ANDERSON  
HARRY ELMER BARNES  
HERBERT S. BIGELOW  
EDWIN M. BORCHARD  
RICHARD G. CABOT  
JOHN B. COOMAN  
CLARENCE OARROW  
JOHN OEWEY  
JAMES H. OILLARD  
ROBERT W. OUNN  
SHERWOOD EDOY  
ELIZABETH GLENDOWER EVANS  
JOHN F. FINERTY  
ELIZABETH CURLEY FLYNN  
WALTER FRANK  
FELIX FRANKFURTER  
KATE CRANE CARTZ  
NORMAN HAPGOOD  
POWERS HAPGOOD  
HUBERT C. HERRING  
JOHN HAYNES HOLMES  
FREDERIC C. HOWE  
JAMES WELDON JOHNSON  
GEORGE W. KIRCHWEY  
JOHN A. LAPP  
AGNES BROWN LEACH  
HENRY R. LINVILLE  
ROBERT MORSS LOVETT  
MARY E. McDOWELL  
ANNE MARTIN  
ALEXANDER MEKLEJOHN  
HENRY R. MUSSEY  
A. J. MUSTE  
WALTER NELLES  
WILLIAM L. NUNN  
JULIA S. O'CONNOR PARKER  
WILLIAM PICKENS  
AMOS PINCHOT  
JEANNETTE RANKIN  
EDWARD A. ROSS  
ELBERT RUSSELL  
JOHN A. RYAN  
JOHN NEVIN SAYRE  
WILLIAM SCARLETT  
JOSEPH SCHLOSSBERG  
VIOA O. SCUDDER  
ABBA HILLEL SILVER  
JOHN F. SINCLAIR  
CLARENCE R. SKINNER  
NORMAN M. THOMAS  
EDWARD D. TITTMANN  
MILLIE R. TRUMBULL  
WILLIAM S. U'REN  
OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD  
B. CHARNEY VLADECK  
GEORGE P. WEST  
PETER WITT  
L. HOLLINGSWORTH WOOD



Dec. 19, 1933.

Miss Frances Perkins  
Secretary of Labor  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Miss Perkins:

We are advised that Emma Goldman applied to the American Consul at Toronto, Canada, on Dec. 16 for a visa to visit the United States for a period of three months early in the year for the purpose of lecturing and seeing old friends. She has been invited to come by a committee arranging her engagements in the United States, the personnel of which is shown on the attached. We are authorized to say in behalf of this committee and its secretary, Mrs. Mabel Carver-Crouch, that it assumes full responsibility for Miss Goldman's tour. The membership of that committee is sufficient guarantee of its responsibility.

Not only on behalf of this committee but on behalf of many other citizens, we urge that Miss Goldman be allowed to reenter, despite her deportation in 1920. She is now a British subject through marriage. It is somewhat questionable that she was an alien when she was deported, the Supreme Court of the United States having granted a stay of her deportation to examine that point. Miss Goldman, however, preferred to go to Russia without establishing it.

We point out to you that nothing in Miss Goldman's record in the United States save her opinions on public issues and her philosophy of politics, disqualifies her in any way from reentry. She was never convicted of any except a purely political offense involving only her opinions or utterances. While she holds the same views now, the purposes of her trip are not to expound views which might render her deportable, but to deal with subjects of immediate interest as indicated by her proposed lectures:

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1933 Dec. 19 [New York to] Frances Perkins, Secretary of Labor [Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / [Committee for Emma Goldman's Visit to the United States]. — 2 p. ; 28 x 21 cm.

Obtained from the Immigration and Naturalization Service via FOIA.

Summary: The Committee urges Perkins to allow Goldman's return for the purpose of lecturing on current events.

"Germany's Tragedy"  
 "The Collapse of German Culture"  
 "Hitler, A World Menace"  
 "Dictatorship, Right and Left"  
 "A Modern Religious Hysteria"  
 "Fascism, the Theory of Despair, not of Hope"  
 "The Universal Muddle-Headedness of the Intelligentsia"  
 "The Menace of War"

May we urge that the Department favorably consider Miss Goldman's reentry under the sponsorship of this committee of well-known citizens for a limited stay and for the specific purposes indicated?

We are

Very truly yours,

*Samuel J. May*

Chairman

*Arthur Garfield Hays*

*Morris D. Ernst*

General Counsel

*Walter Dill Scott*

Director

and the following authorized signatures of members of our Board of Directors:

Dr. Harry Elmer Barnes  
 John Chamberlain  
 Walter Frank  
 John Haynes Holmes  
 Quincy Howe  
 Ben W. Huebsch  
 Dorothy Kenyon  
 Corliss Lamont

Prof. Robert Morss Lovett  
 A.J. Muste  
 Frank Palmer  
 Amos Pinchot  
 Elmer Rice  
 Roger William Riis  
 Rev. William B. Spofford

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1933 Dec. 19, New York [to] Frances Perkins, Secretary of Labor [Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. [fragment] / [Roger Baldwin].— 1 p. ; 25 x 17 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations. Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Papers, Rare Books and Manuscripts Division.

**Summary:** Baldwin urges Perkins to grant Goldman's visa application despite her deportation.

**Notes:** Broken type; light copy; barely legible. Page two missing.

## AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION

100 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK CITY

Dec. 19, 1933.

Miss Frances Perkins  
Secretary of Labor  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Miss Perkins:

We are advised that Emma Goldman applied to the American Consul at Toronto, Canada, on Dec. 16 for a visa to visit the United States for a period of three months early in the year for the purpose of lecturing and seeing old friends. She has been invited to come by a committee arranging her engagements in the United States, the personnel of which is shown on the attached. We are authorized to say, on behalf of this committee and its secretary, Mrs. Noel Carver French, that it assumes full responsibility for Miss Goldman's tour. The leadership of that committee is sufficient guarantee of its responsibility.

Not only on behalf of this committee but on behalf of many other citizens, we urge that Miss Goldman be allowed to reenter, despite her deportation in 1920. She is now a British subject through marriage. It is somewhat questionable that she was an alien when she was deported, the Supreme Court of the United States having granted a stay of her deportation to examine that point. Miss Goldman, however, preferred to go to Russia without establishing it.

We point out to you that nothing in Miss Goldman's record in the United States gave her opinions on public issues and her philosophy of politics, disqualifies her in any way from reentry. She was never convicted of any except a purely political offense involving activities against the purposes of her trip. We are not to expound views which might render her deportable, but to deal with subjects of immediate interest as indicated by her proposed lectures:

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

880307008

[Letter] 1933 Dec. 19, New York [to Horatio Mooers] American Consul [Department of State], Toronto / Arthur Leonard Ross. — 1 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.  
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Summary: Ross writes a letter supporting Goldman's visa request.

Notes: Broken type. For reply, see 840306154.

ARTHUR LEONARD ROSS  
COUNSELOR AT LAW  
ONE CEDAR STREET  
NEW YORK  
PHONE DEERMAN 3-0340

COPY

3070

December 19th, 1933

American Consul  
302 Bay Street  
Toronto, Canada

Esteemed Sir:

I am informed that Mrs. Emma Goldman Colton, a British subject, has applied to you for a vise.

I have known Mrs. Colton for many years and took part in a negotiation which resulted in her purchase and present ownership of certain buildings and acreage known as "Bon Esprit" located at St. Tropez, France.

I commend her for your favorable consideration.

Very respectfully yours,

SGR: ARTHUR LEONARD ROSS

ALR:R

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1933 Dec. 21, Brooklyn, N.Y. [to] Frances Perkins, Secretary [of Labor]  
Department of Labor, Washington, D.C. / John Haynes Holmes. — 1 p. ; 27 x 20 cm.

Obtained from the Immigration and Naturalization Service via FOLA.

Summary: Holmes asks Perkins to approve Goldman's admission to the United States.

MINISTER  
JOHN HAYNES HOLMES

28. SIDNEY PLACE  
BROOKLYN, N. Y.

ington Council

DEC 23 1933

December 21, 1933.

Dear Secretary Perkins:

I had the honor some time ago of writing you in regard to the proposed visit of Mrs. Emma Goldman Colton to this country for a brief lecture trip. I ventured to express my hope that you would grant to Mrs. Colton permission to enter the country for a short stay. I have now heard that Mrs. Colton, now in Canada, has made application for a visa at Toronto. As I assume that her request will be forwarded to you for your decision, I am venturing to write you again to beg that this distinguished woman may be given the visa which she seeks.

I might add that I have an especial interest in this case because I have invited Mrs. Colton to preach in my pulpit if she comes to New York.

Believe me, with great respect,

Very sincerely yours,

*John Haynes Holmes*

Secretary Frances Perkins,  
Department of Labor,  
Washington, D. C.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1933 Dec. 21, Toronto [to Mabel] Carver Crouch, New York / Horatio Mooers, American Consul, Department of State. — 1 p. ; 21 x 17 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations. Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Papers, Rare Books and Manuscripts Division.

Summary: Mooers thanks Carver Crouch for her letter of support for Goldman's temporary visa application.

Notes: Broken type; light copy; barely legible.

IN REPLY REFER TO

FILE NO. 311-11-Gol  
HM:LC



DEPARTMENT OF STATE

## AMERICAN CONSULAR SERVICE

Consulate General  
Toronto 1, Canada, December 21, 1933.

Mrs. Carver Crouch,  
Gramercy Arms,  
102 East 22nd Street, New York City, New York.

Madam:

Acknowledgment is made of your letter dated December 20, 1933, in the form of an Affidavit, with regard to the admissibility to the United States as a temporary visitor of Mrs. Emma Colton, a British subject, better known as Emma Goldman. You state that Mrs. Colton has a fixed domicile at St. Tropez, Var, France, and that she fully intends to return to that address at the termination of her sojourn outside of France.

The occasion is taken to thank you for the information which you have supplied, and you are assured that it will be given careful consideration at the time a decision is arrived at bearing upon Mrs. Colton's admissibility to the United States.

Very respectfully yours,  
For the Consul in Charge:

*Horatio Mooers*  
Horatio Mooers,  
American Consul.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1933 Dec. 21, Toronto [to] Arthur Leonard Ross, New York / Horatio Mooers, American Consul, Department of State. — 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

*Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Tamiment Library, New York University.*

**Summary:** Mooers acknowledges receipt of Ross's letter of support for Goldman's visa application and asks if Ross can verify Goldman's intent to return to France.

**Notes:** Reply to 880507008. For reply, see 840306175.

IN REPLY REFER TO

FILE NO. 611.11-Gol  
H:LC



DEPARTMENT OF STATE

AMERICAN CONSULAR SERVICE  
Consulate General  
Toronto 2, Canada, December 21, 1933.

Mr. Arthur Leonard Ross, Counselor at Law,  
1 Cedar Street,  
New York, New York.

Sir:

Acknowledgment is made of your letter dated December 19, 1933, with regard to Mrs. Emma Colton, a British subject, better known as Emma Goldman, who is applying at this office for a temporary visitor's visa. You state that you have known Mrs. Colton for many years and took a part in a negotiation which resulted in her purchase and present ownership of a certain building and acreage known as "Bon Espirit", situated at St. Tropez, Var, France.

The occasion is taken to thank you for the information which you have supplied, and in order that the matter of Mrs. Colton's permanent domicile may be established, may I inquire whether or not you have personal knowledge with regard to any intentions she may have of returning to this address, for the purpose of resuming her fixed domicile, after a temporary stay outside of France?

Very respectfully yours,  
For the Consul in Charge:

*Horatio Mooers*  
Horatio Mooers,  
American Consul.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Telegram] 1933 Dec. 22, N[ew] Y[ork to] Frances Perkins, Secretary of Labor  
[Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / Arthur Leonard Ross. — 1 p. ; 22 x 26 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Tamiment Library, New York University.

Summary: Ross urges Perkins to approve Goldman's visa request in the holiday spirit.

Notes: Broken type; dark copy; barely legible.

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1228 A

Charge to the account of ARTHUR LEONARD ROSS, 1 Cedar St., NY \$

CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED	
DOMESTIC	INTERNATIONAL
TELEGRAM	DAY LETTER
NIGHT MESSAGE	NIGHT LETTER
NIGHT LETTER	WEEK END LETTER

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## WESTERN UNION

NEWCOMB CARLTON, PRESIDENT J. C. WILLEVER, FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

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Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

DECEMBER 22, 1933

HON. FRANCES PERKINS,  
SECRETARY OF LABOR,  
WASHINGTON, D.C.

MAY I RESPECTFULLY URGE IN TRUE YULETIDE SPIRIT THAT YOU  
EXERCISE YOUR LEGAL DISCRETION IN FAVOR OF GRANTING A VISA  
TO ADMIT MRS. EMMA GOLDMAN COLTON FOR A LIMITED STAY AND  
FOR HER FUTURE LECTURING ON ISSUES OF PUBLIC INTEREST.

ARTHUR LEONARD ROSS  
101 CEDAR STREET

(101 CEDAR STREET, NEW YORK, N.Y.)

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Telegram] 1933 Dec. 23 [New York to] Daniel W. MacCormack [Commissioner, Immigration and Naturalization Service, Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / Roger Baldwin. — 1 p. ; 21 × 17 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations. Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Papers, Rare Books and Manuscripts Division.

Summary: Baldwin informs MacCormack that Goldman promises to lecture on topics agreed on by the committee arranging her visit.

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NIGHT LETTER	WEEK END LETTER

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## WESTERN UNION

NEWCOMB CARLTON, PRESIDENT      J. C. WILLEVER, FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

CHECK
ACCT'G INFMN.
TIME FILED

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

DEC. 23, 1933.

HON. DANIEL W. MACCORMACK  
2101 CONNECTICUT AVENUE  
WASHINGTON, D.C.

FOLLOWING WIRE RECEIVED BY ME FROM EMMA GOLDMAN COLTON TORONTO  
CANADA DATED DECEMBER TWENTY THIRD QUOTE AM WILLING TO PUT MYSELF  
UNDER AUSPICES OF COMMITTEE AND ITS SELECTION OF SUBJECTS RELY  
ENTIRELY ON ITS JUDGMENT UNQUOTE FEEL CONFIDENT YOU CAN TRUST  
DISCRETION OF COMMITTEE UNDER WHOSE AUSPICES SHE COMES TO SEE  
THAT NO EMBARRASSMENT ARISES BY ANY ACT OF HERS

ROGER N. BALDWIN

WESTERN UNION GIFT ORDERS ARE APPROPRIATE GIFTS FOR ALL OCCASIONS.

4022

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Affidavit] 1933 Dec. 26 [in support of motion for readmission to United States] /  
 Emma Goldman. — 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.  
 Obtained from the Immigration and Naturalization Service via FOIA.  
 Summary: Goldman formally petitions to re-enter the United States.

CITY OF TORONTO.

Before me, F. A. Bohne, Vice Consul of the United States of America in and for the Consular District of Toronto, Canada, duly commissioned and qualified, personally came Mrs. E. G. Colton (Emma Goldman) who, being duly sworn, deposes and says:

- (1) That she was arrested by officers of the Department of Justice while residing at New York, N.Y.;
- (2) That such arrest took place on or about June 15, 1917;
- (3) That she was deported from the United States through the port of Ellis Island, New York;
- (4) That the date of such deportation was December 21, 1919;
- (5) That the name of the steamship upon which she departed from the United States was S.S. Buford;
- (6) That she is now residing at 132 Lytton Blvd., Toronto, Canada;
- (7) That she makes this affidavit in the hope that the Secretary of Labor at Washington, D.C., will grant her permission to reapply for admission into the United States under the Act of May 25, 1932;
- (8) That she desires to visit the United States for a period of three months for the purpose visiting her people and to lecture;
- (9) That in the event favorable action is taken upon this application the American Consul General at Toronto, Canada, be notified;
- (10) And further deponent saith not.

164  
 Subscribed and sworn to before me, this 26th day of December 1933, at Toronto, Canada.

*F. A. Bohne*  
 F. A. Bohne  
 Vice Consul of the United States  
 of America at Toronto, Canada.

Service No. 1429

Age: 64 years.  
 Height: approx. 5ft 2in.  
 Eyes: Blue  
 Hair: Blonde-grey  
 Face: Round.

*Fee of \$3.00 bar,  
 equal to \$3.00  
 M. S. paid.*

AMERICAN CONSULATE GENERAL

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

850712388

[Letter] 1933 Dec. 27, Toronto [to] Harry Weinberger, New York / Horatio Mooers, American Consul, Department of State. — 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Yale University Library. Institutional Location: Harry Weinberger Papers, Department of Manuscripts and Archives.

Summary: The American consul in Toronto thanks Weinberger for providing him with information regarding Goldman's application for a visa.

IN REPLY REFER TO

FILE NO. 811.11-Gol SB:HM/SB.



DEPARTMENT OF STATE

## AMERICAN CONSULAR SERVICE CONSULATE GENERAL

Toronto, 2, Canada, December 27, 1933.

Harry Weinberger, Esquire,  
Counselor-at-Law,  
70 West 40th Street, New York, N.Y.

Sir:

Acknowledgment is made of your letter dated December 23, 1933, concerning your interest in Mrs. Emma Goldman (or Colton), who is desirous of visiting in the United States. You state that you were formerly Mrs. Goldman's attorney, that you have visited her at her home in St. Tropez, France, and that you know that she has a fixed domicile in France.

The occasion is taken to thank you for the information you have supplied, and you are assured that it will receive due consideration at such time as a decision with regard to Mrs. Goldman's admissibility may be made.

Very respectfully yours,  
For the Consul General:

*Horatio Mooers*

Horatio Mooers,  
American Consul.



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1933 Dec. 28, New York [to] Daniel W. MacCormack, Commissioner [Immigration and Naturalization Service, Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / [Roger] Baldwin. — 2 p. ; 26 × 21 cm.

*Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.*  
*Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.*

**Summary:** Baldwin negotiates for Goldman's visa to visit the United States.  
**Notes:** Broken type.

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION  
 100 FIFTH AVENUE NEW YORK CITY

6912

Dec. 28, 1933.

(Personal)

Col. Daniel W. MacCormack  
 Commissioner General of Immigration  
 Washington, D.C.

My dear Colonel:

Here are some additional points in regard to Emma Goldman Colton's application for a reentry permit and visa:

1. While she would prefer to come to the United States now, she can make arrangements to give several courses of lectures in Canada during January, to arrive here the latter part of January, but in order to arrange her schedule, her committee should have word pretty promptly that she may get the reentry permit and visa, even though no public notice of such assurance is given out. I am confident that the preliminary work can be done quietly so that no issue would arise, if any is to arise at all, before the new session of Congress is well under way.

2. In making public any statement in regard to Miss Goldman's visit, may I suggest that the following points be borne in mind: (1) the President's amnesty proclamation on Christmas covered the war-time cases of which Miss Goldman's was one. If she had been a citizen, she would get a full pardon and restoration of rights. If she had been a resident alien, she would have gotten a full pardon. Some reference can be made to this proclamation as one of the reasons for justifying her reentry.

(2) Miss Goldman lived in the United States all her adult life until she was deported in 1920. All her family are here, so are most of her friends. For purely personal reasons therefore, she should be allowed a brief visit. Her public appearances are to be incidental to her personal contacts. That should be made clear.

(3) Miss Goldman's autobiography "Living My Life" was published by Alfred A. Knopf in New York two years ago and has had a wide sale throughout the country. It would

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1933 Dec. 28, New York [to] Daniel W. MacCormack, Commissioner [Immigration and Naturalization Service, Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / [Roger] Baldwin. — 2 p. ; 26 x 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.  
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Summary: Baldwin negotiates for Goldman's visa to visit the United States.

Notes: Broken type.

6913

-2-

a little  
seem/absurd to exclude from the United States one whose  
words in print have had so large an audience here. She  
is no more dangerous in person than she is in a book.

(4) Miss Goldman is coming under the auspices of a responsible committee for a limited stay and her public activities are to be directed to lectures on literary and dramatic topics and on current world affairs, particularly in Europe, and without any subjects in her program dealing with American politics. Nor do the subjects of her lectures involve any advocacies of doctrines which might render her as an alien deportable under the Immigration Act.

(5) Miss Goldman is now a British subject, having married an Englishman some years ago and resides in France. She has been freely admitted to every European country and to Canada, so there is no more reason for the United States to exclude her when, under the law, discretion to admit her is legally entrusted to the Department of Labor.

You will pardon me for making these suggestions, but I just want to put the case to you as I see it for such use as you care to make of it.

Sincerely yours,

RNB/IE

Signed in Mr. Baldwin's absence.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Telegram] 1933 Dec. 30, New York [to Franklin D. Roosevelt] President, Wash[ington] D.C. / Eugene J. Cantin. — 1 p.; 33 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 60.

Summary: Cantin, a member of the jury that convicted Goldman in 1917, protests Goldman's readmission to the United States.

Notes: Dark copy. Enclosed with 880404024.

## COPY

from

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVE

Record Group No. 60

Records of the Department of Justice  
Central File Number 186233-13 (Section 3)

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12208

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NEWCOMB CARLTON, President

J. C. WILLEVER, Vice-President

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NB88 76 DL-NHC NEWYORK NY 30 1129A

THE PRESIDENT-

WHITE HOUSE WASHDC-

IT IS REPORTED THAT PERMISSION IS TO BE GRANTED EMMA GOLDMAN TO RETURN TO THE UNITED STATES STOP AFTER A NOTABLY FAIR TRIAL A JURY OF TWELVE RESPONSIBLE CITIZENS FOUND HER GUILTY AND RECOMMENDED SHE BE DEPORTED WHICH WAS DONE BY PRESIDENT WILSON STOP AS A MEMBER OF THAT JURY I EARNESTLY PROTEST AGAINST THE READMISSION OF THAT NOTORIOUS ANARCHIST TO OUR COUNTRY WHOSE FLAG SHE TREATED WITH CONTEMPT AND WHOSE GOVERNMENT SHE CONSTANTLY WORKED TO DESTROY-

EUGENE J. CANTIN.

RESPECTFULLY REFERRED  
FOR ACKNOWLEDGMENT  
AND CORRESPONDENCE

Louis McHenry  
Secy. to the President

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
JAN 10 1934 P.M.  
MAIL AND FILES DIVISION  
KEENAN-FISHER

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# 438

# The Emma Goldman Papers

840305226

[Letter] 1934 Jan. 5 [New York to] Daniel W. MacCormack, Commissioner [Immigration and Naturalization Service, Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. [draft] / [Arthur Leonard Ross]. — 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Tamiment Library, New York University.

Summary: Ross asks MacCormack to authorize Goldman's admission into the United States for a temporary visit to visit relatives and lecture on literature and drama.

Notes: Draft of 830214067. Written by Roger Baldwin for Ross's signature.

January 5, 1934.

Col. Daniel W. MacCormack  
Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization  
Washington, D.C.

My dear Col. MacCormack:

Mrs. James Colton, who was deported from the United States on December 21, 1919, pursuant to the authority conferred by the Act of October 16, 1918, 40 Stat. 1012, 8 U.S.C. §137, recently made application to the Department of Labor for permission to reapply for admission for the purpose of entering the United States temporarily. I am advised that her application was granted by the Department of Labor on January 3, 1934.

Mrs. Colton wishes to come to the United States for a temporary visit of not more than three months solely in order to visit her relatives and to lecture on literature and the drama. She has no intention of lecturing or giving interviews upon political or other controversial subjects. Moreover, at the end of her stay she plans to return to Canada ~~or England~~ and has already secured from the Canadian authorities assurances appropriate to that end. She holds a British passport valid beyond the period for which her admission to the United States is asked.

It is possible that Mrs. Colton might be denied a visitor's visa and might be refused temporary admission to the United States because of the provisions of Section 3 of the Act of February 5, 1917, 39 Stat. 875, 8 U.S.C. §136; the Act of October 16, 1918, as amended, 40 Stat. 1012, 41 Stat. 1008, 8 U.S.C. §137 or Section 2 (f) of the Act of May 26, 1924, 43 Stat. 153, 8 U.S.C. §202. In order to avoid this possible bar, I request that, pursuant to the ninth proviso of Section 3 of the Immigration Act of 1917, 39 Stat. 875, 8 U.S.C. §136 (q), you authorize her temporary admission for the purposes stated in the last paragraph for a period of three months, provided that Mrs. Colton is found to be admissible under all immigration laws other than those expressly cited above.

Very truly yours,

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1934 Jan. 5 [New York to] Horatio Mooers, American Consul [Department of State], Toronto / Arthur Leonard Ross. — 1 p. ; 29 x 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Tamiment Library, New York University.

**Summary:** Ross assures Mooers that Goldman intends to return to St. Tropez when she leaves the United States.

**Notes:** Broken type. Reply to 840306154. For reply, see 840306156.

72 m 2138

January 5th, 1934

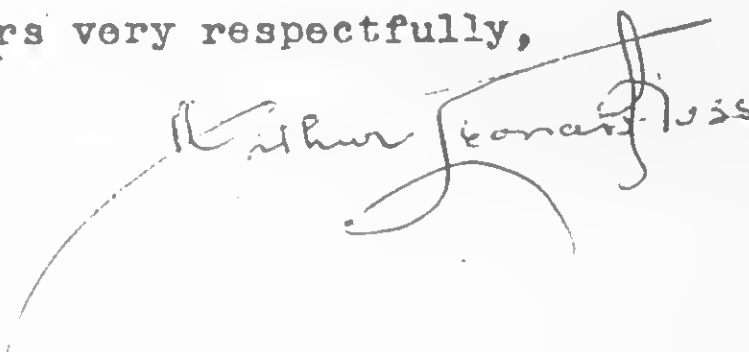
Hon. Horatio Mooers, American Consul  
American Consular Service  
Toronto 2, Canada

Esteemed Sir:                      Your file No. 811.11-Gol

Replying to your favor of the 21st ulto. which I received in this morning's mail, I beg to say that Mrs. Emma Goldman Colton has made annual and perhaps more frequent journeys into other countries and sometimes into Canada in years gone by and has always returned to her domicile at St. Tropez, France.

I know that Mrs. Emma Goldman Colton intends to pursue the policy as heretofore and return to St. Tropez, France, for the purpose of resuming her domicile when her temporary stay outside of France is concluded.

Yours very respectfully,



AIR:R

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1934 Jan. 6 [New York to] Daniel W. MacCormack, Commissioner [Immigration and Naturalization Service, Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / Arthur Leonard Ross. — 1 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.

*Obtained from the Immigration and Naturalization Service via FOIA.*

**Summary:** Acting as Goldman's attorney, Ross asks MacCormack to grant Goldman a temporary visa.

**Notes:** For reply, see 840306155.

54.62  
5  
January 8, 1934  
Col. Daniel W. MacCormack  
Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization  
Washington, D. C.

My dear Col. MacCormack:

Mrs. James Colton, who was deported from the United States on December 21, 1919, pursuant to the authority conferred by the Act of October 16, 1918, 40 Stat. 1012, 8 U.S.C. §137, recently made application to the Department of Labor for permission to reapply for admission for the purpose of entering the United States temporarily. I am advised that her application was granted by the Department of Labor on January 3, 1934.

Mrs. Colton wishes to come to the United States for a temporary visit of not more than three months solely in order to visit her relatives and to lecture on literature and the drama. She has no intention of lecturing or giving interviews upon political or other controversial subjects. Moreover, at the end of her stay she plans to return to Canada and then to her domicile in France and has already secured from the Canadian authorities assurances appropriate to that end. She holds a British passport valid beyond the period for which her admission to the United States is asked.

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It is possible that Mrs. Colton might be denied a visitor's visa and might be refused temporary admission to the United States because of the provisions of Section 3 of the Act of February 5, 1917, 39 Stat. 875, 8 U.S.C. §136; the Act of October 16, 1918, as amended, 40 Stat. 1012, 41 Stat. 1008, 8 U.S.C. §137 or Section 2 (f) of the Act of May 26, 1924, 43 Stat. 153, 8 U.S.C. §202. In order to avoid this possible bar, I request that, pursuant to the ninth proviso of Section 3 of the Immigration Act of 1917, 39 Stat. 875, 8 U.S.C. §136 (q), you authorize her temporary admission for the purposes stated in the last paragraph for a period of three months, provided that Mrs. Colton is found to be admissible under all immigration laws other than those expressly cited above.

Very truly yours,

AIRER

Arthur Leonard Ross

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

840306156

[Letter] 1934 Jan. 8, Toronto [to] Arthur Leonard Ross, New York / Horatio Mooers, American Consul, Department of State. — 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Tamiment Library, New York University.

**Summary:** Mooers assures Ross that he will consider the information Ross sent him about Goldman's intent to leave the United States when her visa expires.

**Notes:** Reply to 840306175.

IN REPLY REFER TO

FILE NO. 811.11-Col SB:TM/SB.



## AMERICAN CONSULAR SERVICE CONSULATE GENERAL

Toronto, 2, Canada, January 8, 1934.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Arthur Leonard Ross, Esquire,  
Counselor-at-Law,  
1 Cedar Street, New York, N.Y.

Sir:

Please permit me to acknowledge, with appreciation, your letter of January 5, 1934, with regard to Mrs. Emma Goldman Colton, who is desirous of visiting in the United States. You state that Mrs. Colton has a fixed domicile at St. Tropez, France, and that you know that she intends to return to St. Tropez, France, for the purpose of resuming her domicile, when her temporary stay outside of France is concluded.

You are assured, Mr. Ross, that the information you have supplied will receive due consideration at such time as a decision with regard to Mrs. Colton's admissibility to the United States may be made.

Very respectfully yours,  
For the Consul General:

*Horatio Mooers*  
Horatio Mooers,  
American Consul.

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## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Press Release?, 1934 Jan. 9, notice of Goldman's admission to the United States] / [Office of the Secretary of Labor, Department of Labor].— 1 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.

*Obtained from the Immigration and Naturalization Service via FOIA.*

**Summary:** The Department of Labor explains the legal authority for its decision to readmit Goldman for a temporary visit.

The Bureau of Immigration and Naturalization of the Department of Labor today (Tuesday) notified its officials on the Canadian border to admit Mrs. James Colton (Emma Goldman) to the United States following her application for permission to visit relatives in this country. She stated in her application for temporary admision that she would not engage in political activities while here. She will be admitted for a period not to exceed ninety days.

The applicant, who is 64 years old, was deported to Russia in 1919. She remained there two years and then went to Sweden. Later she lived in Germany, France and England and is now in Toronto, Canada. She is a British subject having married James Colton a Scotch coal miner.

In admitting her for a brief visit the Department of Labor acted under the authority of two frequently applied statutes and pursuant to an opinion of former Attorney General William D. Mitchell, a member of President Hoover's Cabinet. The first statute was the Act of May 25, 1932, 47 Stat. 166. This statute was recommended by the Wickersham Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement. It allowed her to apply for admision although she had previously been deported.

The other legislation was the ninth proviso of Section 3 of the Immigration Act of 1917, 39 Stat. 875. As interpreted by Attorney General Mitchell, this proviso authorized the Department of Labor to accept the applicant's request for temporary admision, even though her political views might make it impossible to admit her to the United States for permanent residence.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1934 Jan. 9, Washington [D.C. to] Arthur Leonard Ross, New York / Edward J. Shaughnessy, Deputy Commissioner, Immigration and Naturalization Service, Dept. of Labor. — 1 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Tamiment Library, New York University.

Summary: Shaughnessy notifies Ross that the Department of Labor granted Goldman a ninety-day visa.

Notes: Reply to 830214067. For reply, see 880507005. For copy, see 830214066.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR  
IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION SERVICE  
WASHINGTON

ADDRESS REPLY TO COMMISSIONER OF  
IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION  
AND REFER TO FILE NUMBER

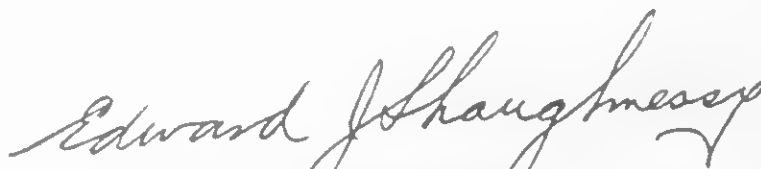
January 9, 1934

Arthur Leonard Ross, Esq.  
1 Cedar Street  
New York, N. Y.

Dear Sir:

In the absence of the Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization, your letter of January 7, 1934, making application for the temporary admission of Mrs. James Colton has been referred to me.

Pursuant to the authority conferred by the ninth proviso of Section 3 of the Immigration Act of 1917, 39 Stat. 875, 8 U.S.C. §136(q), the Department of Labor today directed that Mrs. Colton should be admitted for a temporary visit of ninety days. If you will advise me at what United States Consulate she will appear for a visa and through what port she will enter the United States, I shall see that appropriate instructions are issued.



EDWARD J. SHAUGHNESSY  
Deputy Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1934 Jan. 9 [Washington, D.C. to] Arthur Leonard Ross, New York / Edward J. Shaughnessy, Deputy Commissioner [Immigration and Naturalization Service, Dept. of Labor]. — 1 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the Immigration and Naturalization Service via FOIA.

Notes: Bleedthrough; dark copy; barely legible. Copy of 840306155.

January 9, 1934

Buffalo, New York.

Arthur Leonard Ross, Esq.  
1 Cedar Street  
New York, N. Y.

Dear Sir:

Mrs. James Calton (Emma Goldman) has been  
admitted to the United States for a temporary visit of ninety days.  
Further directed that under the ninth proviso of  
Section 3 of the Immigration Act of 1917, she  
is the spouse of the Commissioner of Immigration and  
Naturalization, your letter of January 7, 1934, making application  
for the temporary admission of Mrs. James Calton has been referred  
to me.

It is understood that she now resides in  
Buffalo, New York, and is the wife of  
of Section 3 of the Immigration Act of 1917, 39 Stat. 875, § 8 U.S.C.  
§136(q), the Department of Labor today directed that Mrs. Calton  
should be admitted for a temporary visit of ninety days. If you will  
advise me at what United States Consulate she will appear for a visa  
and through what port she will enter the United States, I shall see  
that appropriate instructions are issued.

(Sgd) E. J. S.

EDWARD J. SHAUGHNESSY  
Deputy Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1934 Jan. 9, Kansas City, Mo. [to] Cordell Hull, Secretary of State [Department of State], Washington, D.C. / H.D. Kissenger. — 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

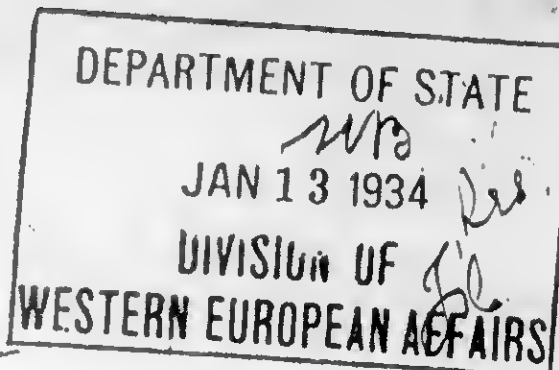
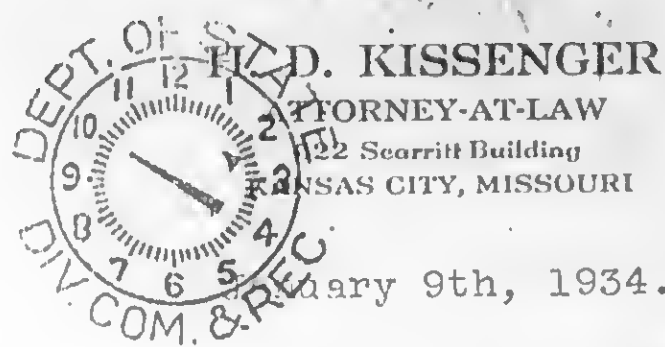
Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Using anti-Semitic language, Kissenger urges the recall of the American Minister to Canada for allowing Goldman to return to the United States.

phone Victor 3005

AM. RECD

Notary Public in Office

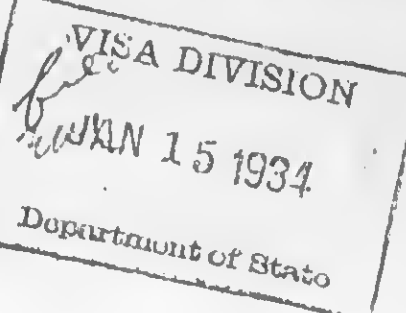


JAN 11 34

DIVISION OF  
EASTERN EUROPEAN AFFAIRS.

JAN 16 1934

DEPARTMENT OF STATE



Hon. Cordell Hull,  
Secretary of State,  
Washington, D. C.

Esteemed Sir:

It is widely printed in the press of even date that H. Moorer, our Minister to Canada, made the following statement:

"Moorer said he that there would not be any objection to Miss Goldman lecturing in the U. S. if she spoke on the same subject she chose in Canada - the German Regime."

This is a needless affront to a friendly power in behalf of a dangerous Red Jewess who advocates social equality between blacks and whites, etc. He is not qualified for statecraft and should be recalled.

Sincerely,

*H.D. Kissenger*

*Perhaps Moorer is a Jew*

123 M 772/285

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## The Emma Goldman Papers

830523126

[Letter, 1934 Jan. 10?] Greenwich, Conn. [to] Frances Perkins, Secretary of Labor  
[Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / K.R. Willoughby-Heyman.—  
2 p.; 27 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Columbia University Rare Book and  
Manuscript Library. Institutional Location: Frances Perkins Papers, Special Manuscripts Collection.

Summary: Willoughby-Heyman urges Perkins not to allow Goldman back into the country.

~~Studio~~  
35 West 57<sup>th</sup> Street  
Eldorado 5-7174.

Personal address—  
167 East Elm,  
Greenwich, Conn.

Secretary of Labor  
Mrs. Frances Perkins,  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Madame, —

It is not for an artist  
to concern herself with pol-  
itics; yet the purpose of  
an artist is certainly  
The inner peace of mankind.  
So perhaps you will permit  
me to throw the little  
weight of my experience  
into the balance, on the  
side against the entrance

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1934 Jan. 10?] Greenwich, Conn. [to] Frances Perkins, Secretary of Labor  
[Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / K.R. Willoughby-Heyman. —  
2 p.; 27 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Columbia University Rare Book and  
Manuscript Library. Institutional Location: Frances Perkins Papers, Special Manuscripts Collection.

Summary: Willoughby-Heyman urges Perkins not to allow Goldman back into the country.

personalities. If this is an intrusion I try  
you to pardon it.

Believe me  
Yours,  
K.R. Willoughby-Heyman.

into our country of deported  
persons who are disturbing  
elements to society.

Like many other revo-  
lutionaries, both Emma Goldman  
and Bortman are amiable  
persons in private life.

I met each of them in  
Paris. They work passion-  
ately for a cause that  
can not wait on natural  
evolution.

May I suggest  
that neither of them will  
ever be American at heart  
or ever submit to the law  
and order of government.

I can not feel that the con-  
structive forces now at work  
here would be strengthened by  
the presence of either of those

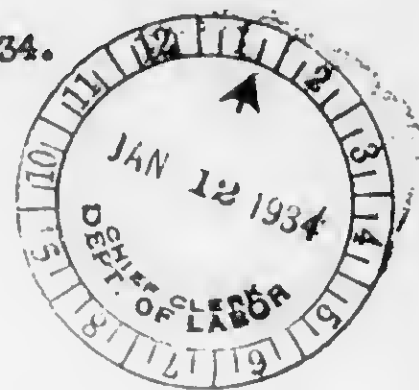
BEST COPY AVAILABLE

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1934 Jan. 11, New York [to] Frances Perkins, Secretary of Labor, Department of Labor, Washington, D.C. / James P. Roe. — 2 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.  
 Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Columbia University Rare Book and Manuscript Library. Institutional Location: Frances Perkins Papers, Special Manuscripts Collection.  
 Summary: Roe protests the government's decision to admit Goldman into the country.

JAMES P. ROE  
 FIVE TWENTY-TWO FIFTH AVENUE  
 NEW YORK

January 11, 1934.



The Honorable Frances Perkins,  
 Secretary of Labor,  
 Department of Labor,  
 Washington, D. C.

Dear Madam Secretary:

As a born American citizen I take the liberty of protesting earnestly against the ruling of the Bureau of Immigration of the Department of Labor readmitting Emma Goldman to this country.

There can be no quarrel with the principle of admitting foreign refugees from political oppression into this Republic so long as the other requirements for admittance are met by each individual so favored. From having afforded asylum to such good citizens of other countries as did not consider their worth America was built.

We have had enough, however, of the malcontents, criminals, wild-wits, agitators, helpless paupers, insane and diseased flooding into this country from all over the world. Our institutions are filled with the results of such thoughtless indulgence. Our backs are overburdened with the weight of taxation imposed upon us by the necessity of maintaining these hopeless derelicts and criminals in our midst. There should be some consideration in Washington for the preservation of a strong, wholesome America. Weak-brained "liberalism" which is concerned more with an emotional humanitarianism as applied to foreigners and as works against our own domestic interests, has no place in our Government.

I remember well traveling to Europe year after year in the Fall with returning laborers from the overpopulated countries of Southeastern Europe, which laborers regularly came to this country in the Spring to work, returning to their native countries with their earnings and allegiance every Fall. True, they did a necessary work here but that work was far overbalanced by the harm they did, particularly in giving American laborers the peculiar notion that they were too good to work with their hands for the development and improvement of their own country and in lowering the wage standard for the benefit of profiteering employers.

I also remember well the time when in the courts of certain European countries convicted criminals were given the choice of long terms in jail at home or of emigrating to America—meaning the United States.

The above two indicated situations are happily of the past. At present we have enough criminal agitation for agitation's sake in this country. We have enough of our own native criminals and chronic disturbers of the peace to take care of. In the last few years we have had thousands upon thousands of foreigners, many of them worthless nobles, or reputed nobles, who have come here with temporary permits to enter only to lose themselves in the swirling masses of America and to stay here indefinitely or until they had to be arrested for some offense against our laws. Thousands more have been smuggled into this country all too easily. Others have been allowed to enter temporarily "to visit relatives", to gather material to write about us, to lecture to us and to do all sorts of similar inane things at our expense.

## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1934 Jan. 11, New York [to] Frances Perkins, Secretary of Labor, Department of Labor, Washington, D.C. / James P. Roe. — 2 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.  
 Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Columbia University Rare Book and Manuscript Library. Institutional Location: Frances Perkins Papers, Special Manuscripts Collection.  
 Summary: Roe protests the government's decision to admit Goldman into the country.

JAMES P. ROE

2 - Secretary of Labor

Mr. Karolyi was one fairly recent instance of this troublesome lot of temporary visitors who quickly broke their promises.

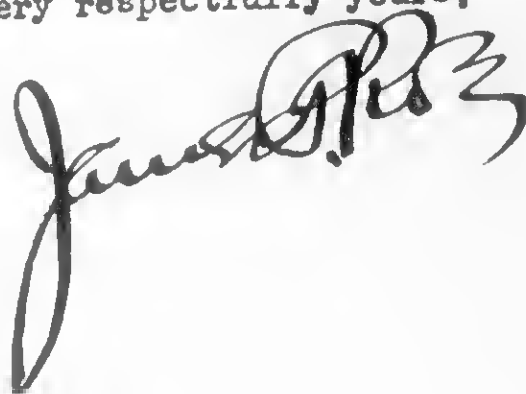
Certainly, a deported anarchist who had kept this country in turmoil for a great many years, whose wild agitations had caused strife and bloodshed unmeasured throughout this land, who couldn't even abide by the "sacred" laws of the "beloved" so-called Communist Russia which she had preached in this country and who had been deported to Russia for the restoration of our peace and for the satisfaction of her own yearnings, should not be readmitted to this country under any specious pretext.

Dear Madam Secretary, such indulgence as has been shown Emma Goldman is a sure token of spineless emotionalism. There is no warrant for such "liberalism", particularly in this day when we still have so many unemployed of our own and when we have not had the wit or the courage to establish a permanent institution for the compulsory arbitration of strikes and the suppression by reasonable, fair laws of those who commit wanton violence in our industrial and agricultural areas.

I write as no bigot or 150% American. I know my world; I have traveled over it for more than thirty years and I speak the languages and I am familiar with the governments and the peoples of most European countries. I happen to know whereof I write herein.

Please believe me,

Very respectfully yours,





## The Emma Goldman Papers

880507005

[Letter] 1934 Jan. 11, New York [to] Edward J. Shaughnessy [Deputy Commissioner]  
Immigration and Naturalization Service, Department of Labor, Washington, D.C. / Ar-  
thur Leonard Ross. — 1 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.  
*Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.*  
*Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.*  
**Summary:** Ross thanks Shaughnessy for issuing Goldman's visa and informs him that she will enter via  
Niagara Falls from Toronto.  
**Notes:** Reply to 840306155.

3062

ARTHUR LEONARD ROSS  
COUNSELOR AT LAW  
ONE CEDAR STREET  
NEW YORK  
PHONE DEERMAN 3-0340

COPY

January 11th, 1934

U. S. Department of Labor  
Immigration and Naturalization Service  
Washington, D. C.

Attention: Mr. Edward J. Shaughnessy

Dear Sir:

I desire to thank you for your letter of  
January 9th, 1934 informing me that the Department  
of Labor directed that my client, Mrs. James Colton,  
should be admitted for a temporary visit of 90 days.

May I be permitted to suggest that appro-  
priate instructions be issued to the Consul at  
Toronto, Canada, where Mrs. Colton will appear for  
a visa, and to the port authorities at Niagara  
Falls, where she will enter the United States.

In order that my client should have the  
benefit of the complete 90 days may I respectfully  
suggest that the visa be good for 90 days from  
date of entry.

Thanking you again for your courtesy, I  
am,

Yours very truly,

SOB\* ARTHUR LEONARD ROSS

ALR:R

451

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Telegram] 1934 Jan. 12, Saratoga Springs, N.Y. [to] Frances Perkins [Secretary of Labor] Dep[artmen]t [of] Labor, Wash[ington] D.C. / Evelyn Scott. — 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.  
 Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Columbia University Rare Book and Manuscript Library. Institutional Location: Frances Perkins Papers, Special Manuscripts Collection.  
 Summary: Scott thanks Perkins for granting Goldman's reentry visa.  
 Notes: Lower document only.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

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## WESTERN UNION

(59)

R. B. WHITE  
PRESIDENT

NEWCOMB CARLTON  
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

J. C. WILKINSON  
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

NL = Night Letter  
LC = Deferred Cable  
NLT = Cable Night Letter  
Ship Radiogram

The filing time as shown in the date line on full-rate telegrams and day letters, and the time of receipt at destination as shown on all messages in STANDARD TIME.

Received at 708 14th St., N. W. Washington, D. C. 1934 JAN 12 PM 6 01

NA1008 13=ZG NEWYORK NY 12 553P

MINUTES IN TRANSIT	
FULL-RATE	DAY LETTER

HON FRANCES PERKINS=  
 DEPARTMENT OF LABOR WASHDC=

I CONGRATULATE YOU ON THE DEPARTMENTS ENLIGHTENED COURSE  
 IN GRANTING EMMA GOLDMANS APPLICATION=  
 B W HUEBSCH.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

**CLASS OF SERVICE**

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable sign above or preceding the address.

## WESTERN UNION

(33)

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Received at 708 14th St., N. W. Washington, D. C. 1934 JAN 12 PM 5 34

IA977 9 NM=SARATOGASPRINGS NY 12

MINUTES IN TRANSIT	
FULL-RATE	DAY LETTER

HON FRANCES PERKINS=  
 LABOR DEPT WASHDC=

CONGRATULATIONS DEEP APPRECIATION ACTION TAKEN GOLDMAN  
 APPLICATION FOR REENTRY=  
 EVELYN SCOTT



THE QUICKEST, SUREST AND SAFEST WAY TO SEND MONEY IS BY TELEGRAPH OR CABLE

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

830523129

[Telegram] 1934 Jan. 12, New York [to] Frances Perkins [Secretary of Labor] Department of Labor, Wash[ington] D.C. / B[enjamin] W. Huebsch, — 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.  
Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Columbia University Rare Book and Manuscript Library. Institutional Location: Frances Perkins Papers, Special Manuscripts Collection.  
Summary: Huebsch congratulates Perkins for granting Goldman's visitor's visa request.  
Notes: Upper document only.

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WESTERN UNION

(59)

Received at 708 14th St., N. W. Washington, D. C.

NA1008 13=ZG NEWYORK NY 12 553P.

HON FRANCES PERKINS=  
DEPARTMENT OF LABOR WASHDC=

I CONGRATULATE YOU ON THE DEPARTMENTS ENLIGHTENED COURSE  
IN GRANTING EMMA GOLDMANS APPLICATION=  
B W HUEBSCH.

CLASS OF SERVICE  
This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable sign above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

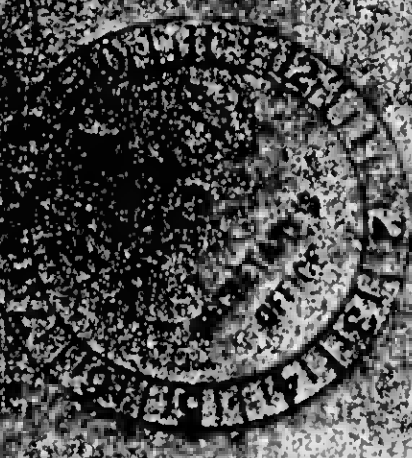
(53)

Received at 708 14th St., N. W. Washington, D. C.

IA977 9 NM=SARATOGASPRINGS NY 12

HON FRANCES PERKINS=  
LABOR DEPT WASHDC=

CONGRATULATIONS DEEP APPRECIATION ACTION TAKEN GOLDMAN  
APPLICATION FOR REENTRY=  
EVELYN SCOTT



THE QUICKEST, EASIEST AND SAFEST WAY TO SEND MONEY IS BY CABLE

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453

# The Emma Goldman Papers

900404051

[Telegram, 1934 Jan. 12] N[ew] Y[ork to] Frances Perkins [Secretary of Labor] Department of Labor, Washington, D.C. / B[enjamin] W. Huebsch. — 1 p. ; 20 x 18 cm.  
Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Princeton University Library. Institutional Location: American Civil Liberties Union Archives.  
Notes: Dark copy. Copy of 830523129.

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# WESTERN UNION

NEWCOMB CARLTON, PRESIDENT

J. C. WILLEVER, FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

Hon. Frances Perkins  
Department of Labor  
Washington, D. C.

43  
Emma Goldman

I congratulate you on the departments enlightened course in granting Emma Goldmans application

B. W. HUEBSCH

Copy

WESTERN UNION GIFT ORDERS SOLVE THE PERPLEXING QUESTION OF WHAT

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454

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1934 Jan. 12, Brooklyn, N.Y. [to] Frances Perkins, Secretary [of Labor] Department of Labor, Washington, D.C. / John Haynes Holmes. — 1 p. ; 26 x 22 cm.  
*Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Columbia University Rare Book and Manuscript Library. Institutional Location: Frances Perkins Papers, Special Manuscripts Collection.*  
**Summary:** Holmes thanks Perkins for her part in granting Goldman's temporary visa.

## THE COMMUNITY CHURCH OF NEW YORK

MINISTER  
JOHN HAYNES HOLMES

January 12, 1934.



Dear Secretary Perkins;

I have read with the greatest satisfaction of the action of your Department in approving the admission to this country of Miss Emma Goldman for a three months' visit. I regard this action as enlightened as well as generous, and thus characteristic of an Administration of which you are so distinguished a member. As I know that you must have had a personal share in this decision, and as I originally submitted to you my own personal petition on Miss Goldman's behalf, I desire now to express to you personally the gratitude I feel.

Believe me, with great respect,

Very sincerely yours,

Secretary Frances Perkins,  
Department of Labor,  
Washington, D.C.



## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1934 Jan. 12, New York [to] Frances Perkins [Secretary of Labor, Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / Roger William Riis. — 1 p. ; 26 x 22 cm.

*Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Columbia University Rare Book and Manuscript Library. Institutional Location: Frances Perkins Papers, Special Manuscripts Collection.*

**Summary:** In the interest of free speech, Riis supports Perkins's decision to allow Goldman back into the country for a visit.

RIIS and BONNER  
522 Fifth Avenue  
New York City



January 12, 1934.

The Honorable  
Miss Frances Perkins,  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Miss Perkins:

Let me register my strong approval of your action in admitting Emma Goldman to the United States. I am not interested in what Miss Goldman has to say, but I am exceedingly interested in letting thought and expression run free and unrestricted across our borders. Let us have no tariff on ideas. I admire your strength of action in taking this step in the face of resistance from the Antediluvians. More power to you, and thank you!

Respectfully yours,

*Roger William Riis*

## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1934 Jan. 12, New York [to] Frances Perkins, Secretary of Labor [Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / Harry Weinberger. — 1 p. ; 27 × 22 cm.  
*Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Columbia University Rare Book and Manuscript Library. Institutional Location: Frances Perkins Papers, Special Manuscripts Collection.*  
**Summary:** Weinberger thanks Perkins for granting Goldman's visa request.

HARRY WEINBERGER  
COUNSELOR AT LAW  
10 WEST 40TH ST., NEW YORK  
LONGACRE 5-7772-7773



January 12, 1934

Miss Frances Perkins  
Secretary of Labor  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Miss Perkins:

May I express my appreciation of your order permitting Miss Emma Goldman to enter the United States. I believe I express the view of hundreds of thousands of labor and progressive thinkers in America who I am sure also approve of your action.

I am with personal regards.

Sincerely,

HW:BW

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1934 Jan. 12, New York [to] Frances Perkins, Secretary of Labor [Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / Dorothy Kenyon. — 1 p. ; 27 × 22 cm.  
*Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Columbia University Rare Book and Manuscript Library. Institutional Location: Frances Perkins Papers, Special Manuscripts Collection.*  
**Summary:** Kenyon congratulates the Labor Department for its courage in granting Goldman's visa request.

STRAUS AND KENYON  
 COUNSELLORS AT LAW  
 51 EAST 42<sup>ND</sup> STREET  
 NEW YORK

DOROTHY KENYON  
 DOROTHY STRAUS

TELEPHONE, MURRAY HILL 6321  
 CABLE ADDRESS, DORKAS

January 12, 1934.



Hon. Frances Perkins,  
 Secretary of Labor,  
 Washington, D.C.

My dear Miss Perkins:

I am delighted to see by the papers that the Labor Department is admitting Emma Goldman to the United States for a three months' visit. I congratulate the Labor Department upon its liberality and courage which I am sure will be applauded by the entire country.

Sincerely yours,

*Dorothy Kenyon*

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1934 Jan. 12, Philadelphia [to] Frances Perkins, Secretary of Labor [Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / W. Brooke Graves. — 1 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Columbia University Rare Book and Manuscript Library. Institutional Location: Frances Perkins Papers, Special Manuscripts Collection.

Summary: On behalf of the Pennsylvania Civil Liberties Committee, Graves thanks Perkins for allowing Goldman to return to the country.

Notes: Broken type; light copy; barely legible.

Free Speech — Free Press — Free Assemblage

## PENNSYLVANIA CIVIL LIBERTIES COMMITTEE

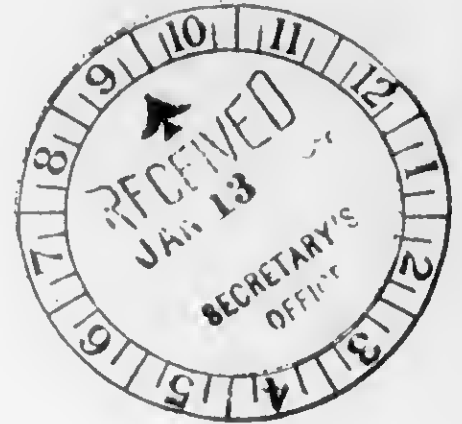
321 SOUTH 11TH STREET, PHILADELPHIA, PA.

Affiliated with the  
American Civil Liberties Union

Chairman  
W. BROOKE GRAVES  
Treasurer  
E. LOUIS BURNHAM  
Executive Secretary  
JOHN V. STANGER

Kingsley 0558

January 11, 1934



Miss Frances Perkins  
Secretary of Labor  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Miss Perkins:

At a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Pennsylvania Civil Liberties Committee, held on Wednesday evening of this week, it was unanimously voted to send you a word of appreciation of the liberal policy adopted by the Bureau of Immigration and Naturalization with regard to the Emma Goldman permit, and other matters. We appreciate the fact that this permit represents the first instance in which a deported individual has been permitted to re-enter the United States, even for a visit. We want you to know that there are many persons throughout the country who, like ourselves, have little in common with Miss Goldman so far as her beliefs are concerned, but who believe that individuals should not be persecuted or deported for an expression of an opinion which they honestly hold.

Very truly yours,

*W. Brooke Graves*

W. Brooke Graves  
Chairman

C:H

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459

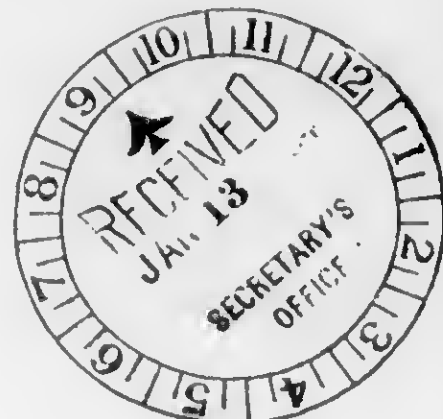
# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1934 Jan. 12, New York [to] Frances Perkins [Secretary of Labor] Department of Labor, Washington, D.C. / Harry Elmer Barnes. — 1 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.  
*Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Columbia University Rare Book and Manuscript Library. Institutional Location: Frances Perkins Papers, Special Manuscripts Collection.*  
**Summary:** Barnes congratulates Perkins on allowing Goldman to visit the United States.



SCRIPPS-HOWARD NEWSPAPERS

HARRY ELMER BARNES  
 230 PARK AVENUE  
 NEW YORK



January 12, 1934

The Honorable Frances Perkins

Department of Labor

Washington, D. C.

Dear Miss Perkins:

Please allow me to congratulate  
 you upon your characteristically  
 courageous action in admitting Emma  
 Goldman to the United States for a three  
 months' visit.

Sincerely yours,

b/g



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1934 Jan. 14, Roselle, N.J. [to] Frances Perkins, Secretary [of Labor, Department of Labor, Washington, D.C.] / Eliot White. — 2 p. ; 25 x 17 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Columbia University Rare Book and Manuscript Library. Institutional Location: Frances Perkins Papers, Special Manuscripts Collection.

Summary: White thanks Perkins for granting Goldman a temporary visa.



ELIOT WHITE  
126 GORDON STREET  
ROSELLE, NEW JERSEY

January 14, 1934

The Honorable Frances Perkins;

Dear Secretary Perkins,

Allow me to express  
sincere appreciation of your action  
in behalf of the Right of Entry  
for a visa for Mrs. F. Bolton  
better known as Emma Goldman,  
Whom I have long known and  
to whom my wife and I were  
able to render assistance nearly  
twenty-five years ago, in securing  
freedom of speech when she was  
otherwise denied it in the City

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461

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1934 Jan. 14, Roselle, N.J. [to] Frances Perkins, Secretary [of Labor, Department of Labor, Washington, D.C.] / Eliot White. — 2 p. ; 25 x 17 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Columbia University Rare Book and Manuscript Library. Institutional Location: Frances Perkins Papers, Special Manuscripts Collection.

Summary: White thanks Perkins for granting Goldman a temporary visa.

My Worcester, Massachusetts.  
 At that time she took no unfair  
 advantage of our efforts, and we  
 are convinced that she will not  
 now cause you to regret your  
 extension of this hospitality to  
 her.

Cordially yours,  
 (Per.) Eliot White

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1934 Jan. 15, New York [to] Frances Perkins, Secretary of Labor [Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / Ira De A. Reid. — 1 p. ; 24 × 17 cm.

*Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Columbia University Rare Book and Manuscript Library. Institutional Location: Frances Perkins Papers, Special Manuscripts Collection.*

**Summary:** On behalf of the National Urban League, Reid thanks Perkins for granting Goldman's visa request.

TEL. CHELSEA 3-1838-39

NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE  
1133 BROADWAY  
NEW YORK CITY

DEPARTMENT OF RESEARCH  
IRA DE A. REID, DIRECTOR

January  
Fifteenth  
1 9 3 4



Honorable Frances Perkins  
Secretary of Labor  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Madam Secretary:

May I offer this word of commendation to you as Secretary of Labor for the action that the Department of Labor has taken in admitting Emma Goldman to the United States for a visit of three months.

While many of us do not subscribe to Miss Goldman's political point of view, we view with pride the liberal action taken in this instance.

Sincerely yours,

*Ira D. Reid*

IDR/B

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1934 Jan. 15, South Ozone Park [N.Y. to Frances] Perkins, Secretary of Labor [Department of Labor Washington, D.C.] / George Rosenberger. — 1 p. ; 27 x 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Columbia University Rare Book and Manuscript Library. Institutional Location: Frances Perkins Papers, Special Manuscripts Collection.

Summary: On behalf of the Robert Morris Council of the Masons, Rosenberger protests the Department of Labor's decision to admit Goldman into the country.

## ROBERT MORRIS COUNCIL No. 100

Jr. O. U. A. M. (Inc.)

Meets  
FIRST and THIRD THURSDAY  
of Each Month



AT LAW BUILDING  
3208-10 Third Avenue  
At 141st Street

648 East 146

New York, January 15, 1934. 193

Secretary of Labor  
Miss Perkins,

Dear Madam,

At a regular meeting of the above named organization, it was resolved—

That we 135 members go on record in protest to your admitting Emma Goldman into this Country.

We are for the American Schools— Restricted Immigration— and making America a fit place for Americans—not aliens.

Yours respectfully,

*George Rosenberger*

Secretary  
114-07 131 Street,  
South Ozone Park, L.I.



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1934 Jan. 15, Richmond Hill [N.Y. to Frances] P[er]kins, Secretary of Labor [Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / George Rosenberger. — 1 p. ; 25 × 22 cm.  
 Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Columbia University Rare Book and Manuscript Library. Institutional Location: Frances Perkins Papers, Special Manuscripts Collection.  
 Summary: Rosenberger protests the Department of Labor's decision to let Goldman back into the country.

Notling Green 8411  
 Republic 8958

George Jay Rosenberger

115-07 131st Street  
 Richmond Hill, Queens, L. I.



New York, January 15, 1934 192

Hon. Miss Perkins  
 Secretary of Labor  
 Washington, D.C.

Dear Madam,

Kindly accept my protest to your admitting Emma Goldman into this great Country of ours. She caused enough trouble before and should not be allowed to put her feet on our land. Do not let your sentiments carry you away- remember you have to do what you think will be best for all the people of our Country. And this woman means no good to our Country or to our great President-she means only harm.

I am for stricter immigration laws- we have about Three Million illicit immigrants in this Country- Deport Them- it will help solve the unemployment. Then American Born can get a job.

Yours respectfully,

*George Rosenberger*



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1934 Jan. 15, Montreal [to] H.H. Stevens, Minister of Trade and Commerce, Ottawa / Aorian A. Rand. — 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the National Archives of Canada. Institutional Location: Record Group 18.

Summary: The editor of *Le Patriote* warns Stevens that Goldman, a false anti-communist, is back in Canada and that the Jews are planning revolution in Canada.

Notes: Enclosed with 850128019.

(copy)

~~Personal and Confidential~~  
*clerk*

LE PATRIOTE

Journal Hebdomadaire  
1725, rue St. Denis  
Tel. Harbour 8216  
MONTREAL

January 15, 1934.

The Hon. H. H. Stevens, P.C.,  
Minister of Trade and Commerce,  
Ottawa, Ont.

Honourable Sir,

At the demand of Hon. Senator J. H. Rainville, I have the honor to bring the following to your attention.

According to serious informations that reached us, Alderman Josef Schubert, of Montreal, is the distributor of funds in this province of Quebec for all Leftist propaganda and action; that he receives the money from Jews who come here from New York; that he meets those Jews at the Mount Royal Hotel in Montreal; that their last meeting, which lasted until three o'clock in the morning, in a room of said hotel, was attended by two New York Jews, Alderman Schubert (an avowed radical socialist) and a Christian socialist leader. Those interested should watch closely certain activities in the Mount Royal Hotel.

The Jewess Emma Goldman, now lecturing in Toronto, has been most influent in Berlin and Moscow communist circles. She is, like Trotsky, a pretended ousted-communist, but plays an important role as secret messenger and mots-d'ordre carrier. It is a shame that she be on Canadian soil.

I am aware of important preparations made by Jews in this country for future disturbed occasions, and that reports of foreign diplomats in Washington are to the effect that "Canada is nearer a revolution than any other country". I let it to the Government's police and your care for our country to enquire about it all.

With my best wishes and full assurance of cooperation for Canada's safeguard, I am, Sir

Yours Faithfully,

(sgd.) Aorian A. Rand

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1934 Jan. 18 [Washington, D.C. to Frances Perkins] Secretary of Labor [Department of Labor, Washington, D.C.] / Joseph B. Keenan, Assistant Attorney General [Department of Justice]. — 1 p. ; 33 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 60.

Summary: Keenan forwards a letter protesting Goldman's readmission to the United States.

Notes: For enclosure, see 880404023.

COPY

from

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVE

Record Group No. 60

Records of the Department of Justice  
Central File Number 186233-13 (Section 3)

JBK

186233-13

JAN 19 1934

S. A. G.

January 18, 1934.

HAF:KCC

RECORDED

The Honorable

The Secretary of Labor.

Sir:

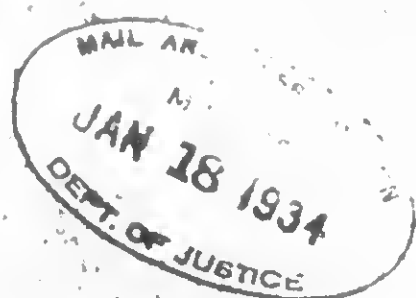
I have the honor to transmit herewith for such attention as may be deemed appropriate a copy of a telegram referred to this Department by the President from one Eugene J. Cantin of New York City, protesting against the readmission to this country of Emma Goldman.

Respectfully,

For the Attorney General:

(Signed) Joseph B. Keenan  
JOSEPH B. KEENAN,  
Assistant Attorney General.

Encl. 494451



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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1934 Jan. 18, Washington [D.C. to] Roger Baldwin, New York / D[aniel] W. MacCormack, Commissioner, Immigration and Naturalization Service, Department of Labor. — 1 p. ; 28 × 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Princeton University Library. Institutional Location: American Civil Liberties Union Archives.

Summary: MacCormack notifies Baldwin that the State Department decided to grant Goldman a visa.

*Emma Goldman*  
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR  
IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION SERVICE  
WASHINGTON

ADDRESS REPLY TO COMMISSIONER OF  
IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION  
AND REFER TO FILE NUMBER

January 18, 1934.

*1/19/34*

*run 3*

Mr. Roger Baldwin,  
Director,  
American Civil Liberties Union,  
100 Fifth Avenue,  
New York City.

My dear Mr. Baldwin:

We have been advised by the  
Department of State that Mrs. Emma Goldman  
Colton has been granted a visitor's visa.

Very truly yours,

*D. W. MacCormack*  
D. W. MacCORMACK  
Commissioner.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1934 Jan. 19, Ottawa [to] Hugh Guthrie, Minister of Justice, Ottawa / J.H. MacBrien, Commissioner [Royal Canadian Mounted Police].— 2 p. ; 32 x 21 cm.  
Obtained from the National Archives of Canada. Institutional Location: Record Group 18.

**Summary:** Responding to an attack from the editor of *Le Patriote*, Commissioner MacBrien summarizes the evidence of Goldman's anti-communism.

**Notes:** For enclosure, see 850128020.

copy On:- D915-1-D-1  
175/P1382

175/4414

19th January, 1934.

Dear Mr. Guthrie:-

(1) I have your letter of the 6th instant and its accompanying letter from the office of "Le Patriote" in Montreal to the Honourable Mr. Stevens relating to the activities in this country of two persons, i.e., Emma Goldman and Joseph Shubert mentioned therein.

(2) Both of these individuals are well known to us, having occupied the attention of this Force on several occasions. The allegations made by the writer of the letter to the Honourable Mr. Stevens are not consistent with the information in our possession concerning these persons.

(3) Emma Goldman, internationally known anarchist, was deported by the United States for her radical activities in 1919 after having lived there for approximately 40 years. She went to Russia and remained there for some time during which she studied the Bolshevik regime. She disagreed with the Bolsheviks principally over the question of the dictatorship that existed and left that country determined to do all she could to discredit not only the leaders of the Soviets and their policy but the Communist International as the centre of the world's revolution as well. We have reasons to believe she was actually driven out of Russia and told to stay out.

(4) This woman, a Jewess of about 65 years of age, is a native of Kovno, Lithuania, formerly Russian territory, and by reason of her marriage to an Englishman named James Colton, a British subject. Prior to her deportation from the United States of America she was considered the common law wife of one Berkman, who was deported at the time.

(5) Canada was favoured with her society from October, 1926, to February, 1928. She left here on or about February 10th, 1928, for the south of France where she intended to take up residence and write ~~her~~ autobiography. Since then we have heard nothing of her and it is a surprise to hear now that she is lecturing in the City of Toronto.

(6) During her stay in this country she addressed a series of meetings from coast to coast at which she attacked Stalin and his crowd in no uncertain manner.

The Honourable Hugh Guthrie, K.C.,  
Minister of Justice,  
OTTAWA, Ont.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE



## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1934 Jan. 19, Ottawa [to] Hugh Guthrie, Minister of Justice, Ottawa / J.H. MacBrien, Commissioner [Royal Canadian Mounted Police]. — 2 p. ; 32 x 21 cm.

Obtained from the National Archives of Canada. Institutional Location: Record Group 18.

Summary: Responding to an attack from the editor of *Le Patriote*, Commissioner MacBrien summarizes the evidence of Goldman's anti-communism.

Notes: For enclosure, see 850128020.

- 2 -

She was very bitter in her denunciation of the Bolsheviks and all that Bolshevism stands for. Her attacks met with counter attacks on the part of the Communists who openly accused her of being in the employ of the Capitalists, a paid agent of Capitalism. While in Canada she made contact with the few existing and partly defunct groups of anarchists in an endeavour to revive the anarchist movement in this country. The result of her activities in that respect was negligible.

(7) Emma Goldman is an anarchist of the idealist type. She is opposed to the present social order but more so to Communism. She is decidedly anti-Communist and has to our knowledge no connection whatever with Moscow or the Communist movement in general. While it must be said that she is not a desirable type of person to have within our midst, she has done much to counteract Communist influence during the time while she enjoyed the hospitality of this country especially as far as the Jewish labour organizations are concerned.

(8) Alderman Joseph Shubert of Montreal has represented the St. Louis Ward on the Council of that city now for a number of years. While it is true that he displayed some radical tendencies shortly after the Russian Revolution and up until 1922 and also sympathized to some extent with the Communists, today he is one of the most formidable enemies of Communism in the City of Montreal. He scorns the Communists at every opportunity and they in turn spare no effort to discredit him in the eyes of the labour class which he represents in the City Council of that city. Shubert is a socialist of what might be termed the reformist school. Shubert has no connection with the Communist movement either in this country or Russia. He is a Jew and his main support comes from the moderate Jewish labour organizations and societies.

(9) It must be said that Shubert has done much to stem the tide of Communism in the City of Montreal. He is not even considered a "Leftist" as claimed in the letter from the office of "Le Patriote".

(10) I desire to draw your attention to the Nazi emblem embossed on the letterhead of the communication from "Le Patriote" which I return herewith. I have had a copy of it made for our file here.

Yours sincerely,

(J. H. MacBrien,  
Commissioner.

JL/SAH  
Enc. 1

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1934 Jan. 19, New York [to] Frances Perkins, Secretary of Labor [Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / A.J. Muste. — 1 p. ; 27 × 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Columbia University Rare Book and Manuscript Library. Institutional Location: Frances Perkins Papers, Special Manuscripts Collection.

Summary: On behalf of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action, Muste congratulates Perkins for granting Goldman's visa request.

## CONFERENCE for PROGRESSIVE LABOR ACTION

Chairman  
A. J. MUSTE

Executive Secretary  
LOUIS FRANCIS BUDENZ

128 EAST 16th STREET, NEW YORK CITY

Telephone, STuyvesant 9-2181

January 19, 1934

Official Organ  
LABOR ACTION



Miss Frances Perkins,  
Secretary of Labor,  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Miss Perkins:

We desire to join with other organizations and individuals in giving hearty approval to the Labor Department's action in admitting Emma Goldman to the United States for a visit of three months. We congratulate the Department on its attitude in this matter. We believe that it is characterized by courage and intelligence.

Very sincerely yours,

AJM.DP  
BS&AU  
12646

## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1934 Jan. 19, Columbus, Ohio [to Eleanor] Roosevelt, Washington, D.C. / Maude Murray Miller. — 3 p. ; 28 x 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, NY. Institutional Location: Eleanor Roosevelt Collection.

Summary: Miller believes Goldman is still a danger to the United States and perhaps to the life of President Roosevelt. She protests the decision to readmit her.

Notes: For reply, see 880428005.

*Arch 1/34*

MRS. MAUDE MURRAY MILLER - 303 EAST GAY STREET - COLUMBUS - OHIO

January 19, 1934

Mrs Franklin D. Roosevelt.  
White House,  
Washington. D.C.

My dear Mrs Roosevelt.

Enclosed you will find an article I wrote for the Columbus Dispatch last Sunday. For twenty-one years I was on the editorial staff of that paper, but retired about two years ago. However, when there is anything of interest publicly, I continue to write.

→ I have been so disturbed that Miss Perkins Secretary of Labor, gave permission to Miss Emma Goldman to enter the United States again. I believe her to be a grave menace to this country. When she was here many years ago, she did everything in her power to destroy our government. At last when she and her companion, Alexander Birkman, used their efforts to obstruct the army draft, President Wilson became angered, and she was deported by Attorney General Mitchell Palmer.

She and her closeest anarchists left with flying colors, declaring that the United States government could not stand, and rejoicing to get back to Russia. She soon found that country did not want her either, and she attempted to get into England and Germany. But they refused her entry. She repeatedly begged to be permitted to return to the United States, and was refused each time. Then by marrying a Welsh coal miner, she attained

*over*

## The Emma Goldman Papers

880428005

[Letter] 1934 Jan. 19, Columbus, Ohio [to Eleanor] Roosevelt, Washington, D.C. / Maude Murray Miller. — 3 p. ; 28 x 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, NY. Institutional Location: Eleanor Roosevelt Collection.

Summary: Miller believes Goldman is still a danger to the United States and perhaps to the life of President Roosevelt. She protests the decision to readmit her.

Notes: For reply, see 880428005.

2

British citizenship and went to Canada. From that close neighbor of ours, she has succeeded in getting into this country. The papers stated that was achieved through Miss Perkins, But the magazine Time says the State department ordered our consul in Ottawa Canada, to visa her passport. Any way, she is given permission to return to this country.

You will please read the article I am sending. It relates my interview with her when she came to Columbus to speak in 1911. She repeatedly told me she did not believe in any form of government, and in no religion, nor in marriage. In fact, she was against all the forms which Americans hold dear. She has not changed her view point, I feel sure. Her coming to the United States now cannot be for any good. We have too many of her kind in this country now for our own good, and her influence must be for harm. The assassin of President McKinley said it was her influence which induced him to commit that atrocious orime. Now I am afraid that she may have designs upon the life of our beloved President Roosevelt. He is accomplishing so much wonderful work that anarchists do not want this country to regain its former prosperity. It would be her first thought I suspect, to remove him. Or have it done.

I am not a mere scare-maker. I was five years on the editorial staff of Governor James M. Cox's paper., and twenty-one years on the staff of the Columbus Dispatch, so you know I am level headed. I am a native of Alabama, and so of course a positive Democrat. I was Ohio's first National Committeewoman

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1934 Jan. 19, Columbus, Ohio [to Eleanor] Roosevelt, Washington, D.C. / Maude Murray Miller. — 3 p. ; 28 x 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, NY. Institutional Location: Eleanor Roosevelt Collection.

Summary: Miller believes Goldman is still a danger to the United States and perhaps to the life of President Roosevelt. She protests the decision to readmit her.

Notes: For reply, see 880428005.

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and went to San Francisco to help nominate Governor Cox for President and your distinguished husband for vice president. I have always been active in that party, and am an enthusiastic admirer of President Roosevelt. Attorney General Cummings knows me well, as he was National Committeeman when I was Ohio's Committeewoman. You may have my record looked up in "Who's Who in America". I mention these facts to prove I have a right to bring them to your attention.

Hoping that you will read the enclosed article, and that I may have the honor of knowing it has had your attention, I am,

Most sincerely yours

(Mrs.) Maude Murray Miller

303 East Gay Street.  
Columbus, Ohio.

# The Emma Goldman Papers

Emma Goldman: Elderly Red Here to Pay Us 90-Day Visit — 25 cm. In Newsweek  
[Jan. 20, 1934] / [author unknown].

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: Newsweek summarizes Goldman's life and ideals, relying on her autobiography and her answers to a questionnaire from *The Little Review*.

Notes: Broken type; barely legible. Enclosed with 870708073.

1/20/34  
NEWS-WEEK

20

remained on friendly terms with the Vermonters in the White House. He is on even better terms with the present occupant. Many a time President Roosevelt has called him into conference, and the McNary name is on the White House invitation list.

The McNary name is also found in the Washington Social Register, amid a society from which the Oregonian and his wife generally remain aloof. Their entertaining is largely confined to cheerful though not elaborate little dinners in their apartment in the Hay-Adams House, across Lafayette Square from the White House.

Strange to say, for literary relaxation, the usually mild-mannered Republican Senate leader goes to the thumping lines of Kipling and the rough-and-tumble lyrics of Edwin Markham.

## EMMA GOLDMAN: Elderly Red Here to Pay Us 90-Day Visit

"There will be a revolution in the United States within five years and we will be asked to vote a by the workers to aid in the establishment of Soviet America."

So said Emma Goldman, the indefatigable anarchist, fifteen years ago, when she was deported to Russia. The invitation from the American workers being inaudible and long overdue, Miss Goldman was forced to eat humble pie. She turned to the Department of Labor. Last week it was announced that she had been given permission to enter this country for 14 days to visit relatives. In applying, she noted that her name is now Mrs. James Colton, and that she is a Scottish coal miner's wife and a British subject.

She has spent the years between in Russia, Sweden, Germany, England, Canada, and France, where she brought out an autobiography called "Living My Life," two volumes and some 1,000 pages long.

Mrs. Colton said that she would not engage in political activity while here. She may not, but Emma Goldman did, as the way she did it often led to spectacular consequences.

She arrived here at 13, from Kovno, Russia, with her family. That was nearly 50 years ago. Her father was brutal to her while she worked in factories and lived at home, and her first husband, Jacob Kerner, did not approve of her philosophical anarchism or of her practical free love. It was when she was living with Alexander Berkman that he tried to blow Henry Frick up with a bomb, and was sent to prison. She often led strikes. Leon Coughlin, the assassin of President McKinley, said he had been influenced by her writings and speeches, but all efforts to connect her directly with Coughlin failed.

She answered a literary questionnaire that *The Little Review* sent her four years ago with a publicity that made an interesting self-portrait.

Above all things, she said, she would

most like to travel for a few years without any necessity of keeping lecture dates, writing books, being interviewed, or answering questions. As to why she wouldn't change places with any other human being, she said: "Dull people do not attract me. Interesting ones are probably just as uncomfortable in their skins as I am in mine—so why change?" She said that she most looked forward to "a time when human beings will be engaged in creating beautiful things rather than being satisfied with the substitute of publishing idle magazines full of idle questions." And for the future she feared most "the continual sluggishness of the human mind."

"There have been two happiest moments of my life," Miss Goldman said. The first one came when Alexander Berkman was resurrected from a living death of fourteen years in the Western Penitentiary; the second, when I came back to Russia in the glowing hope of the Russian Revolution. My unhappiest moment was when I realized that the Russian Revolution had been crushed by the Communist State and when I had to leave Russia."

Her weakest characteristic, she said, "as far as one knows one's self is that I love my friends too much. My strongest is that I do not hate my enemies enough. I love nature, interesting people—I love my ideal. I dislike above everything else dull people, petty and envious souls and gossipers in pants and skirts. Inasmuch as I consider modern art in the experimental stage, I welcome its restlessness, its discontent, and its desperate effort to find itself. Above all I admire the assurance and the reckless indifference of the modern artists."

"My world-view is anarchism." Then she proceeded to define anarchism as "a social arrangement where each can express himself to the fullest without fear or favor from his surroundings." When *The Little Review* editors asked her why she went on living, she said: "I suppose because my will to life is stronger than my reason, which tells me the stupidity of going on." And when they inquired whether she considered herself "a reasonable being in a reasonable scheme," her reply was: "No, I am not a reasonable being, nor do I consider our scheme reasonable. Who the hell wants to be reasonable?"

Miss Goldman spent seven months in prison on New York's Welfare Island for her speeches during the railway strike of 1912. During the World War she was a storm center. She and Berkman opposed the draft, and they were sent to separate prisons. On their release, the deportation proceedings began, followed by strenuous arguments between Miss Goldman and Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer.

Her stay in Russia ended after a year of violent quarrels with Lenin and Trotsky, who, she claimed, were more tyrannical than the Czar's government had been. She has always contended that anarchism really deplores violence.

For years Miss Goldman edited an anarchist paper in this country called *Mother Earth*.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Telegram] 1934 Jan. 29, Boston [to Joseph B. Keenan, Assistant] Attorney General, Department [of] Justice, Washington [D.C.] / Murphy, United States Marshal. — 1 p. ; 32 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 60.

Summary: Murphy asks whether Goldman is under any restrictions while she visits the United States.

Notes: For reply, see 810930117.

COPY

from

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

Record Group No. 60

General Records of the Department of Justice  
D. J. Central Files — Straight Numerical Files  
File Number 133149

1934 JAN 29 PM 8 45

Treasury Department

TELEGRAPH OFFICE

Received at Washington, D. C.

19DNOT 50 GOVT JUS

BOSTON MASS JAN 29 1934

ATTORNEY GENERAL  
DEPARTMENT JUSTICE  
WASHINGTON

INQUIRY RECEIVED FROM BOSTON PARTY RELATIVE EMMA GOLDMAN BOOKING  
AGENCY DESIRES RESERVE DATE MIDDLE OF FEBRUARY FOR SPEAKING  
ENGAGEMENT STOP ADVISE WHAT LIMITATIONS OR RESTRICTIONS IF ANY  
ARE ON HER PASSPORT OR UPON WHAT CONDITIONS SHE WAS PERMITTED TO  
ENTER COUNTRY STOP INFORMATION REQUIRED IMMEDIATELY SO PARTY MAY  
BE ADVISED.

MURPHY

JAN 31 1934

842PM

133149-
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
JAN 30 1934 A.M.
MAIL AND FILES DIVISION
KEENAN-FISKE

UNITED STATES MARSHAL

RECORD

JAN 30 1934

CRIMINAL DIVISION

JAN 30 1934

CRIMINAL DIVISION

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Telegram] 1934 Jan. 30 [Washington, D.C. to Murphy] United States Marshal, Boston / Joseph B. Keenan, Assistant Attorney General [Department of Justice]. — 1 p. ; 33 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 60.

Summary: Keenan suggests that Murphy ask the secretary of labor about Goldman's visa restrictions.

Notes: Broken type. Reply to 870807003.

COPY

from

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

Record Group No. 60

General Records of the Department of Justice

D. J. Central Files — Straight Numerical Files

File Number 133149

JBK  
135149

JAN 31 1934

HAF:KCO  
JANUARY 30, 1934

UNITED STATES MARSHAL

BOSTON MASSACHUSETTS

RE EMMA GOLDMAN STOP THIS DEPARTMENT HAS NO JURISDICTION OVER INQUIRY MADE OF YOU  
STOP SUGGEST YOU ADVISE PARTY SEEKING INFORMATION THAT HE APPLY DIRECT TO SECRETARY  
LABOR FOR INFORMATION

JOSEPH B KEENAN

ASSISTANT ATTORNEY GENERAL

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## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1934 Jan. 31 [Washington, D.C.? to] Maude Murray Miller, Columbus, Ohio / [Eleanor Roosevelt]. — 1 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, NY. Institutional Location: Eleanor Roosevelt Collection.

Summary: Eleanor Roosevelt makes light of Miller's worries about Goldman's dangerousness.

Notes: Reply to 880428006.

January 31, 1934

My dear Mrs. Miller:

Thank you very much for your solicitude and interest in the President. He is very carefully protected and, in any case, Emma Goldman is now a very old woman. I really think that this country can stand the shock of her presence for ninety days. I appreciate your writing, however, and hope you have not been unduly alarmed.

Very sincerely yours,

Mrs. Maude Murray Miller  
303 East Gay Street  
Columbus, Ohio

DD

# The Emma Goldman Papers

Welcome Home Tour of Emma Goldman [Feb.? 1934] / Committee [for Emma Goldman's Visit to the United States]. — 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: The Bureau of Investigation collects a sample of the stationery for Goldman's 1934 tour.

Notes: Enclosed with 870708073.

## Welcome Home Tour of EMMA GOLDMAN

TOUR HEADQUARTERS  
Room 1802, 580 Fifth Ave.  
NEW YORK CITY  
Telephone: BRyant 9-9450

### Committee

Roger Baldwin, Chairman

SHERWOOD ANDERSON  
KATHERINE ANTHONY  
LEONARD D. ABBOTT  
DR. E. JOSEPHINE BAKER  
LOUIS BROMFIELD  
MABEL CARYER CROUCH  
PROF. JOHN DEWEY  
DOROTHY CANFIELD FISHER  
AMI MALI HICKS  
JOHN HAYNES HOLMES  
MRS. FREDERIC C. HOWE  
B. W. HUEBSCH  
FANNIE HURST  
ELIZABETH IRWIN  
HEZ HAYNES IRWIN  
ADA DAVENPORT KENDALL  
ALFRED A. KNOPP  
LAWRENCE LANGNER  
POLA LA FOLLETTE  
SINCLAIR LEWIS  
GEORGE MIDDLETON  
HELEN MARTIN  
PETER NEAGOE  
MILDRED SCOTT OLMSTED  
RUTH PICKERING PINCHOT  
MRS. GILBERT E. ROE  
ARTHUR LEONARD ROSS  
EVELYN SCOTT  
ANNA SLOAN  
ANNA STRUNSKY WALLING  
HARRY WEINBERGER  
ELIOT WHITE

Director of Tour  
JAMES B. POND

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

Welcome Home Tour of Emma Goldman, Feb. 1934 [advertisement] / [Committee for Emma Goldman's Visit to the United States?]. — 1 p. ; 28 × 16 cm.

*Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.*

**Summary:** The Bureau of Investigation collects a copy of an invitation to Goldman's lecture in Washington, D.C.

**Notes:** Incomplete. Enclosed with 870708073.

## Welcome Home Tour of EMMA GOLDMAN

You are invited to attend Emma Goldman's  
Welcome Home meeting at the National  
Theatre Sunday, February 25, 3.30 P. M.  
This will be the only public appearance Miss  
Goldman will make in Washington, D. C.  
An order-blank for tickets for yourself and  
friends is enclosed for your convenience.

### *Patrons and Patronesses:*

Mr. and Mrs. Gardner Jackson  
Mr. and Mrs. Max Stern  
Robert Marshall  
Clifford McCarthy  
Lillian Kisluck  
Benjamin C. Marsh  
Rose Strunsky  
Mr. and Mrs. Charles Collier  
Margaret Sanger  
Mildred Morris

(over)

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Names of] Committee Sponsoring Return of Emma Goldman, Feb. 1934 / [Bureau of Investigation? Department of Justice?]. — 1 p.; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: The Bureau of Investigation lists the members of the committee to arrange Goldman's return to the United States.

Notes: Broken type; barely legible. Enclosed with 870708073.

From "The Arbitrator", February, 1934.

## COMMITTEE SPONSORING RETURN OF EMMA GOLDMAN

Roger N. Baldwin  
 Louis Bromfield  
 Mary Ware Bennett  
 Prof. John Dewey  
 Rev. John Haynes Holmes  
 R. L. Hachsch  
 Alfred A. Knopf  
 Laurence Langner  
 Sinclair Lewis  
 Leonard Ross  
 Evelyn Scott  
 Harry Steinberger

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Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

**Summary:** A New York periodical reports on Goldman's return to the United States.

**Notes:** Broken type; portions illegible. Enclosed with 870708073. For other clippings, see 870708076 through 870708078.

# "SOVIETIZATION" IN U. S. PLEASGES (EMMA GOLDMAN)

## Infamous Anarchist Runs Into Series of Strikes.

New York, Feb. 1.—[Special].—Emma Goldman, the "infamous anarchist"—for so she caricatured a young woman reporter who addressed her as the famous anarchist—arrived in New York today after a banishment which has lasted for fifteen years.

She has a visitor's permit and will lecture—with hopes of profit—on the subject of her very full life of eighty-four years.

Before being chased in from Canada  
-by grace of marriage to a Welsh  
real miner she is now a British sub-  
ject-who promised the United States  
Government that she would neither say  
word or deed stir up any trouble of  
the type to which she was accustomed  
before her deportation.

Approved Treaty by C. R.

But promises or no promises, there seems to have worked but little inward change in the Sinito Unlimes who on a gray December day in 1918 married up the Sinitime in the Orientation ship Huford, shown of her American citizenship for drinking against the draft and on her way to her native Korea.

"I shall be called back to assist America," were the words she uttered at the newspaper reporters she turned back to say, and while America lay out market, the "queen of the field" sat down - composed herself as being quite well pleased at the progress made along those lines.

As for others, which she said today  
"—always first," she ran right into  
a swirl of them. When her trap  
pulled into the television studio  
Miss Goldman, surrounded by her  
three friends, admirers and numerous  
particular smokers, headed for the hall  
again.

### Industrial War Games

Brumby told her the drivers were

"I'm glad to hear that," said Miss Goldman. "How far is it to my house?" Supremus was on work.

Not the manager of her brothers team  
 generated a private car and she just  
 stayed in a three-day hotel, where  
 there is a waterline strike

...to a waller's strike  
...Monday, November, 1-12 has about 11  
...from the same old song to her, she  
...was in the mind of a more green  
...interview, but she had had the same  
...it she would have gone to another one,  
...her

"I don't know the man who tried to assassinate President Roosevelt," she said. "It was a foolish thing to do. But it seems pathetic that because a man is a murderer the state should close his eyes."

[illegible]

**ELIMA GOLDMAN  
BIDS GOOD-BY AGAIN**

Wished Medical Letter From  
Helen Before 90-Day Per.

Ex. 1187.577

W. A. R. 1000

NEW YORK, May 1.—(AP)—Canton—the red ink colonial—two centuries ago—paid a visit, last week, to the country of that name. He had a guided tour of the city and found it a fine one.

The highest fees from New York Terminal are for half-ounce quantities, ranging up to \$60.00 per day, which permits New York Bank to wait for the first wire transfer payment on 15th.

Attended the school, so partly a student. Young men have several quarters of the year of part time in the field of colonial America. Was the friend of colonial America. Was the friend of colonial America.

that an official and temporary  
transfer of the capital office  
is required.

She said:—"Daily Live broadcast  
New York in my city. I would like  
to stay here. No other place."

FLIGHT GOLDMAN BANK

**THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS**

Open 2 to 5:00 in the Town of...

First: Hill said that the

moved to protect Florida to "en-  
hance to speed North in the South."  
By this, the Army's position at the  
various points of the North.  
Action is expected from the Civil

Libertine film, is a new hands-on traitor was placed by the President's White House Committee, open to the public. Men-able it has been tentatively devoted to have a film on the open in the public

He had supervised Ben Graham said today.

Also "Belmont's speech is to be called 'The Menace of Progress,' dealing with fascism and political development in Europe."

Pinckney wrote to the Civil Liberties Union, read:

"We have no interest in what Bill Goldman has to say, but we are ready to defend her right to say it."



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1934 Feb. 6, Bronx, N.Y. [to] Franklin D. Roosevelt, President, Washington, D.C. [fragment] / Paul Jones Council 115, Order of United American Mechanics of New York. — 1 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the Immigration and Naturalization Service via FOIA.

Summary: The members of the Paul Jones Council protest Goldman's readmission.

Notes: Page 2 missing.

BURTON H. FISH  
Treasurer  
939 College Avenue  
Bronx, N. Y.

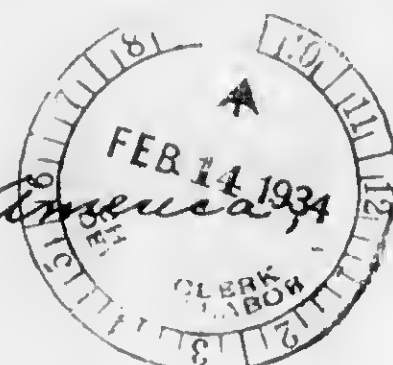
722 Prospect Avenue, Bronx, N. Y.  
Telephone LUdlow 4-4962

715 East 180th Street  
Bronx, N. Y.



February 6, 1934

Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt  
President of the United States of America  
Washington, D. C.



Dear Mr President:

We the Officers and  
members of Paul Jones Council #115, Jr.  
Order of United American Mechanics of  
The State of New York Inc., in session  
assembled, most strenuously object  
to the action taken by, Secretary  
of Labor Perkins in granting a  
temporary re-entry permit to  
that undesirable, Emma Goldman,  
and.

159 Furthermore, most  
humbly plead with you as  
President, to take such action as  
will immediately terminate this

SECURE A NEW MEMBER for our Council  
We need an increase in Membership to make America safe for America

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

# The Emma Goldman Papers

Anarchist Hopes to Stay — 28 cm. In [New York Times (Feb. 9, 1934)] / [author unknown].

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: The New York Times reports that Goldman hopes to extend her visa.

Notes: Broken type; barely legible. Lower document only. Enclosed with 870708073.

## A. R. Ban on Emma Goldman Denied; But "Red" Will Speak Here, Anyway

Constitution Hall Agent Says  
Use of Place Was  
Never Asked

With Emma Goldman claiming that she was denied the right to talk in Constitution Hall, and the management of the Daughters of the American Revolution audaciously denying that she ever applied to speak there, it was announced yesterday that the world famous woman pacifist will speak in Washington, anyway.

Miss Goldman, who was allowed to return to the United States for 90 days, will speak in the National Theater Sunday, February 25, at 3:30 p. m.

### AGENCY CLAIMS DENIED

Ann Lord, representative of Miss Goldman here, said efforts were made to secure Constitution Hall for an address by Emma Goldman on March 2, at which time she planned to speak on drama and literature, taken from her own book, "Living My Life." Miss Lord said that Fred R. Hand, manager of Constitution Hall, refused to let it be used for that purpose.

But Mr. Hand says that no application was made for the use of Constitution Hall and that the matter was never discussed. Mrs. William L. Dunne, prominent D. A. R. member here, said the matter had not been brought to the attention of that organization, which owns Constitution Hall.

Asked whether Miss Goldman would be allowed to speak in Constitution Hall, if she did make an application, Manager Hand replied:

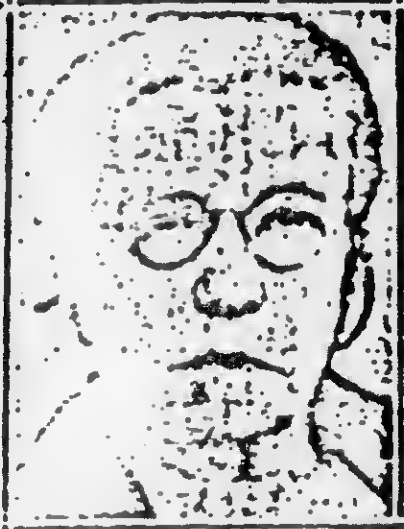
"Well, that would have to be taken up by the board of directors."

### DEPORTED FROM U. S.

Emma Goldman, after vast pacifist agitation during the World War, was deported from the United States largely through the efforts of Edgar Hoover, chief of the Department of Justice, 15 years ago. She has spent the years of her exile in Russia, Germany, France and England.

She was born in Kovno, on the Russo-German border. She suffered experiences which bred in her a hate of militarism. She came to America in 1893 and worked in a Rochester factory, 10 hours a day, for \$2.10 a week. She stopped at home and later joined a socialist club.

At the age of 20 she joined the anarchist movement in the United States, and from that time until her deportation was a notorious anarchist and pacifist.



EMMA GOLDMAN

*W. J. Linder*  
Feb. 9  
1934

### ANARCHIST HOPES TO STAY

Emma Goldman Will Ask for an Extension of 90-Day Visa.

Emma Goldman, the anarchist, who returned to New York a week ago for the first time since her deportation in 1919, will ask for an extension of her ninety-day visa, she disclosed yesterday. She would like to remain in the country for the rest of her life. If it could be arranged, she said. But any arrangement for a temporary extension or permanent residence will include no stipulation or agreement of any kind on her part to refrain from speaking her mind on any subject at any time, she emphasized.

She would like an extension of at least three to six months, she said, primarily to fill many requests for lectures. She is staying with her niece, Mrs. Stella Ballantine, at 15 Charlton Street.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Memorandum] 1934 Feb. 9, Governors Island, N.Y. [to] Adjutant General, War Department, Washington, D.C. / J.E. Woodward, Adjutant General, Second Corps [War Department].— 1 p. ; 35 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: Woodward forwards the Military Intelligence's monthly subversive situation report to Washington, D.C.

Notes: For enclosure, see 810331048.

SECRET

Feb. 9/34.

IN REPLY REFER TO:

080/2906

G-2, 2nd CA.

HEADQUARTERS SECOND CORPS AREA

OFFICE OF THE CORPS AREA COMMANDER BY: CA Comdr. *J.E.W.*

J. E. W.

GOVERNORS ISLAND, N. Y.

February 9, 1934. INTEL. DIV.

1-1 10110-2662

Subject: Estimate of the Subversive Situation  
for the Month of January, 1934.

To: The Adjutant General,  
War Department,  
Washington, D. C.

In compliance with instructions contained in War Department letter, dated December 11, 1931 (AG 000.24 10/24/31 Misc. B), there is enclosed monthly estimate of the subversive situation in this corps area.

For the Commanding General:

*J.E. Woodward*  
J. E. WOODWARD,  
Colonel, A. G. D.,  
Adjutant General.

2 Incls-

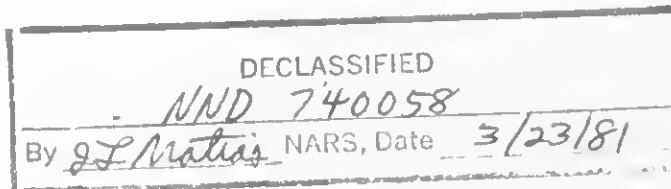
Incl 1 - Estimate (one copy).  
Incl 2 - Receipt.

Received A. G. C. FEB 14 1934

1934 FEB - 15 - PM 2:35

RECEIVED  
RECORD SECTION  
M.I.D.

-1-



R.G 165

Records of War Dept. Gen'l & Special Staff

# The Emma Goldman Papers

Estimate of the Subversive Situation as of January 31, 1934, Governors Island, N.Y.,  
1934 Feb. 10 [excerpt] / G.A. Lynch, Assistant Chief of Staff [Military Intelligence  
Division, War Department].— 3 p. ; 32 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: Military Intelligence's summary of the subversive situation notes that Goldman is in the United  
States for ninety days.

Notes: Enclosed with 810331047.

14 FEB 1934

OFFICE CHIEF OF STAFF  
MIL. INTEL. DIV.

10110-2662

WAR DEPARTMENT

SECRET

I.

HEADQUARTERS SECOND CORPS AREA  
OFFICE OF THE CORPS AREA COMMANDER  
GOVERNORS ISLAND, NEW YORK.

February 10, 1934.

ESTIMATE OF THE SUBVERSIVE SITUATION

AS OF

JANUARY 31, 1934.

-1-

SECRET

DECLASSIFIED  
NND 740058  
By J. Mathias NARS, Date 3/23/81

# The Emma Goldman Papers

Estimate of the Subversive Situation as of January 31, 1934, Governors Island, N.Y., 1934 Feb. 10 [excerpt] / G.A. Lynch, Assistant Chief of Staff [Military Intelligence Division, War Department].— 3 p. ; 32 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: Military Intelligence's summary of the subversive situation notes that Goldman is in the United States for ninety days.

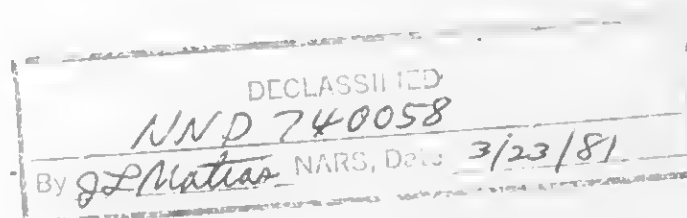
Notes: Enclosed with 810331047.

## S E C R E T

- 4421.1 NEWARK, NEW JERSEY. - Meeting rooms of the New Communist Party have been changed from 264 Fifteenth Avenue and 347 Springfield Ave. to 289 Market Street and #1 Peshine Avenue. POLICE DIVISION, Department of Public Safety, Newark, New Jersey, January 11, 1934.
- 6121.41 GOVERNORS ISLAND, NEW YORK. - Muriel Epstein, *card* an agitator identified with the National Students' League and accompanied by another girl made several visits to Fort Jay, New York, during the month. Her efforts to become acquainted with soldiers resulted in little success. She remarked that it was of little use to work among soldiers as they had "only one thing in mind." REPORT OF NON-COMMISSIONED OFFICER, Fort Jay, New York, January, 1934.
- 7421.14
6123. ROCHESTER, NEW YORK. - Emma Goldman, sixty-four years old, famous anarchist, came from Canada on a ninety-day "visiting permit." Explaining she was booked for a lecture tour and that she had agreed not to discuss public questions except from the platform, she refused to comment on anything except her past and her relatives. NEW YORK AMERICAN, HERALD-TRIBUNE, TIMES and POST, February 2, 1934.
- 7321.10 NEWARK, NEW JERSEY. - Frank Carlson, district organizer of the Young Communist League, charged the Newark Police with discrimination in making the arrest of Gabriel Bloksberg, 24, white, of 27 Ridgewood Avenue, Newark, New Jersey. Bloksberg was arrested for distributing circulars in front of the Savoy Theatre protesting against Negro discrimination. NEW YORK AMSTERDAM NEWS, January 17, 1934.
- 7321.10 NEWARK, NEW JERSEY. - A meeting of the Communist Party was held January 20th. Rebecca Gretch conducted the meeting and the Ukranian Singing Society rendered musical selections. About 400 persons attended the meeting. A catalogue of Communist literature entitled "The Worker's Library" is inclosed as Exhibit No. 7. Value Unknown. POLICE DIVISION, Department of Public Safety, Newark, New Jersey, January 22, 1934.
- 7321.10

## S E C R E T

-7-



# The Emma Goldman Papers

Estimate of the Subversive Situation as of January 31, 1934, Governors Island, N.Y., 1934 Feb. 10 [excerpt] / G.A. Lynch, Assistant Chief of Staff [Military Intelligence Division, War Department].— 3 p. ; 32 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: Military Intelligence's summary of the subversive situation notes that Goldman is in the United States for ninety days.

Notes: Enclosed with 810331047.

## SECRET

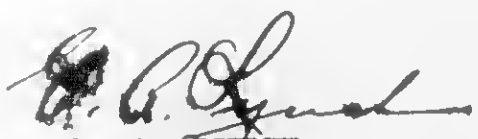
III. Sensitive Points: New York, New York.  
Newark, New Jersey.  
San Juan, Puerto Rico.  
Brooklyn, New York.  
East Orange, New Jersey.  
Wilmington, Delaware.  
Syracuse, New York.  
Trenton, New Jersey.  
C. C. C. Camps, New York.

1. The month of January has been characterized by subversive activities intended to influence workers on C. W. A. projects, and certain trades union groups. The strikes of hotel workers and taxicab drivers in New York City have been most conspicuous to the public at large. Agitators and radical leaders have endeavored to gain publicity in most of the strikes.

2. The acting chairman of the Regional Labor Board has issued a statement to the effect that a total of 285 local disputes, including 181 strikes, and involving 97,913 workers, have been settled since the establishment of the board in October, 1933.

3. Activities of The American League Against War and Fascism have been reported from New York, N. Y., Newark, N. J. and Wilmington, Delaware. Leading Communists, radicals and pacifists of practically all groups have been identified as promoters of the new League.

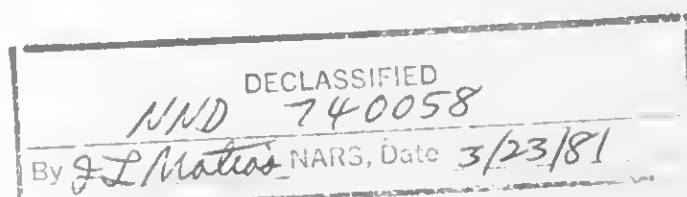
4. Subversive activities in Civilian Conservation Corps camps increased in January. Three of the camps in New York State reported communistic influences and minor adjustments were found to be necessary.

  
G. A. LYNCH,  
Lieut.-Colonel, G. S. C.,  
Assistant Chief of Staff, G-2.

22 Incls.

## SECRET

-16-



# The Emma Goldman Papers

Miss Goldman in Pulpit Talk — 29 cm. In [unknown periodical (Feb. 11? 1934)] / [author unknown].

Obtained from the Immigration and Naturalization Service via FOIA.

Summary: An unknown newspaper describes Goldman's speech on Kropotkin at the Community Church in New York.

Notes: Dark copy; barely legible. Right hand document only.

## EMMA GOLDMAN EXTORTS ANARCHIST

At the Community Church in New York, Miss Goldman, the famous anarchist, made a speech last night.

She spoke of the life of Peter Kropotkin, the Russian anarchist, and of the life of Emma Goldman, the American anarchist. She spoke of the life of the anarchist in general, and of the life of the anarchist in the United States. She spoke of the life of the anarchist in the United States, and of the life of the anarchist in the United States.

She spoke of the life of the anarchist in the United States, and of the life of the anarchist in the United States. She spoke of the life of the anarchist in the United States, and of the life of the anarchist in the United States.

duce me to change my position on that. War is the most destructive force in the world. The only way to stop war is to stop the war. The only way to stop the war is to stop the war. The only way to stop the war is to stop the war.

The only way to stop the war is to stop the war. The only way to stop the war is to stop the war. The only way to stop the war is to stop the war. The only way to stop the war is to stop the war.

## MISS GOLDMAN IN PULPIT TALK

NEW YORK, Feb. 11. — Miss Emma Goldman, the famous anarchist, made a speech last night at the Community Church in New York. She spoke of the life of Peter Kropotkin, the Russian anarchist, and of the life of Emma Goldman, the American anarchist. She spoke of the life of the anarchist in general, and of the life of the anarchist in the United States. She spoke of the life of the anarchist in the United States, and of the life of the anarchist in the United States.

Membership to make America safe for Americans.



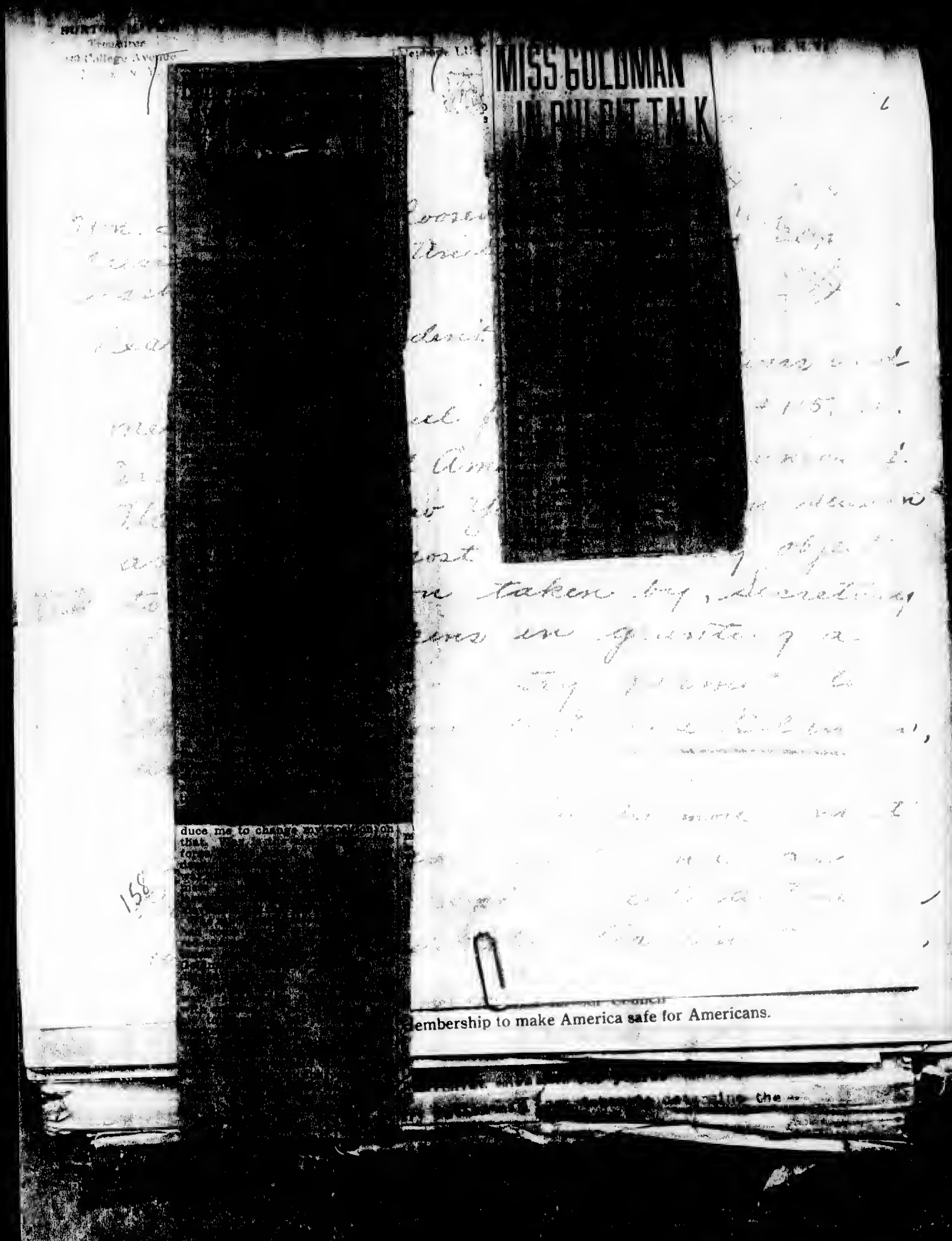
# The Emma Goldman Papers

Emma Goldman Extols Anarchist — 30 cm. *In* [unknown periodical (Feb. 12, 1934)] / [author unknown].

Obtained from the Immigration and Naturalization Service via FOIA.

**Summary:** An unidentified newspaper describes Goldman's speech on Kropotkin at the Community Church in New York.

**Notes:** Dark copy; barely legible. Left hand document only.



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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1934 Feb. 13 [New York to Department of National Revenue, Customs Division], Ottawa / A[rthur] L[eonard] R[oss]. — 1 p. ; 28 × 20 cm.

*Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Tamiment Library, New York University.*

**Summary:** Ross asks Canadian Customs to forward a package to Goldman at his address.

**Notes:** Broken type; light copy. For reply, see 840306210.

72175-072

February 13th, 1934

Canadian Customs  
Ottawa, Canada

Gentlemen:

My client, Mrs. James E. Colton, informs me that a parcel sent to her from France, apparently addressed to her in Toronto, and containing two books of short stories, one entitled "Thirty Russian Writers" and the other, "Thirty German Writers", is being held at your customs.

Mrs. Colton is now in this country, care of my address, and she will appreciate your sending this parcel here.

Thanking you for your prompt attention to this matter, I am,

Yours very truly,

A L R : R

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1934 Feb. [15? New York? to] Frances Perkins [Secretary of Labor] Department of Labor, Washington, D.C. / Mary Ware Dennett. — 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.  
Obtained from the Immigration and Naturalization Service via FOLA.

Summary: Dennett urges Perkins to lift the restrictions on Goldman's visa, so she can better share her insights.

Washington, D.C.

Dear Miss Perkins:

This is about Emma Goldman. The other evening she talked informally with the members of a small group (Heterodoxy). No publicity whatever is ever given to what members or guests say at the meetings. Miss Goldman could therefore speak freely on some of the subjects which have been officially taboed by the United States under her visiting permit.

I wish you would have these restrictions revised, if you possibly can, because what Emma Goldman knows about the conditions in Europe, especially in Germany, from her own investigations, are facts which should be known in this country, for the sake of our common humanity, if for no other reason.

We were all deeply moved by her talk, — the more so perhaps because of her marvellous restraint. Her rare love and understanding make her one of the world's truly great citizens. That she has always been a courageous person, is obvious to all who know anything about her, whether or not they have agreed with her views. But now, in addition, there is markedly evident a superb hope and faith in the potentialities of the human race, such as only large minded and big hearted people have. She is an inspiration to tired strugglers, and the United States needs to hear from her sort.

It is cause for chagrin and grief that our country's rulings should in any way act as a gag in these hard days, when inspiration is such a needed asset.

Yours ever sincerely,

*Mary Ware Dennett*

Mary Ware Dennett



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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1934 Feb. 16, Ottawa [to] A[rthur] L[eonard] Ross, New York / Examiner of Publications, Department of National Revenue, Customs Division. — 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.  
*Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Tamiment Library, New York University.*  
**Summary:** A Canadian Customs official promises to look for Goldman's parcel.  
**Notes:** Reply to 840305805.

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## DEPARTMENT OF NATIONAL REVENUE CUSTOMS DIVISION

REPLY (IF ANY) TO BE ADDRESSED TO  
 "COMMISSIONER OF CUSTOMS"  
 REFER TO FILE NO. 182056.

R/K.

OTTAWA, 16th February, 1934.  
CANADA

Mr. A. L. Ross,  
 Counselor at Law,  
 1 Cedar St.,  
 New York City.

Dear Sir:

Receipt is acknowledged of your letter of the 13th instant, in which you state you are informed by Mrs. James E. Colton that a parcel sent to her from France, apparently addressed to her in Toronto, containing two books of short stories, one entitled "Thirty Russian Writers" and the other "Thirty German Writers", is being held at Customs.

Enquiry is being made of the Collector at Toronto.

Yours truly,

*J. Ross*  
 Examiner of Publications,  
 for Commissioner of Customs.

# The Emma Goldman Papers

D.A.R. Ban on Emma Goldman Denied; But "Red" Will Speak Here, Anyway — 28 cm. In [Washington Herald (Feb. 19, 1934)] / [author unknown].  
Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: Goldman claims the D.A.R. refused her permission to speak at their Constitution Hall, but the D.A.R. denies the charge, according to *The Washington Herald*.

Notes: Broken type; portions illegible. Lefthand document only. Enclosed with 870708073.

## D.A.R. Ban on Emma Goldman Denied; But "Red" Will Speak Here, Anyway

Constitution Hall Agent Says  
Use of Place Was  
Never Asked

With Emma Goldman claiming that she was denied the right to talk in Constitution Hall, and the management of the Daughters of the American Revolution auditorium denying that she ever applied to speak there, it was announced yesterday that the world famous woman pacifist will speak in Washington, anyway.

Mrs. Goldman, who was allowed to return to the United States for 60 days, will speak in the National Theater Sunday, February 19, at 2:30 p. m.

### AGENCY CLAIMS DENIED

Ann Lord, representative of Mrs. Goldman here, said efforts were made to secure Constitution Hall for an address by Emma Goldman on March 2, at which time she planned to speak on drama and literature, taken from her own book, "Living My Life." Mrs. Lord said that Fred K. Hand, manager of Constitution Hall, refused to let it be used for that purpose.

But Mr. Hand says that no application was made for the use of Constitution Hall and that the matter was never discussed. Mrs. William L. Dunne, prominent D. A. R. member here, said the matter had not been brought to the attention of that organization, which owns Constitution Hall.

Asked whether Mrs. Goldman would be allowed to speak in Constitution Hall, if she did make an application, Manager Hand replied:

"Well, that would have to be taken up by the board of directors."

### DEPORTED FROM U. S.

Emma Goldman, after vast pacifist agitation during the World War, was deported from the United States largely through the efforts of Edgar Hoover, chief of the Department of Justice, 18 years ago. She has spent the years of her exile in Russia, Germany, France and England.

She was born in Kovno, on the Russo-German border. She suffered experiences which bred in her a hate of militarism. She came to America in 1894 and worked in a Rochester factory, 10 hours a day, for \$1.50 a week. She studied at home and later joined a socialist club.

At the age of 29 she joined the Anarchist movement in the United States and from that time until her deportation was a notorious Anarchist and pacifist.



EMMA GOLDMAN

*W. J. Linder*  
Feb. 9  
1934

### ANARCHIST HOPES TO STAY

Emma Goldman Will Ask for an Extension of 60-Day Visa.

Emma Goldman, the anarchist, who returned to New York a week ago for the first time since her deportation in 1919, will ask for an extension of her ninety day visa, she disclosed yesterday. She would like to remain in the country for the rest of her life, if it could be arranged, she said. But any arrangement for a temporary extension or permanent residence will include no stipulation or agreement of any kind on her part to refrain from speaking her mind on any subject at any time, she emphasized.

She would like an extension of at least three to six months, she said, primarily to fill many requests for lectures. She is staying with her niece, Mrs. Stella Hallantina, at 15 Charlton Street.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Report re] Emma Goldman [Washington, D.C.? 19]34 Feb. 20 / [Bureau of Investigation? Department of Justice?]. — 2 p. ; 24 × 20 cm.

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: The Bureau of Investigation describes Goldman's lecture tour, names the people on her tour committee, and complains that she has violated her promise not to speak about anarchism.

Notes: Broken type; barely legible.

2/20/34

## Emma Goldman

Although the United States Department of Labor, in announcing its change of front in permitting the deported anarchist, Emma Goldman, to reenter the United States, announced that she would merely be allowed to visit her relatives here and not to preach her anarchist theories, Emma sees differently and is defying the government's orders, if these ever existed.

At the Maccas Temple, New York City, on February 13th, Emma Goldman packed the hall at admissions from 25¢ to \$2.00, plus 10% tax. At the gathering she let it be known that her beliefs were the same as those she held at the time of her deportation to Russia.

Emma is being billed for a lecture tour of the United States. If she "visits her relatives" it will be between hat-passing times. She is scheduled to speak in Washington, D. C. in the shadow of "Ise Perkins" office in the U. S. Department of Labor and of the U. S. Capitol at the National Theatre which a few weeks ago had billed the Scottsboro Drama but after public protest, cancelled it. During her lecture tour, her literature is being offered for sale by the red Rand School book store and the Columbia University book store in New York City.

~~EMMA GOLDMAN'S LECTURE TOUR OF THE UNITED STATES~~  
~~EMMA GOLDMAN'S LECTURE TOUR OF THE UNITED STATES~~

Goldman is only one of the half dozen or so alien revolutionists that have been allowed to use the soap-box in the United States during the past few months.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Report re] Emma Goldman [Washington, D.C.? 19]34 Feb. 20 / [Bureau of Investigation? Department of Justice?]. — 2 p. ; 24 × 20 cm.

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: The Bureau of Investigation describes Goldman's lecture tour, names the people on her tour committee, and complains that she has violated her promise not to speak about anarchism.

Notes: Broken type; barely legible.

Emma hedged when asked by a Washington newspaper man what use was going to be made of the pile of money taken in as gate receipts to her exhibition. But she had no hesitancy in stating that every government should be overthrown and that "There never was a revolution fought with kid gloves."

On Emma's National "Welcome Home" Lecture Tour Committee are the following radical celebrities: Roger Baldwin, Sherwood Anderson, Dr. E. Josephine Baker, Louis Bromfield, Karel Couch, Prof. John Dewey, Rev. John Haynes Holmes, Mrs. Frederick C. Howe, Fannie Hurst, Alfred A. Knopf, Fela LaFollette, Sinclair Lewis, Ruth Pinchot, Harry Weinberger, Anna Sloan, Mildred Olsted, Rev. Elliot White, and the Tour Director, James B. Pond.

The affair is so large that national headquarters have been opened in New York City. Seats at the Washington meeting cost from 55¢ to \$1.45, but the crowd was slim. In New York City where aliens are like flies, the crowds have been rather satisfying to the anarchist.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1934 Feb. 21 [New York to] Daniel W. MacCormack [Commissioner] Immigration and Naturalization Service, Department of Labor, Washington, D.C. [draft] / A[rthur] L[eonard] R[oss]. — 2 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Tamiment Library, New York University.

Summary: Ross drafts a petition requesting MacCormack to ease the restrictions on Goldman's speaking topics to permit her to discuss current European affairs.

Notes: Draft of 830214061. For copy, see 840305303.

February 21st, 1934

U. S. Department of Labor  
Immigration and Naturalization Service  
Washington, D. C.

Attention: Hon. Daniel W. MacCormick

Esteemed Sir:

On January 7th, 1934, I made an application to your Department for the temporary admission of Mrs. James Colton to this country for the sole purpose of visiting her relatives and to lecture on literature and the drama.

In your kind favor of the 9th ulto. you advised me that pursuant to the authority conferred by the ninth proviso, of Section 3 of the Immigration Act of 1917, 39 Stat. 875, 8 U. S. C. 2136(q), you directed that my client should be admitted for a temporary visit of ninety days.

Mrs. Colton arrived from Canada by way of Niagara Falls on February 1st. Her visit here is fast reaching one-third of her limited stay. During this time she has lectured in New York and environs and in parts of New England on the subject of her autobiography, "Living My Life". Her Committee felt that this subject would afford her a vehicle for expression since it has been pronounced by eminent literary critics as a great work of literature. These lectures have been held under the auspices of the Pond Bureau, Inc., a long established and conservative lecture bureau in New York City.

It has been the custom at the lectures to allow questions of the speaker. Insofar as these questions related to the administration at Washington and current conditions in the United States, my client has frankly answered that her absence of fifteen years from this country and her consequent lack of familiarity with the subject, made answers to these questions impossible. On the other hand, at every lecture, without exception, her audience sought her opinion of the current European scene.

Because Mrs. Colton has been a close student and observer of the political and economic forces that have been current in Europe for the last fourteen years, her inability to answer these questions have been frankly embarrassing. This of course, is due to the self-imposed limitations in the application for temporary admission which I made to you in her behalf.

There have been large demands made upon Mrs. Colton:

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1934 Feb. 21 [New York to] Daniel W. MacCormack [Commissioner] Immigration and Naturalization Service, Department of Labor, Washington, D.C. [draft] / A[rthur] L[eonard] R[oss]. — 2 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

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**Summary:** Ross drafts a petition requesting MacCormack to ease the restrictions on Goldman's speaking topics to permit her to discuss current European affairs.

**Notes:** Draft of 830214061. For copy, see 840305303.

-2-

to discuss the European situation from her point of view. These have come not alone from her audiences but from numerous prominent Americans throughout the country.

The object of my letter is to respectfully apply to your Department to enlarge the scope of Mrs. Colton's public talks so as to include her observations of European affairs. In this connection may I be permitted to point out that other aliens, some of more and some of less prominence than my client, have freely expressed their opinions of such matters in this country. Americans of standing have had an opportunity since Mrs. Colton's arrival, to privately question and learn first hand from my client, her views on current European affairs. They find that her views are not unlike those freely expressed almost daily on the public platform and in the pulpit by both Americans of prominence and by aliens in this country on temporary visits.

Under all of the circumstances, may I respectfully urge upon your Department the favorable consideration of this application.

Very truly yours,

AIR :R

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

840305303

[Letter] 1934 Feb. 21 [New York to] Daniel W. MacCormack [Commissioner] Immigration and Naturalization Service, Department of Labor, Washington, D.C. [draft] / A[rthur] L[eonard] R[oss]. — 2 p. ; 28 x 20 cm.

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Notes: Light copy. Handwritten corrections by Ross. Draft of 830214061. Copy of 840305302.

February 21st, 1934

U. S. Department of Labor  
Immigration and Naturalization Service  
Washington, D. C.

Attention: Hon. Daniel W. MacCormack

Esteemed Sir:

On January 7th, 1934, I made an application to your Department for the temporary admission of Mrs. James Colton to this country for the sole purpose of visiting her relatives and to lecture on literature and the drama.

In your kind favor of the 9th ulto. you advised me that pursuant to the authority conferred by the ninth proviso, of Section 3 of the Immigration Act of 1917, 39 Stat. 875, 8 U. S. C. §136(q), you directed that my client should be admitted for a temporary visit of ninety days.

Mrs. Colton arrived from Canada by way of Niagara Falls on February 1st. Her visit here is fast reaching one-third of her limited stay. During this time she has lectured in New York and environs and in parts of New England on the subject of her autobiography, "Living My Life". Her Committee felt that this subject would afford her a vehicle for expression since it has been pronounced by eminent literary critics as a great work of literature. These lectures have been held under the auspices of the Pond Bureau, Inc., a long established and conservative lecture bureau in New York City.

It has been the custom at the lectures to allow questions of the speaker. Insofar as these questions related to the administration at Washington and current conditions in the United States, my client has frankly answered that her absence of fifteen years from this country and her consequent lack of familiarity with the subject, made answers to these questions impossible. On the other hand, at every lecture, without exception, her audience sought her opinion of the current European scene.

Because Mrs. Colton has been a close student and observer of the political and economic forces that have been current in Europe for the last fourteen years, her inability to answer these questions have been ~~frankly~~ embarrassing. This of course, is due to the self-imposed limitations in the application for temporary admission which I made to you in her behalf.

There have been large demands made upon Mrs. Colton

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

840305303

[Letter] 1934 Feb. 21 [New York to] Daniel W. MacCormack [Commissioner] Immigration and Naturalization Service, Department of Labor, Washington, D.C. [draft] / A[rthur] L[eonard] R[oss]. — 2 p. ; 28 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Tamiment Library, New York University.  
Notes: Light copy. Handwritten corrections by Ross. Draft of 830214061. Copy of 840305302.

-2-

to discuss the European situation from her point of view. These have come not alone from her audiences but from numerous prominent Americans throughout the country.

The object of my letter is to respectfully apply to your Department to enlarge the scope of Mrs. Colton's public talks so as to include her observations of European affairs. In this connection may I be permitted to point out that other aliens, some of more and some of less prominence than my client, have freely expressed their opinions of such matters in this country. Americans of standing have had an opportunity since Mrs. Colton's arrival, to privately question and learn first hand from my client, her views on current European affairs. They find that her views are not unlike those freely expressed almost daily on the public platform and in the pulpit by both Americans of prominence and by aliens in this country on temporary visits.

Under all of the circumstances, may I respectfully urge upon your Department the favorable consideration of this application.

Very truly yours,

ALR:R

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1934 Feb. 23 [New York to] Daniel W. MacCormack, Commissioner [Immigration and Naturalization Service, Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / Roger Baldwin. — 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the Immigration and Naturalization Service via FOIA.

Summary: Baldwin argues that MacCormack should informally lift Goldman's speaking restrictions so she can respond to questions from her audiences.

HARRY F. VANDERBILT  
HELEN PHELPS STOKES, Vice-Chairman  
JAMES H. MAURER, Vice-Chairman  
FREMONT OLDER, Vice-Chairman

ARTHUR GARFIELD HAYS, Counsel  
MORRIS L. ERNST, Counsel

in leading chair

Feb. 23, 1934.

## National Committee

CHARLES F. AMIDON  
GEORGE W. ANDERSON  
HARRY ELMER BARNES  
HERBERT S. BIGELOW  
EDWIN M. BORCHARD  
RICHARD C. CABOT  
JOHN S. CODMAN  
CLARENCE DARROW  
JOHN DEWEY  
JAMES H. DILLARD  
ROBERT W. DUNN  
SHERWOOD EDDY  
ELIZABETH GLENDOWER EVANS  
JOHN F. FINEARTY  
ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN  
WALTER FRANK  
FELIX FRANKFURTER  
KATE CRANE GARTZ  
NORMAN HAPGOOD  
POWERS HAPGOOD  
HUBERT C. HERRING  
JOHN HAYNES HOLMES  
FREDERIC C. HOWE  
JAMES WELDON JOHNSON  
GEORGE W. KIRCHWEY  
JOHN A. LAFF  
AGNES BROWN LEACH  
HENRY A. LINVILLE  
ROBERT MORRIS LOVETT  
MARY E. McDOWELL  
ANNE MARTIN  
ALEXANDER MEIKLEJOHN  
HENRY R. MUSSEY  
A. J. MUSTE  
WALTER NELLES  
WILLIAM L. NUNN  
JULIA S. O'CONNOR PARKER  
WILLIAM PICKENS  
AMOS PINCHOT  
JEANNETTE RANKIN  
EDWARD A. ROSS  
ELBERT RUSSELL  
JOHN A. RYAN  
JOHN NEVIN SAYRE  
WILLIAM SCARLETT  
JOSEPH SCHLOSSBERG  
VIDA D. SCUDDER  
ABBA HILLEL SILVER  
JOHN F. SINCLAIR  
CLARENCE R. SKINNER  
NORMAN M. THOMAS  
EDWARD D. TITTMANN  
MILLIE R. THUMBULL  
WILLIAM S. U'LEN  
OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD  
B. CHARNEY VLADICK  
GEORGE P. WEST  
PETER WITT  
L. HOLLINGSWORTH WOOD

Mon. Daniel W. MacCormack  
Commissioner General of Immigration  
Washington, D.C.

My dear Col. MacCormack:

I understand that counsel for Mrs. James Colton (Emma Goldman) is seeking on her behalf to amend the application under which she was permitted to enter the country for ninety days, in view of the issues which have arisen at her public meetings. While she has been talking on subjects of literature and the drama, she has of course discussed them from the point-of-view of their social, political and economic significance, as everybody knew she would. In the question period at her public meetings, -- a custom always at such gatherings -- the audience has attempted to draw her out on temporary political controversy, particularly the struggle against Fascism in Europe. Mrs. Colton has been as circumspect as I think you could ask in her replies. But for a woman of her temperament, the restraints imposed on her by her own application make her feel that she cannot deal with these issues honestly. She has almost come to the point where she would rather not speak at all than to hedge. It is not her nature.

But on the other hand she quite appreciates the limited privileges of an alien visitor and the possible embarrassment to the government if she attacked the leadership of foreign governments or gave any cause to a foreign embassy to complain. That she can be counted upon to avoid. Her amended application is merely for the purpose of dealing more honestly with issues that arise anyhow and of enabling her to put those issues into the subjects of her talk.

I can well understand it if you did not care to formally agree to her extension of the range of her topics, but I trust that in view of the record of her meetings since she has been here and her press reception which on the whole has been cordial and approving, you might feel inclined to accede to the spirit of the suggestion made by her counsel.

Sincerely yours,

*Roger Baldwin*

RNB/IE

# The Emma Goldman Papers

Woman Without a Country Retains Nimble Wit and Fiery Views — 28 cm. In Washington Herald [Feb. 24? 1934] / [author unknown].

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: Interviewed in Washington, D.C., Goldman assesses the political situation in the United States and admits that she hopes to extend her stay.

Notes: Broken type; portions illegible. Enclosed with 870708073.

"War is coming again..."

## Woman Without a Country Retains Nimble Wit and Fiery Views

Emma Goldman, 64-year-old and more than a little fat, came back to Washington yesterday, as sturdy an anarchist as ever, but a little discouraged, a little disappointed by the speed of fascism in Europe, and by what she terms "the immobility of starker war."

She sadly admitted that possibly she wouldn't live to see her millennium—the reign of anarchy, the end of all government, a world in which all men are equal brothers.

### THIRD OF MAY IS GONE

Turnly three of the ninety days offered her in this country were over when she greeted the press in the "Lady's Parlor" of the Hotel Lafayette last night, her nimble wit more nimble with increasing age, her tongue as fiery, her answers ready for a question barrage of 15 newspapermen. She said:

"I feel like a condemned man hoping for a reprieve."

The reprieve she hopes for is an extension of her stay in this country. She calls it "my country," although she has not been here and, in fact, her conversation ran the lauded strain of "The Man Without a Country." She said:

"Why do I call it my country? I helped build it. I gave the best years of my life here, working for my cause and the cause of humanity."

### SEES SOME HOPE HERE

And while she is pretty much discouraged with the rest of the world, including Russia, she sees glimmers of hope in the United States. Here's the way she puts it:

"Fifteen years ago I was deported for saying things which I could say with impunity today. I was deported for being a pacifist."

Twice she was asked what she thought of President Roosevelt, whose embassy called her to re-enter America for her series of lectures. Once she denied the question. The second time she was forced to admit:

"I'll say this for President Roosevelt, he's the most liberal President we've ever had. He's the only President who conceded the right of collective bargaining."

"Fifteen years ago he couldn't have been elected."

"Fifteen years ago, even if elected, he couldn't have put in effect the present reforms."

### WILL ASK EXTENSION

Her friends, she said, are going to ask the Department of Labor for an extension of her time here. But she says:

"I'll not compromise. If they let me stay here, they can't hope that I'll go around promoting the NRA. I'd stay on the same conditions as my original

30 days, however. I'll come to speak only on the drama and literature."

And very softly and hardly with emphasis, this nimble-witted woman adds:

"You know, drama and literature cover a lot of ground. And politics is at the background of everything."

### FASCISM WAS ADOPTED

She was not smiling. Was very soon.

"The Fascist nations—and by that I mean all ruled by dictators—would rather have war than revolution."

"I am sorry to say it, but Fascism is spreading. I hope it doesn't spread to this country. It's that or Anarchism."

"But when Fascism ends, then will come the revolution." She was asked what she thought of Russia. She replied:

"It's just like any other dictatorship—only they're more frank about it."

### EXPOUNDS HER THEORIES

Here are some of her other statements:

"There never was a revolution fought with kid gloves. That's not the way we secured our independence in 1776."

"The only people I've ever seen since I've been in America have been reporters. I like them, but I don't trust them much."

"I'm not going to watch Congress work while I'm in Washington. I have friends, to be sure. No, not people whose names you'd know—writers."

"In the south of France I have a garden. I work hard there and grow vegetables. I still cook. From all over the world, people come to see me there."

She sat there, this dumpy little woman with the brain of a steel in, and smiled, in theory, at the world's problems.

But when she arose, you had the feeling that she was still smiling the same old smile—and then she turned "my smile."

"I'd like to stay here..."

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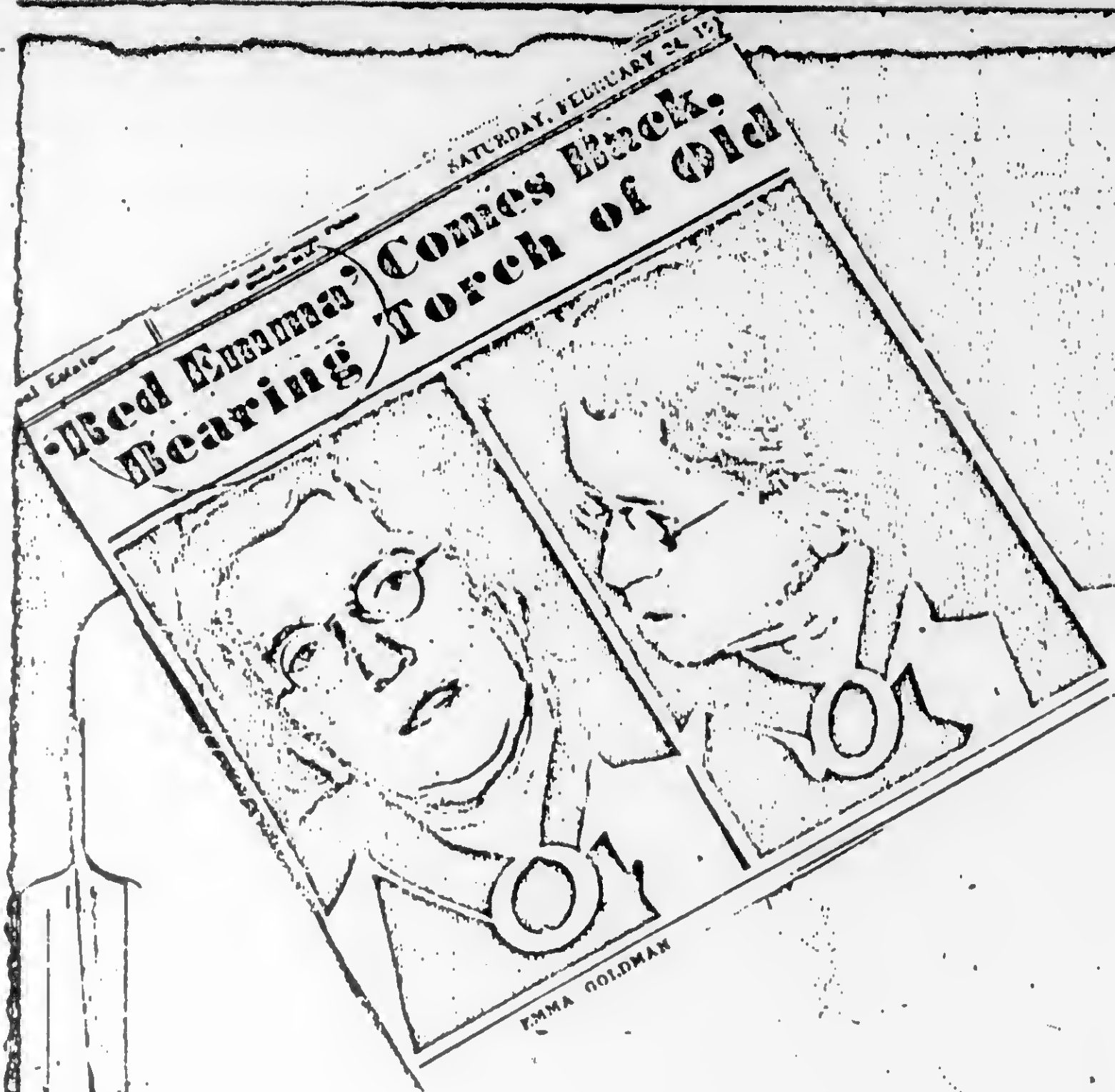
## The Emma Goldman Papers

"Red Emma" Comes Back, Bearing Torch of Old — 28 cm. *In* [unknown periodical (Feb. 24, 1934)] / [author unknown].

*Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.*

**Summary:** The Bureau of Investigation files a photograph of Goldman, clipped from a newspaper.

**Notes:** Light copy; barely legible. Enclosed with 870708073.





## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1934 Feb. 27, New York [to] Daniel W. MacCormack [Commissioner] Immigration and Naturalization Service, Department of Labor, Washington, D.C. / Arthur Leonard Ross. — 2 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

*Obtained from the Immigration and Naturalization Service via FOIA.*

**Summary:** Ross petitions MacCormack to allow Goldman to speak on European current events as well as literature and drama.

February 27th, 1934

U. S. Department of Labor  
Immigration and Naturalization Service  
Washington, D. C.

Attention: Hon. Daniel W. MacCormick

Esteemed Sir:

On January 7th, 1934, I made an application to your Department for the temporary admission of Mrs. James Colton to this country for the sole purpose of visiting her relatives and to lecture on literature and the drama.

In your kind favor of the 9th ulto. you advised me that pursuant to the authority conferred by the ninth proviso of Section 3 of the Immigration Act of 1917, 39 Stat. 875, 8 U. S. C. 136(q), you directed that my client should be admitted for a temporary visit of ninety days.

Mrs. Colton arrived from Canada by way of Niagara Falls on February 1st. Her visit here is fast reaching one-third of her limited stay. During this time she has lectured in New York and environs and in parts of New England on the subject of her autobiography, "Living My Life". Her Committee felt that this subject would afford her a vehicle for expression since it has been pronounced by eminent literary critics as a great work of literature. These lectures have been held under the auspices of the Pond Bureau, Inc., a long established and conservative lecture bureau in New York City.

It has been the custom at the lectures to allow questions of the speaker. Insofar as these questions related to the administration at Washington and current conditions in the United States, my client has frankly answered that her absence of fifteen years from this country and her consequent lack of familiarity with the subject, made answers to these questions impossible. On the other hand, at every lecture, without exception, her audience sought her opinion on the current European scene.

Because Mrs. Colton has been a close student and observer of the political and economic forces that have been current in Europe for the last fourteen years, her inability to answer these questions fully and frankly have been embarrassing. This, of course, is due to the fact that in the application for temporary admission which I made to you in her behalf, I asked that she be permitted to speak on literature and the drama.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1934 Feb. 27, New York [to] Daniel W. MacCormack [Commissioner] Immigration and Naturalization Service, Department of Labor, Washington, D.C. / Arthur Leonard Ross. — 2 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

*Obtained from the Immigration and Naturalization Service via FOIA.*

**Summary:** Ross petitions MacCormack to allow Goldman to speak on European current events as well as literature and drama.

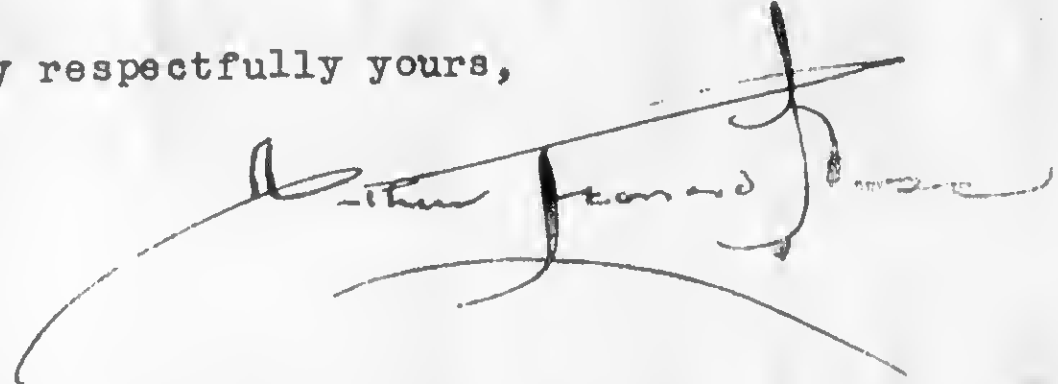
Page 2.

There have been large demands made upon Mrs. Colton to discuss the European situation from her point of view. These have come not alone from her audiences but from numerous prominent Americans throughout the country.

As counsel for Mrs. Colton, I wish to apply for an amendment of her application so that she may discuss contemporary affairs in accordance with the demands of her audiences, but without involving herself in attacks likely to arouse resentment on the part of representatives of foreign governments. Mrs. Colton has endeavored to keep within the terms of her original application and she desires scrupulously to avoid the kind of controversy which she understands that alien visitors might make embarrassing to the Department of Labor. But she desires to discuss such subjects as "The Menace of World Reaction"; "The Collapse of German Culture", and subjects dealing with general issues rather than specific comment on personalities or leaders. In this connection may I be permitted to point out that other aliens, some of more and some of less prominence than my client, have freely expressed their opinions of such matters in this country. Americans of standing have had an opportunity since Mrs. Colton's arrival, to privately question and learn first hand from my client, her views on current European affairs. They find that her views are not unlike those freely expressed almost daily on the public platform and in the pulpit by both Americans of prominence and by aliens in this country on temporary visits.

Under all of the circumstances, may I respectfully urge upon your Department the favorable consideration of this application.

Very respectfully yours,



AIR:R

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

830214059

[Letter, 1934 March? to] Franklin D. Roosevelt, President, Washington, D.C.  
[transcript] / Mrs. F.R. Gould. — 1 p. ; 27 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the Immigration and Naturalization Service via FOIA.

Summary: Mrs. Gould begs Roosevelt to deport Goldman and prevent the immigration of German Jews into the United States.

Notes: Bleedthrough; dark copy.

To the President, Mr. Franklin D. Roosevelt,  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

This woman, Emma Goldman, Jewess, was permitted to return to this country recently with the express proviso that she should not continue her Communist propaganda, the same being what caused her deportation sixteen years ago. However, she is going and saying exactly the same things that she did previously, and I wish to protest her being allowed to do so, and ask that she be deported.

My dear Col. MacGregor:  
Recently, also, we had a broadcast by "The Friends of Soviet Russia" who aired their views for all the nation, via air, and many of them were dangerously close to outright Bolshevik propaganda. Now, with Communist doctrines gaining ground so rapidly all over the world, we cannot afford, Sir, to permit such agitators to run wild in America. Furthermore, it seems that many Jewish refugees from Germany are coming into this country—I know of one specific instance here—and inasmuch as the trouble makers in Germany were admittedly Communist Jews, we certainly are following a quite untenable course to allow them to come here. I realize that you, Sir, on account of your back-ground and life-long experience in New York may look at this question differently; but may I say most respectfully that the rest of the nation feels very strongly about the danger of letting those elements which would enthrone Communism get the upper hand. Please, please, protect us from the hordes of aliens who would destroy what we have left of liberty and an enlightened Americanism. This Emma Goldman is a fair example; she was allowed in here after she appreciated had promised not to continue her subversive propaganda, —only to immediately break this promise. Can she not be at once deported?

Your act in cancelling the air mail contracts met with my entire approval, Sir. Heaven knows, I have no use for Farley, but I am very glad you took such drastic action in regard to the air plane concerns—perhaps it will be a lesson to them and to others in the future.

Most respectfully,  
Mrs. F.R. Gould

copied: app  
comp: [initials]

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

810331044

Summary of the Intelligence Situation as of March 1, 1934 [Baltimore, Md.] / J.C. Pegram, A[ssistant] C[hief] of S[taff, Military Intelligence Division, War Department]. - 4 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: Military Intelligence's survey of the subversive situation mentions Goldman's lecture in Philadelphia.

Notes: Enclosed with 810331044.

THIRD CORPS AREA  
Summary of the Intelligence Situation  
as of March 1, 1934.

14-1934

OFFICE CHIEF OF STAFF  
MIL. INTEL. DIV.

10110-2663

87

WAR DEPARTMENT

SECRET NO. 1

1030 There has been little change during the month of February in Economic and Industrial conditions although there is an indication of a general improvement.

1430 One bank failure reported during the month. Johnstown, Pa.

738+31 1530 Baltimore, Md. During the week ending February 18th, groups of 300 to 500 members of the Marine Workers Industrial Union and sympathizers with striking seamen of the Munsen Line were twice turned back by police while marching towards ships of the Munsen Line at the docks. They dispersed without trouble. The striking seamen are demanding the return of the 1929 wage scale.

On February 24th police had short clashes with strikers from a clothing company in the Candler Building, Baltimore. The strikers were attempting to interfere with the regular workers.

The strikers deny any connection with communistic movements and are probably sincere in this statement. However, agitators known as communists are taking a prominent part in the agitation.

7331 Philadelphia, Pa. An indication of the radical attitude toward the military was evidence by the characteristic Communist slogan "Fight Against Imperialistic Wars" painted on the wall of the 111th Inf. Armory in Philadelphia recently. The press-account is also characteristic when it stated that "pacifists" with a sense of the dramatic were responsible.

Washington, D.C. Elaborate plans to make the District a "fortress of Soviet Defense" have been drawn by the Friends of the Soviet Union, a Communist group, Chairman Mary Norton of the House District Committee has been informed.

In a letter to Mrs Norton the group said it intends to "crystallize the great wave of sympathy and enthusiasm toward the U.S.S.R. into a solid organization of powerful friends of the Soviet Union". A six weeks campaign beginning February 27 and running to April 5 will be launched as part of the Group's plan. The campaign will involve renting headquarters here, popularizing the movement thru circulars and a drive for money subscriptions, rewarded by a free trip to Russia as prize for the person bringing in the most money. At the start of the campaign the group states a huge meeting was to be held March 1, 1934, at 1811 "H" Street, N.W.

Harrisburg, Pa. Chief of Police reports that for two months, quiet prevailed. About the middle of February it was found the Radicals had started up again. One organization, white and the other colored. They call themselves Socialists, but are really Communists. For instance on February 12 a circular was passed around addressed to "all workers" that they should attend a moving picture called "War Against the Centuries" and an admission of 25¢ would be charged. This film was brought to Harrisburg by one, Sergio D'Antonio (who resides at 729 Seventh Avenue, New York City. Description: white, evidently a Russian, weight 190 lbs., about 5 feet 7 inches in height, broad face, smooth and medium dark complexion), A wire to the State Censoring Committee at Philadelphia brought back the information this picture under the name above had not been censored. So the police had the building it was to be shown in condemned (as it was unsafe, from fire hazard) further more the tax people called for their tax, so the showing was postponed. Later it was found that

SECRET

- 1 -

DECLASSIFIED
NND 740058
By J. M. NARS, Date 2/22/81

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

Summary of the Intelligence Situation as of March 1, 1934 [Baltimore, Md.] / J.C. Pegram, Assistant Chief of Staff, Military Intelligence Division, War Department. - 4 p.; 34 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: Military Intelligence's survey of the subversive situation mentions Goldman's lecture in Philadelphia.

Notes: Enclosed with 810331044.

this picture had been censored under another name - "The Five Year Plan - Russia's Remaking", #89376 and passed. They were allowed to select another building to show it in, but not having paid the tax required, were obliged to show it free. This picture came from the "Garrison Film Co., of New York City" and was sponsored here by J.F. Omeret of 1610 Paxton Street, A.W. Townsen in the five hundred block on North Street and Simon Bleach of the six hundred block Woodbine St. all of Harrisburg, Pa. The police report, description of this film, reads as follows: "War of the Centuries" is a picture of the Soviet Government of Russia. The Center of this government is in Moscow. This picture shows the developments of the country of Russia since they done away with Czarism and formed the Soviet Government, or the government that is supposed to be run by the people of the country. It also shows the advancement the country has made in the different industries and how the people of the country who work are taken care of by being provided for and given the best of clothing and homes to live in. During the showing of this picture, A Miss Cooper would tell of the great number of people out of work in this country and in the country under the Soviet Government there were no strikes or people out of work. After the picture was over Lewis A. Sterrick, 526 Wisconsin St., who claimed he had nothing to do with the picture, but was a member of the Taxpayer's Protective Association went to the front and ask some member of the association to make a motion protesting to the city officials the stopping of the picture. This picture they showed on February 20 in the basement of the Compensation Building. Sterrick also announced that they would show another picture in the near future, and it would be brought here from New York.

"War of the Centuries" was brought here from Lancaster, Pa. Mr. Sterrick also announced that he had a telegram stating that this picture had been censored by the censors last August.

Miss Alice Cooper gave her address as 604 Maclay Street. This address is the address of the Taxpayers Protective League. Unemployed Division, United Federation Local #31 (Compensation Building Basement) Officers of this branch are understood to be Sterrick and H.C. Hollenbaugh, 3136 Jefferson St. Harrisburg, Pa. Philadelphia, Pa.

7333 Emma Goldman spoke to an audience of about 500 on the night of February 28 in Philadelphia. She commented upon the changed attitude of the authorities since her recent return to this country, "because you have advanced and the country has become more liberal". She denied that she was disillusioned by the Russian Revolution but said she had no liking for dictators.

7334.12 Frederick J. Libby of the National Council for the Prevention of War spoke before the Germantown branch on February 19th. He urged the United States to drop "big stick" methods in military affairs.

7530 Civilian Conservation Corps. Very quiet.

7631 Pittsburgh, Pa. An officer making a speech to a certain group of student body at the University of Pittsburgh, was very much surprised to find among these students so many radicals who really are a menace, even in small numbers among the student body of young men and women. If this radicalism continues to increase among the young students, it may become a real menace in time.

- 2 -

DECLASSIFIED
NND 740058
By <u>J. L. Motter</u> NARS, Date <u>3/23/81</u>

509

# The Emma Goldman Papers

Summary of the Intelligence Situation as of March 1, 1934 [Baltimore, Md.] / J.C. Pegram, A[ssistant] C[hief] of S[taff, Military Intelligence Division, War Department]. — 4 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: Military Intelligence's survey of the subversive situation mentions Goldman's lecture in Philadelphia.

Notes: Enclosed with 810331044.

Members of Liberal Clubs in Six Maryland colleges and universities adopted a declaration against participation in war, which is intended to initiate a nation-wide pacifist movement in institutions of higher learning.

The statement "We declare that under no circumstances will we support any war entered into by the Government of the United States", was signed by about fifty delegates to the intercollegiate conference at Homewood, sponsored by the Johns Hopkins Liberal Club and the Goucher College Chapter of the League for industrial Democracy. It was drawn up at a special meeting of the final session of the conference. The Institutions represented were:

The Johns Hopkins University  
Goucher College  
Morgan College  
The University of Baltimore  
The University of Maryland-(Subsequently repudiated by Maryland College for Women U of Md. Student body Org.)

The clubs have about seventy-five members. So that in reality the fifty delegates represented themselves and twenty-five others. Norman Thomas speaking on "Youth Faces the Next War" at the conference spurred the students to action, and advised youth to go to Leavenworth rather than bear arms for their Country. Monroe Sweetland, a student who is the field representative of the league, suggested that the students take some definite step, and Richard Feise, of the Johns Hopkins University, chairman of conference committee, called the special session.

The students intend the declaration to be circulated widely without being associated with any party or group. Besides signatures to it in colleges, they will circulate it among labor groups.

After repeated heckling by Communists, Norman Thomas was goaded to fiery invective against the reds at the Open Forum.

"Communism and Socialists will never unite," he shouted in answer to a question, "until the Communists have a sense of decent responsibility." I never said any thing so harsh against communism in America before, and those of you that know me know that." He was speaking on "What a Socialist President Might Have Done in one year." To begin with he would have socialized the banking system when the opportunity presented itself. "It would have been as easy as it was for Mr Roosevelt to patch it up and hand it back to the owners".

The "revolutionary student movement" is being focused on:

1. An effort at crippling national defense.
2. The stirring of racial hatred among negroes.
3. Student participation in "the working-class struggle" - meaning participation in Communist activities in industry.
4. Expansion of membership-particularly in the high schools and even in junior high schools-eight field organizers being out for this purpose.

7632.17

Philadelphia, Pa. Dr. E.Y. Montanye, Principal of one of the Phila. High Schools disciplined two Senior students for selling an independent and subversive student newspaper, "The Free Lance". When informed that these students were members of the Young People's Socialist League he said "Whatever that is". When informed that they had attended lectures by Dr. Jesse H. Holmes, Philosophy professor of Swarthmore College and nationally-known pacifist and pink, the Principal said, "Whoever he is". This brought on an attack by the Socialists, as to his fitness to be Principal.



## The Emma Goldman Papers

Summary of the Intelligence Situation as of March 1, 1934 [Baltimore, Md.] / J.C. Pegram, A[ssistant] C[hief] of S[taff, Military Intelligence Division, War Department].—  
4 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: Military Intelligence's survey of the subversive situation mentions Goldman's lecture in Philadelphia.

Notes: Enclosed with 810331044.

9730 Philadelphia, Pa. At the Lincoln Day Luncheon of Gold Star Mothers of Philadelphia, Major General William G. Price, recently retired commander of the Pennsylvania National Guard said, "We want plenty of guns and our powder dry as we are much nearer war than we were in 1914".

### Estimate of the Situation.

1. There has been little change during the month of February in Economic and Industrial conditions in this Area.
2. There has been increase in some states and decrease in others of the unemployed situation. Cessation of C.W.A. work will probably cause an increase in unemployment.
3. The attitude of the unemployed continue to be patient.
4. Radical activities are under control of authorities.

Prepared in Duplicate.

*J.C. Pegram*  
J.C. PEGRAM,  
Lieut. Col. General Staff,  
A.C. of S., G-2.

DECLASSIFIED

AND 740058

# The Emma Goldman Papers

Fight Goldman Ban — 22 cm. In [New York Times (March 6? 1934)] / [author unknown].

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: The New York Times reports that the Civil Liberties Union will challenge the Pittsburgh School District's decision to deny Goldman permission to lecture in their building.

Notes: Broken type; portions illegible. Enclosed with 870708073. For other clippings, see 870708075 through 870708077.

## EMMA GOLDMAN "Quarantined" in New York

Short, stout, graying, red Emma Goldman sat in a New York hotel last Friday and submitted to a mass press interview. "The quora of the anarchy" had entered the United States two days earlier, with permission to stay 90 days now covers.

The crash of a falling camera interrupted her statements to the New York newspapers. "Heaven!" she cried. "The police will think I've thrown a bomb."

The police might have thought so fourteen years ago when she was deported after a long career of radical agitation. Interviewers who saw her last week considered her less turbulent than earlier. They noticed particularly her speculation, her open, mild manner, and British accent.

Miss Goldman, now a British subject, is here for a lecture tour. She will speak Sunday in New York at a church of all places. Nevertheless, she is still an anarchist. "I was always considered bad; I'm worse now," she said. The remark was made with a smile and sounded a true warning.

## EMMA GOLDMAN BIDS GOOD-BY AGAIN

Wistful Radical Leaves New York Before 90-Day Period Expires

By the Associated Press  
NEW YORK, May 1.—Emma Goldman—the red, red radical of two decades ago—left today for a last look at the country in which she has always had a strange mixture of affection and hatred.

She slipped away from New York by train a few hours after the expiration time of her 90-day visa which permitted her to remain here for a last look at the country in which she has always had a strange mixture of affection and hatred.

Although the visit, as they say, was her last, she had a last look at the country in which she has always had a strange mixture of affection and hatred.

"The one deal here is nothing more than an artificial and temporary solution of the capitalist system," she announced.

"I am sure that although I cannot see the future in the hands of the capitalist administration, no one can see the future. I have only been here three months."

She added: "Only three months New York is my city. I would like to stay here. No other place can mean as much to me."

Her lecture tour was not particularly a success in the capitalist system, she admitted.

Even Communist Russia doesn't appear to offer as much as it once seemed to. "They are crushed in Russia. They have not done what they should have—just another step," she said.

## FIGHT GOLDMAN BAN.

Pittsburgh Liberals Protest War Exclusion From Public Buildings

Spoke in Two New York Times

PITTSBURGH, March 2.—Miss Emma Goldman was a centre of controversy today as liberal forces moved to prevent officials from allowing her to speak March 18 in the Schenley High School Auditorium at the Carnegie Institute Music Hall.

Action is reported from the Civil Liberties Union, in whose hands the matter was placed by the Pittsburgh Educational Committee, sponsoring the address. Meanwhile it has been tentatively decided to have Miss Goldman speak in the Schenley Hall.

Richard Superintendent Ben G. Graham said today:

"It has always been the policy of the board not to have controversial lectures delivered in a public high school."

Miss Goldman's speech is to be on "The Means of Reaction," dealing with fascism and political development in Europe.

George E. Evans, chairman of the Pittsburgh branch of the Civil Liberties Union, said:

"We have no interest in what Miss Goldman has to say, but we are ready to defend her right to say it."

## "SOVIETIZATION" IN U. S. PLEASER EMMA GOLDMAN

Infamous Anarchist Runs Into Series of Strikes.

New York, Feb. 2.—(Special)—Emma Goldman, the "infamous anarchist" who has been deported from the United States, is now in New York today after a long tour of the United States. She is now in New York today after a long tour of the United States. She is now in New York today after a long tour of the United States.

She is now in New York today after a long tour of the United States. She is now in New York today after a long tour of the United States. She is now in New York today after a long tour of the United States.

She is now in New York today after a long tour of the United States. She is now in New York today after a long tour of the United States. She is now in New York today after a long tour of the United States.

She is now in New York today after a long tour of the United States. She is now in New York today after a long tour of the United States. She is now in New York today after a long tour of the United States.

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Memorandum] 1934 March 10, Baltimore, Md. [to] Adjutant General, War Department, Washington, D.C. / John B. Richardson, Assistant Adjutant General, Third Corps Area [War Department].— 1 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: Richardson forwards a subversive situation summary to Washington, D.C.

Notes: For enclosure, see 810331045.

HEADQUARTERS THIRD CORPS AREA  
UNITED STATES ARMY  
BALTIMORE MARYLAND

285 (12-11-31)  
12

March 18, 1934

DATE 3/10/34

NO. ORD C.A.

INTEL. L.

OFFICE CHIEF OF STAFF  
MIL. INTEL. DIV.

10110-2663

82  
WAR DEPARTMENT

Subject: Subversive Situation.

To: The Adjutant General,  
War Department,  
Washington, D.C.

Inclosed herewith is one copy of the Summary of the Subversive Situation as of March 1, 1934, as required by paragraph 2, letter AG 000.24 (10-20-31) (Misc)B, dated December 11, 1931.

1-Incl.

For the Commanding General:

JOHN B. RICHARDSON,

Lt. Col. A.G.D.

Assistant Adjutant General

18 Received A. G. O. MAR 12 1934

RECORD SECTION  
M.I.D.

SECRET

DECLASSIFIED	
NND 740058	
By JF Makoo	NARS, Date 3/23/81

513

# The Emma Goldman Papers

810331041

[Memorandum] 1934 March 16, Boston [to] Adjutant General, War Department, Washington, D.C. / Fox Conner, Commanding General, First Corps Area [War Department].— 3 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: Military Intelligence's subversive situation survey notes that Goldman spoke about her autobiography in Boston without incident.

HEADQUARTERS FIRST CORPS AREA

WAR DEPARTMENT

ARMY BASE, BOSTON, MASS.

March 16, 1934

C., 1 C. A.

IN REPLY

REFER TO

000.24 10-20-31  
(Misc.)B

Subject: General Subversive Situation.

To: The Adjutant General, War Department,  
Washington, D.C.

1. In accordance with instructions contained in letter from your office dated December 11, 1931, with the above file number, the following report for the month of February is submitted:

1410 Economic recovery continued in New England during February. Unfavorable, outspoken, comment concerning the reduction of the C.W.A. projects and workers was heard in different parts of the Corps Area. In some parts, this reaction resulted in under cover agitation for the organization of employess as a group to work politically for making both the P.W.A. and the C.W.A. permanent organizations.

7313.0 On February 17th, about 500 persons heard Emma Goldman tell the story of her life, at a meeting in Boston. In the audience were all sorts of people, many interested in both socialism and communism and some pink tea reformers. On the platform with Miss Goldman were Miss Alice Stone Blackwell and Miss Goldman's niece, Miss Stella Ballentine. No special incident of the speech is considered worth reporting.

7314.54 In answer to rumors charging the Civilian Conservation Corps camps with militarism, Robert Fechner, National Director of the C.C.C. speaking in Boston on February 7th said. " If there were the slightest taint of militarism in the camps or in the project, I would resign my position tomorrow."

He was addressing the Woman's International League for Peace and Freedom at its annual dinner meeting, which was held at the 20th Century Club, 3 Joy Street. Mrs Martha Helen Elliott, chairman of the league, presided.

Calling attention to his record as arbitrator for labor and labor unions, and his long standing as an active worker for peace and pacifism, Fechner went to say that President Roosevelt, speaking to newspaper men, had declared that if he found any camp director permitting military drill or other manifestations of militarism or a war spirit, he would be summarily dismissed.

- 1 -

DECLASSIFIED	
NND	740058
By	J.P. Mathis NARS, Date 3/23/81

514



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Memorandum] 1934 March 16, Boston [to] Adjutant General, War Department, Washington, D.C. / Fox Conner, Commanding General, First Corps Area [War Department].— 3 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: Military Intelligence's subversive situation survey notes that Goldman spoke about her autobiography in Boston without incident.

7410

There has been no indication of subversive activity among military personnel of this Corps Area.

No copies of the "Soldiers Voice" have been found.

7411.14

See 7311.14 January report dated February 9, 1934.

*consult this  
in order to  
report referred to.*

The meeting referred to was covered by the New Haven National Guard authorities for the purpose of ascertaining whether or not any of their enlisted men were active in this work. The meeting was of no significance and was so much of a failure that they made no further report of this activity. No member of the National Guard attended this meeting except those directed to do so.

7510

Reference is made to this I.G. No. in December 1933 report dated January 16, 1934.

*See previous  
report referred to  
in order to  
report referred to.*

The Herbert Blaisdell referred to, a member of the 192nd Co., Princeton, Maine, reported in person at this headquarters on February 5th and presented a plan for the organization of a national movement for the promotion of the welfare of the CCC men.

On March 5th he was discharged for violation of instructions. Prior to his departure from camp he expressed the intention of creating as much disturbance and trouble as possible, with alleged "facts and data" and to make it hot for everybody concerned.

The inclosed letter which is alleged to have been written by Blaisdell to Al. Cavanaugh is self explanatory. The Cavanaugh referred to was discharged on December 13, 1933.

Since attempts at organization by these two men may prove troublesome to the authorities this matter is being presented at this time.

7511.14

Subversive activities among CCC personnel have been reported as follows:

*7544.14  
closed*

(1) A circular issued by the Young Communists League similar to one already furnished your office (See I.G. 7510 (7311.0) December 19th report) was given to a member of the 179th Co., CCC, Voluntown, Conn., by one Abraham Zosloff, Middletown, Conn., at the Y.M.C.A. in Middletown, Conn. This is one of few cases where the disseminator of propaganda has been traced by name.

(2) Reference is made to secret letter this headquarters dated December 29, 1933, AG. 311.5 CCC., subject: General Subversive Situation (Special report) wherein reference is made to a communist circular similar to that referred to in (1) above. The District Commander reports that the <sup>man</sup> suspected of distributing the circular in question has been discharged. Name of suspect, Ronald Croons, 49 Sanford Street, Hartford, Conn.

7611.0  
7612.11

On February 25th the Boston Sunday Advertiser printed a feature article headed "Communism Peril Sweeping through ten Big New England Colleges."

*7544.14  
7612.11  
closed*

It is reported that all the following colleges have radical branches. Wellesley, Tufts, Radcliffe, Harvard, Boston University, Massachusetts Institute of Technology and Smith.

Extracts from the article are inclosed herewith.

- 2 -

DECLASSIFIED	
NND	740058
By <u>J. F. Matias</u>	NARS, Date <u>3/23/81</u>

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515



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Memorandum] 1934 March 16, Boston [to] Adjutant General, War Department, Washington, D.C. / Fox Conner, Commanding General, First Corps Area [War Department]. — 3 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: Military Intelligence's subversive situation survey notes that Goldman spoke about her autobiography in Boston without incident.

8001.28

The Commanding Officer, 4th CCC District states:  
" Reports received from the 394th Co., CCC-Vet. Hyde Park, Mass., indicate that another "bonus march" on Washington is being planned to take place late in the Spring. Placards relating to the march have been circulated in the camps and the organization has apparently been thoroughly discussed among the men."

8671-28  
The Commanding Officer, 393rd Co., CCC-Vet. Fall River, Mass., reports that one "Happy" Jack Voight a bonus marcher and organizer arrived in Fall River and has been in touch with some of the members of the 393rd Co. He is living at 4 Blossom Avenue, Fall River with one Arthur J. Lajnesse. It is alleged that Voight told the police at Fall River that he is there for the purpose of organizing a bonus march.

Records at this headquarters do not indicate that Voight was ever a member of the CCC.

The Commanding Officer, 2211th Co., CCC-Vet. stationed at Camp Greene, Montpelier, Vermont, states that a veteran CCC member, John W. Walsh has been visiting the barracks of the different companies in Camp Greene making speeches, the text of which are unknown, however, reports of them seem to be an agitation for the immediate payment of the Bonus.

✓ 2 Incls.

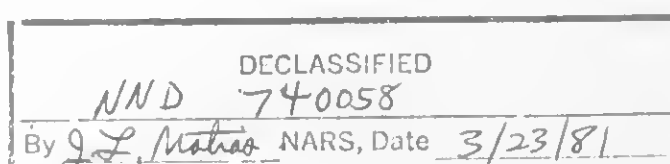
16 Received A. G. O.

MAR 19 1934

FOX CONNER:

Major General, U.S. Army,  
Commanding.

MAR - 21 - AM 11:05

RECORD SECTION  
M.I.D.

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516

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1934 March 21, Cleveland, Ohio [to] Frances Perkins, Secretary of Labor [Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / Fred Schulder. — 1 p. ; 24 × 18 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.  
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Summary: Schulder urges Perkins to grant Goldman's request for a visa extension.

6120

FRED SCHULDER  
PRODUCTION ENGINEER AND MANUFACTURERS' AGENT  
FOR THE  
PLUMBING BRASS INDUSTRIES  
1130 EAST 68TH STREET  
CLEVELAND, OHIO

Mar. 21, 1934.  
Air Mail

Hon. Frances Perkins  
Secretary of Labor  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Miss Perkins,

If it possible for you to do so, I urge that you extend the period of this government's hospitality to Emma Goldman beyond the three months already allowed.

I urge this primarily as an act of fair play and common humanity. but I urge it also because I regard the example of her indomitable courage and love of freedom as a much needed prophylactic in these days of threatening dictatorships and of the awakening to the possibilities of the New Deal.

Sincerely yours,

Dear Emma,

The above was dispatched the day following your appearance in Cleveland. I hope it reaches Miss Perkins in time to do some good.

With all good wishes,

*Fred*

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517

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1934 March 23, Rochester, N.Y. [to Franklin D. Roosevelt] President, Washington, D.C. / Robert C. Tait. — 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the Immigration and Naturalization Service via FOIA.

**Summary:** The City Club of Rochester asks President Roosevelt to allow Goldman to stay in the United States.

**Notes:** Enclosed with 830523121.

THOMAS L. FOULKES  
VICE-PRESIDENT  
PAUL MCFARLAND  
SECRETARY  
ARTHUR P. CURTIS  
TREASURER

RESPECTFULLY REFERRED  
FOR CONSIDERATION



52 410 / 43 Louis McKim Howe  
Secy. to President

The President  
The White House  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. President:

The City Club of Rochester, a liberal civic forum comprising a membership of some 400 representative Rochesterians from all walks of life, entertained Miss Emma Goldman as its speaker last Saturday noon, March 17th. The Club merely wishes to go on record as expressing the hope that Miss Goldman's enforced exile from this country may be removed.

Naturally very few of our membership would endorse Miss Goldman's political philosophy, but all who heard her seem to feel that her wishes for the human race at large are fully as humane and wholesome as their own; that she simply views the means to her end differently from most of us.

We feel that she is not a menace to our people, and that she deserves the privilege of spending her remaining years in the country which she still considers her home.

Most respectfully yours,

*Robert C. Tait*  
President

153

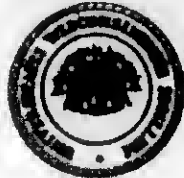
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518

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1934 March 27, Madison [Wis. to] Frances Perkins, Secretary of Labor [Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / John R. Commons. — 1 p. ; 25 × 22 cm.  
*Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Columbia University Rare Book and Manuscript Library. Institutional Location: Frances Perkins Papers, Special Manuscripts Collection.*  
**Summary:** Commons urges Perkins to allow Goldman to remain in the United States. He emphasizes her anti-communism.

## The University of Wisconsin



DEPARTMENT OF ECONOMICS  
 STERLING HALL

Madison

March 27, 1934



Miss Francis Perkins  
 Secretary of Labor  
 Washington, D. C.

My dear Miss Perkins:

I have just had a talk over the 'phone with Miss Emma Goldman. She advises me that her permit to remain in this country extends only until April. I hope she can be given either an extension or a permanent permit. The whole situation has changed so tremendously during the past twenty years. She was known as an anarchist and is now one of the most bitter opponents of communism. I believe her influence in this country will be good. Anarchism as I understand it really means small individual proprietorship, and does not really do away with private property. On general principles I do not see how she can any longer be considered hostile to American institutions, seeing that the present day issue is mainly against communism and fascism.

Sincerely yours,

*John R. Commons*  
 John R. Commons

A

## The Emma Goldman Papers

900404103

[Letter] 1934 April 3 [New York to] Clifford McCarthy, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Department of the Interior, Washington, D.C. / R[oger] B[aldwin].— 1 p. ; 25 × 22 cm.  
*Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Princeton University Library. Institutional Location: American Civil Liberties Union Archives.*

**Summary:** Baldwin presses McCarthy to lobby Secretary of Labor Perkins to obtain a visa extension for Goldman.

371

April 3, 1934.

Mr. Clifford McCarthy,  
Bureau of Indian Affairs,  
Department of the Interior,  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Cliff:

May I ask whether you have managed to see Miss Perkins in regard to the extension of Emma Goldman's stay here for three months from May 1st? Were you not also going to see Bill Phillips of the State Department regarding it? The matter is, as you know, urgent.

Sincerely yours,

RNB.GP

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520



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1934 April 4, New York [to] Frances Perkins [Secretary of Labor, Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / Henry Moskowitz. — 1 p. ; 19 x 21 cm.  
*Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Columbia University Rare Book and Manuscript Library. Institutional Location: Frances Perkins Papers, Special Manuscripts Collection.*  
 Summary: Moskowitz urges Perkins to extend Goldman's visa another ninety days.

HENRY MOSKOWITZ  
 1717 PARAMOUNT BUILDING  
 NEW YORK CITY  
 CHICKERING 4-1400

April 4th, 1934



Honorable Frances Perkins,  
 Department of Commerce,  
 Washington, D. C.

My dear Miss Perkins:

I desire to add to the many voices of liberals throughout the country urging you to continue the stay of Emma Goldman at least for ninety days.

I have never shared the extreme libertarian views of Emma Goldman, but I have always believed in her right to express them, and in these days of socialization, a movement I heartily believe in, the emphasis of Emma Goldman against regimentation may be needed. Surely this emphasis seems to be in the direction of conservatism, but however one differs in the application of her theories, I trust that this unusual woman will be allowed a further extension of time to deliver her message.

Very sincerely,

*Henry Moskowitz*

HM:RG

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1934 April 4, Chicago [to Eleanor] Roosevelt, Washington, D.C. / Henrietta M. Voorsanger. — 6 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, NY. Institutional Location: Eleanor Roosevelt Collection.

Summary: Voorsanger urges Mrs. Roosevelt to do what she can to extend Goldman's visa another ninety days.

Notes: For response, see 901105003.

---

HENRIETTA M VOORSANGER

---

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt,  
White House,  
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

I am appealing to you on behalf of  
EMMA GOLDMAN.

A group of us, public spirited citizens,  
are desirous of seeing this noble woman's  
stay in these United States extended for  
another ninety days. Unfortunately the  
woman most active in petitioning for her  
admission to this country, Mrs. Carver  
Crouch, of New York, died a few weeks ago,

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1934 April 4, Chicago [to Eleanor] Roosevelt, Washington, D.C. / Henrietta M. Voorsanger. — 6 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

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**Summary:** Voorsanger urges Mrs. Roosevelt to do what she can to extend Goldman's visa another ninety days.

**Notes:** For response, see 901105003.

2.

and Emma Goldman, who is no politician, does not know how to get about in an effort for an extension. We, just two of us women who became close to her during her stay in Chicago, wondered whether this, that or the other woman, known to you, might be effective in writing you direct. We, as intelligent women, believe an intelligent wife has the right (whether her husband is the head of a government or the head of a business) to take up with him any matter she deems advisable.

May I introduce myself. I am a former New Yorker, having lived there all my life up to and until my marriage thirteen years ago. Some members of my family and many of my friends are well known to you. Years ago, when I was Secretary of the Prison and Legal Committees for the Church of the Ascension when it was fostering work in the Courts and Prisons, I was a close friend of Mark Eisner and his partner, Joseph H. San. Mark was in the Assembly then, I believe, and it was through him that I became interested in Franklin Roosevelt and his doings. During the Smith Presidential Campaign I remember talking to you several times over the long distance in an effort to find a suitable woman speaker to address meetings I was responsible for. I am not in politics, but as public spirited citizens, my husband and I, who are known to be able organizers, step in when the person running for election is after our own hearts. We are friends of Henry Horner and during his and Franklin Roosevelt's campaigns, my husband neglected his business and I my home and three children in our efforts on their behalf. Practical

## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1934 April 4, Chicago [to Eleanor] Roosevelt, Washington, D.C. / Henrietta M. Voorsanger. — 6 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

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**Summary:** Voorsanger urges Mrs. Roosevelt to do what she can to extend Goldman's visa another ninety days.

**Notes:** For response, see 901105003.

3.  
politicians believe we belong to the  
"third sex". It seems unusual to them  
for people really to be public spirited.  
This long preamble explains my sudden  
impulse to write you direct, instead of  
seeking Mrs. George Bass or others to  
ask your interest and cooperation in the  
extension of Emma Goldman's stay.

Tomorrow we shall wire the President  
of the United States, also Miss Frances  
Perkins. Our telegram will have the  
signatures of Miss Sophonisba Breckinridge  
and Miss Edith Abbot of the Social Service  
Department of the University of Chicago,  
Dr. Charles Gilkey, Dean of the Department  
of Religion, University of Chicago,  
Dr. Eustace Haydn, professor in this

## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1934 April 4, Chicago [to Eleanor] Roosevelt, Washington, D.C. / Henrietta M. Voorsanger. — 6 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.

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**Summary:** Voorsanger urges Mrs. Roosevelt to do what she can to extend Goldman's visa another ninety days.

**Notes:** For response, see 901105003.

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### HENRIETTA M VOORSANGER

---

4.  
department, Dr. Solomon B. Freehof, outstandingly known rabbi and liberal, Dr. Horace J. Bridges, leader of the Ethical Culture Society, Professor Charles W. Morris, Head of the Department of Philosophy of the University of Chicago, Professor T. V. Smith, same department, Dr. Ferdinand Shevill, Professor of History, University of Chicago, Dr. Curtis W. Reese, head of the Abraham Lincoln Center, Dr. Preston Bradley, head of the People's Unitarian Church who weekly has a large, national, Sunday broadcast audience.



## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1934 April 4, Chicago [to Eleanor] Roosevelt, Washington, D.C. / Henrietta M. Voorsanger. — 6 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

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**Summary:** Voorsanger urges Mrs. Roosevelt to do what she can to extend Goldman's visa another ninety days.

**Notes:** For response, see 901105003.

5.

I heard Miss Goldman talk to an audience of four hundred people at the Abraham Lincoln Centre, each man and woman paying \$1.00 admission to hear her, and I never was more thrilled with an audience. She spoke to nearly two thousand people at Mandel Hall at the University of Chicago, to students at Northwestern University. A group of friends gave what was to be a small dinner at the Medinah Club, just about twenty-five people, which turned into three hundred, the hall could not accommodate more people; the chairman of the evening was a college professor, Dr. Harold Laswell of the University of Chicago; in the audience were some of the leading men and women in Social Service and Science, teachers, professors, writers, socialists, communists and about a dozen of Chicago's leading anarchists. When they were pointed out to me I remarked that I had never seen such gentle looking, kindly people. This remark was addressed to Emma Goldman who laughingly assured me that were I to know the definition of Anarchism I would realize that their aims are precisely what Christ was nailed on the cross for.

In answer to "How does this country under 'The New Deal' compare with European countries?" she said:- "I haven't been in this country long enough to be able to speak with authority. All I can say is, Russia should have been recognized years ago. Franklin Roosevelt recognized Russia and I can say right now that the United States is unique in that the head of a government is actually and it seems sincerely agitating for the 'forgotten man'."

## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1934 April 4, Chicago [to Eleanor] Roosevelt, Washington, D.C. / Henrietta M. Voorsanger. — 6 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, NY. Institutional Location: Eleanor Roosevelt Collection.

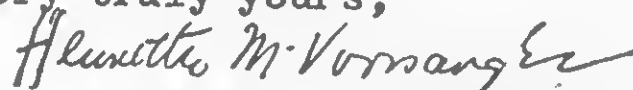
Summary: Voorsanger urges Mrs. Roosevelt to do what she can to extend Goldman's visa another ninety days.

Notes: For response, see 901105003.

6.

I beg your interest and support, and would appreciate it very much if I could hear from you in reply to this in the very near future, since Emma Goldman has barely three more weeks in these United States.

Very truly yours,



Henriette M. Voorsanger,  
Mrs. Elkan C. Voorsanger.

5229 Drexel Boulevard,  
Chicago, Illinois.  
April 4, 1934.

## The Emma Goldman Papers

84750055

[Letter] 1934 April 5, Chicago [to Eleanor] Roosevelt, Washington, D.C. / Henrietta M. Voorsanger. — 2 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Tamiment Library, New York University.

**Summary:** Voorsanger urges Eleanor Roosevelt to support Goldman's petition for a visa extension of ninety days.

**Notes:** Broken type; light copy; barely legible. For telegram mentioned, see 830523131 and 830523132. Same text as 901105002, but in different format.

Chicago, Illinois,  
April 5, 1934

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt,  
White House,  
Washington, D.C.

My dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

I am appealing to you on behalf of Emma Goldman.

A group of us, public spirited citizens, are desirous of seeing this noble woman's stay in these United States extended for another ninety days. Unfortunately the woman most active in petitioning for her admission to this country, Mrs. Carver Crouch, of New York, died a few weeks ago and Emma Goldman, who is no politician, does not know how to get about in an effort for an extension. We, just two of us women who became close to her during her stay in Chicago, wondered whether this, that or the other woman, known to you, might be effective in writing you direct. We, as intelligent women, believe an intelligent wife has the right (whether her husband is the head of a government or the head of a business) to take up with him any matter she deems advisable.

May I introduce myself. I am a former New Yorker, having lived there all my life up to and until my marriage thirteen years ago. Some members of my family and many of my friends are well known to you. Years ago, when I was Secretary of the Prison and Legal Committees for the Church of the Ascension when it was fostering work in the Courts and Prisons, I was a close friend of Mark Bisher and his partner, Joseph R. San. Mark was in the Assembly then, I believe, and it was through him that I became interested in Franklin Roosevelt and his doings. During the Smith Presidential campaign I remember talking to you several times over the long distance in an effort to find a suitable woman speaker to address meetings I was responsible for. I am not in politics, but as public spirited citizens, my husband and I, who are known to be able organizers, step in when the person running for election is after our own hearts. We are friends of Henry Horner and during his and Franklin Roosevelt's campaigns, my husband neglected his business and I my home and three children, in our efforts on their behalf. Practical politicians believe we belong to the "third sex". It seems unusual to them for people really to be public spirited. This long preamble explains my sudden impulse to write you direct, instead of seeking Mrs. George Bass or others to ask your interest and cooperation in the extension of Emma Goldman's stay.

Tomorrow we shall wire the President of the United States, also Miss Frances Perkins. Our telegram will have the signatures of Miss Lavinia Breckenridge and Miss Edith Abbot of the Social Service Department of the University of Chicago, Dr. Charles Gilkey, Dean of the Department of Religion, University of Chicago, Dr. Gustave Mayson, Professor in this department, Dr. Solomon L. Freshman, outstandingly known rabbi and liberal, Dr. Horace J. Bridges, leader in the Ethical Culture Society, Professor Charles L. Morris, Head of the Department of Philosophy of the University of Chicago, Professor T. V. Smith, same department, Dr.

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Summary: Voorsanger urges Eleanor Roosevelt to support Goldman's petition for a visa extension of ninety days.

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Dr. Franklin D. Roosevelt-----page two-

Herminand Schervill, Professor of History, University of Chicago, Dr. Curtis Keese, head of the Abraham Lincoln Center, Mr. Preston Bradley, head of the People's Unitarian Church who weekly has a large, national, Sunday broadcast audience.

I heard Emma Goldman talk to an audience of four hundred people at the Abraham Lincoln Centre, each man and woman paying \$1.00 permission to hear her, and I never was more thrilled with an audience. It was to nearly two thousand people at Mandel Hall at the University of Chicago, to students at Northwestern University. A group of friends who had to be a small dinner at the Medinah Club, just about twenty-five people, which turned into three hundred, the hall could not accommodate more people; the chairman of the evening was a college professor, Mr. Harold Laswell of the University of Chicago; the audience contained some of the leading men and women in Social Service and Science, and teachers, professors, writers, socialists, communists and about a dozen of Chicago's leading anarchists. When they were pointed out to me, I remarked that I had never seen such gentle looking, kindly people. This remark was addressed to Emma Goldman, who laughingly assured me that were I to know the definition of anarchism, I would realize that their aims are precisely what Christ was nailed on the cross for.

In answer to "How does this country under 'The New Deal' compare with European countries?" she said:—"I haven't been in this country long enough to be able to speak with authority. All I can say is, Russia should have been recognized years ago. Franklin Roosevelt recognized Russia, and I can say right now that the United States is unique in that the head of a government is actually, and it seems sincerely agitating for the 'forgotten men'."

I beg your interest and support, and would appreciate it very much if I could hear from you in reply to this in the very near future, since Emma Goldman has barely three more weeks in these United States.

Very truly yours,

(Signed) Henriette M. Voorsanger

Henriette M. Voorsanger  
Mrs. Elkan C. Voorsanger

HMV/lbs.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Telegram] 1934 April 5, Chicago [to] Frances Perkins, Secretary of Labor [Department of Labor], Wash[ington], D.C. / Edith Abbot, *et al.* — 1 p. ; 29 × 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Columbia University Rare Book and Manuscript Library. Institutional Location: Frances Perkins Papers, Special Manuscripts Collection.

Summary: Abbot and other Chicago area academics and clerics ask Perkins to extend Goldman's visa.

Notes: One shot of two pages. For transcript, see 880507006.

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1934 APR 5 PM 6 37

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BRIDGES LEADER ETHICAL CULTURE SOCIETY CHARLES W MORRIS PROFESSOR  
PHILOSOPHY CHICAGO UNIVERSITY LOUIS L MANN SINAI CONGREGATION REV  
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WLY	WEEK END CABLE LETTER
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FX CHICAGO ILL 5

FRANCES PERKINS

SECRETARY OF LABOR WASHN DC

WE RESPECTFULLY RECOMMEND THAT YOUR GENEROUS POLICY OF PERMITTING  
EMMA GOLDMAN TO LECTURE IN THE UNITED STATES BE EXTENDED FOR AN  
ADDITIONAL NINETY DAYS THIS WE BELIEVE IS WARRANTED BY HER RECEPTION  
AND CONDUCT IN AMERICA HER INTERNATIONAL REPUTATION AS AUTHOR AND  
LECTURER AND IS IN ACCORD WITH TRADITIONAL AMERICAN TOLERANCE OF  
OPINION AND FREEDOM OF DISCUSSION

EDITH ABBOT PROFESSOR SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SERVICE ADMINISTRATION



1934 APR 5 PM 6 36

530



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Telegram] 1934 April 5, Chicago [to] Franklin D. Roosevelt, President, Wash[ingto]n, D.C. / Edith Abbot, *et al.* — 1 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.  
*Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Columbia University Rare Book and Manuscript Library. Institutional Location: Frances Perkins Papers, Special Manuscripts Collection.*  
**Summary:** Abbot and other Chicago area academics and clerics ask Roosevelt to grant Goldman's visa extension request.  
**Notes:** One shot of two pages. For transcript, see 880507006 and 900404108.

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NLT	NIGHT CABLE LETTER
WLT	WEEK END CABLE LETTER
	RADIOGRAM

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K A M TEMPLE REV CHARLES GILKEY DEAN CHICAGO UNIVERSITY CHAPEL  
EUSTACE HAYDON PROFESSOR COMPARATIVE RELIGIONS CHICAGO UNIVERSITY  
T V SMITH PROFESSOR PHILOSOPHY CHICAGO UNIVERSITY CURTIS REESE DEAN  
LINCOLN CENTER ROBT MORSE LOVETT PROFESSOR ENGLISH CHICAGO UNIVERSITY  
FERDINAND SCHEVILL PROFESSOR HISTORY CHICAGO UNIVERSITY HORACE J  
BRIDGES LEADER ETHICAL CULTURE SOCIETY CHARLES W MORRIS PROFESSOR  
PHILOSOPHY CHICAGO UNIVERSITY LOUIS L MANN SINAI CONGREGATION  
REV PRESTON BRADLEY PEOPLES CHURCH.

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LCO	DEFERRED CABLE
NLT	NIGHT CABLE LETTER
WLT	WEEK END CABLE LETTER
	RADIOGRAM

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1934 APR 5 PM 7 29

FX CHICAGO ILL 5

FRANKLIN D ROOSEVELT

PRESIDENT OF THE UNITEDSTATES WASHN DC

WE RESPECTFULLY RECOMMEND THAT YOUR GENEROUS POLICY OF PERMITTING  
EMMA GOLDMAN TO LECTURE IN THE UNITEDSTATES BE EXTENDED FOR AN  
ADDITIONAL NINETY DAYS THIS WE BELIEVE IS WARRANTED BY HER  
RECEPTION AND CONDUCT IN AMERICA HER INTERNATIONAL REPUTATION AS  
AUTHOR AND LECTURER AND IS IN ACCORD WITH TRADITIONAL AMERICAN  
TOLERANCE OF OPINION AND FREEDOM OF DISCUSSION

EDITH ABBOT PROFESSOR SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SERVICE ADMINISTRATION  
CHICAGO UNIVERSITY SOPHINISBA BRECKENRIDGE PROFESSOR SCHOOL OF

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Telegram, 1934 April 5, Chicago to] Franklin D. Roosevelt, President, and Frances Perkins, Secretary of Labor [Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. [transcript] / Edith Abbot, *et al.* — 1 p. ; 13 × 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.  
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Notes: Dark copy; barely legible. Copy of 830523131 and 830523132.

## COPY OF TELEGRAM

7794

To Franklin D. Roosevelt,  
President of the United States  
Washington, D.C.

and to Miss Frances Perkins,  
Secretary of Labor,  
Washington, D.C.

We respectfully recommend to your generous policy of permitting Emma Goldman to lecture in the United States be extended for an additional ninety days. This we believe is warranted by her reception and conduct in America, her international reputation as an author and lecturer and is in accord with the traditional American tolerance of opinion and freedom of discussion.

Signed by

Edith Abbott, Professor, School of Social Service Administration  
Chicago University

Sophonisba Breckenridge, Prof. School of Social Service Admin  
Chicago University

Solomon Freehof, K.A.M. Temple

Rev. Ems Charles Gilkey, Dean, Chicago University Chapel

Eustace Hayden, Professor, Comparative Religions, Chicago Univ

T.V. Smith, Professor, Philosophy, Chicago University

Curia Reese, Dean, Lincoln Center

Robert Morris Lovett, Professor, English, Chicago University

Ferdinand Schevill, Professor, History, Chicago University

Horace J. Bridges, Leader, Ethical Culture Society

Charles W. Morris, Prof. Philosophy, Chicago University

Rev. Preston Bradley, Protestant Church

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Telegram, 1934 April 5, Chicago to] Franklin D. Roosevelt, President, Washington, D.C. / Edith Abbot, et al. — 1 p. ; 29 x 18 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Princeton University Library. Institutional Location: American Civil Liberties Union Archives.

Notes: Copy of 830523132.

## COPY OF TELEGRAM

To

Franklin D. Roosevelt,  
President of the United States,  
Washington, D. C.

We respectfully recommend that your generous policy of permitting Emma Goldman to lecture in the United States be extended for an additional ninety days. This we believe is warranted by her reception and conduct in America, her international reputation as author and lecturer and is in accord with traditional American tolerance of opinion and freedom of discussion.

Edith Abbott, Professor, School of Social Service  
Administration, Chicago University,  
Sophonisba Breckenridge, Professor, School of Social  
Service Administration, Chicago University

Solomon A. Solomon Breeshof, K.A.M. Temple

Rev. Charles Gilkey, Dean, Chicago University Chapel

Eustace Haydon, Professor, Comparative Religions,  
Chicago University

T. V. Smith, Professor, Philosophy, Chicago University

Curtis Reese, Dean, Lincoln Center

Robt. Morse Lovett, Professor, English, Chicago University

Ferdinand Schevill, Professor, History, Chicago University

Horace Bridges, Leader Ethical Culture Society

Charles W. Morris, Professor, Philosophy, Chicago University

Louis L. Mann, Sinai Congregation

Rev. Presron Bradley, Peoples Church

(Copy of Telegram sent to Frances Perkins)

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## The Emma Goldman Papers

830523121

[Memorandum] 1934 April 6, Washington [D.C. to Frances Perkins] Secretary of Labor [Department of Labor, Washington, D.C.] / Louis McH[enry] Howe, Secretary to the President. — 1 p.; 21 x 15 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Columbia University Rare Book and Manuscript Library. Institutional Location: Frances Perkins Papers, Special Manuscripts Collection.

Summary: President Roosevelt's secretary refers a letter about Goldman's visa extension to the secretary of labor.

Notes: For enclosure, see 830214058.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

April 6, 1934

Respectfully referred to the  
Secretary of Labor for con- sideration.



LOUIS McH. HOWE  
Secretary to the President

## The Emma Goldman Papers

901105003

[Letter] 1934 April 6 [Washington, D.C. to Henrietta M.] Voorsanger, Chicago / [Malvina? T.? Scheider?] Secretary to [Eleanor] Roosevelt. — 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, NY. Institutional Location: Eleanor Roosevelt Collection.

Summary: Roosevelt's secretary acknowledges receipt of Voorsanger's letter.

Notes: Response to 901105003.

April 6, 1934

My dear Mrs. Voorsanger:

In Mrs. Roosevelt's absence I am taking the liberty of acknowledging your letter which will be brought to her attention on her return.

Very sincerely yours,

Secretary to  
Mrs. Roosevelt

Mrs. Elkan C. Voorsanger  
5229 Prexel Boulevard  
Chicago  
Illinois

gn

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Report on] Speech By Emma Goldman at Pittsburgh, Pa. on April 11, 1934 /  
[Agent? Bureau of Investigation? Department of Justice?]. — 3 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 60.

Summary: An unnamed agent gives a detailed account of Goldman's Pittsburgh speech, which was based on her autobiography.

Notes: Enclosed with 810930119 and probably 811016004.

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THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

Record Group No. 60

General Records of the Department of Justice

D. J. Central Files — Straight Numerical Files

File Number 133149

## SPEECH BY EMMA GOLDMAN AT PITTSBURGH, PENNSYLVANIA ON APRIL 11, 1934.

Emma Goldman said that her talk this evening would be "Living My Life" and she said she was doing this to counteract all the notoriety in the newspapers concerning herself and Anarchism, because about all the Working Class know about Anarchism is what the newspapers print about it. She said that she had been deported as an alien when the fact was that she was an American Citizen. She told of her early childhood in Germany and of her teacher telling her that she would make a name for herself and end by being hanged, but she was still alive. She spoke about her parents coming to the United States, of her working in Rochester for \$2.50 per week, and of asking her boss for more money as the \$2.50 did not pay her board and room without the price of a theatre or any other luxury. She said the boss told her that working girls should not expect any luxuries. She told of this same boss sending her a telegram in later years, after she had become better known in the ranks of the working class, in which he gave her credit for the rise she had made. She said she wrote on the back of the telegram and sent it back to the boss, that she had gone to him when she wanted something and if he wanted anything to come to her. She said there had been a strike in Rochester and the boss came to her and asked her to go and tell the workers that he was not making too much profit and to let them to go back to work. She said, you may know what my reply would be to that. She spoke on the Haymarket Riots and of the struggle of the workers for an eight-hour day, and said that it was at that time that she became an Anarchist and pledged to devote the rest of her life in behalf of the Working Class. She told about the men going on strike, of their holding peaceable meetings which the Mayor of Chicago saw and went home, but the Chief of Police came with his thugs and in breaking up the meetings caused the disorders and death to many workers. She told about the arrest of the leaders of the strike and of their being convicted and hanged, and said that when she read about it in the papers she made up her mind to devote the rest of her life in defense of the working class as a memorial to those heroes. She told of working in New York and of her activities in the organization of the Workers. She told about the assassination of President McKinley and of how she was charged with being an accessory to the crime and police were sent after her. She said that President McKinley was shot in Buffalo and she was working in St. Louis at the time, and had been arrested there by the police. She said that she was given the third degree for three days trying to force her to implicate others in the crime. She told of how she had been forced to change her name in order to obtain work, and mentioned two incidents which occurred while using another name. She told of meeting Alexander Berkman and about the Homestead Steel Strike, of how the Sheriff had brought in scabs in river boats, and of the riot and bloodshed which followed this. She told of how Berkman then decided to come to Pittsburgh and shoot H. C. Frick, and

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Report on] Speech By Emma Goldman at Pittsburgh, Pa. on April 11, 1934 /  
[Agent? Bureau of Investigation? Department of Justice?]. — 3 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 60.

Summary: An unnamed agent gives a detailed account of Goldman's Pittsburgh speech, which was based on her autobiography.

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General Records of the Department of Justice

D. J. Central Files — Straight Numerical Files

File Number 133149

- 2 -

of the attempt but Frick was not seriously wounded...She told of Berkman being unfamiliar with the English language and sentenced to 21 years in Western Penitentiary (described by Emma Goldman as the worst hell hole in the East), when he should have received no more than seven. She spoke on the Mooney-Billings case, and of how these innocent workers have been kept in jail for 16 years. She spoke of her activities along with Eugene Debs in opposition to the selective draft system during the War, and of her being arrested and sent to jail. She said that she had received more education of economic value in that time than a student will in four years in College. She told of being blamed for all of the labor troubles which had occurred in this country prior to her deportation, and wondered who would be blamed for the recent troubles when she was not in this country. She spoke about her being deported to Russia along with Alexander Berkman and of her two-year life in the Soviet Union. She gave the Soviet Union credit for the revolution of 1918, praised the Communist Party for its part in leading the workers to overthrow the Government and then criticized the Communist Party building up a State and installing a Dictator. She spoke of the terror in Russia, and said that she doubted if Socialism could ever be established through the Dictatorship as in Russia or through terror. She spoke about the trouble in Germany, of the Hitler-Fascist movement and how it had originated and grown until Hitler had taken control. She said that the Fascist movement in Germany did not spring up overnight, and that it had been financed by the Capitalists and had started 15 years ago. She blamed the Social Democrats for not preventing this when they held control of power in Germany. She spoke about the rebellion of the Socialist workers in Austria against Fascism and of the heroism they had made. She said that she had not been exiled from Russia as had been reported, but had spent two years there until she saw that the interests of the Government and the people had started to conflict. She said that the Bolshevik movement in Russia, planned by Lenin, would have been a great success had they started the next day to feed and clothe the people instead of starting up a state and building an armed force. She spoke on the amount of good that had been done in Russia, but much better results could have been obtained through Anarchism or other Socialistic form, other than the Dictatorship. She spoke about having difficulty in leaving Russia, and of going to Sweden and Germany and finally settling in France. She spoke about Anarchism as being the right for every individual to live their

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General Records of the Department of Justice

D. J. Central Files — Straight Numerical Files

File Number 133149

- 3 -

own lives in cooperation with others, and said that this is possible. She said that if she asked everyone in the audience if they needed police protection they would say, No, and because we live our own lives and therefore know what we need and what is necessary. She spoke on the freedom that we still have in the United States and said never to give it up because what little you do have, such as free speech, holding meetings such as this, etc., is not permitted in Russia, Germany, and other Fascist countries. She spoke of early days in this Country, of a case where a soldier met her after the meeting and shook her hand, an old American custom, and of his being sentenced to five years in Prison for it. She said that there was more of a future for the United States and Russia than any other countries, and that the working class have more opportunities in America than in Europe. She spoke about the political prisoners in the jails of Europe and of how the workers in this country should aid them.

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## The Emma Goldman Papers

840305315

[Letter] 1934 April 11 [New York to] Immigration and Naturalization Service,  
Department of Labor, Washington, D.C. / A[rthur] L[eonard] R[oss].—  
1 p.; 28 × 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Tamiment Library, New York University.

Summary: Acting as Goldman's attorney, Ross applies for a ninety-day visa extension.

April 11th, 1934

U. S. Department of Labor  
Immigration and Naturalization Service  
Washington, D. C.

Gentlemen:

On January 9th, 1934, pursuant to the authority conferred by the ninth proviso of Section 3 of the Immigration Act of 1917, 39 Stat. 875, 8 U.S.C. 136(q), your Department directed that my client, Mrs. James Colton, should be admitted for a temporary visit of ninety days. These ninety days expired at the end of this month.

It is Mrs. Colton's desire to apply and does hereby apply for an extension of ninety days so as to enable her to round out her lecture tour before leaving this country. Of course, the extension is to be limited by the terms of her original application to the Commissioner dated January 6th, 1934.

If in order to secure the desired extension it is necessary to fill out or submit some formal papers, please advise me and I shall be very glad to comply with whatever regulations you require.

I will appreciate an early response.

Yours very respectfully,

ALR:R

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1934 April 11, Brooklyn, N.Y. [to] Frances Perkins, Secretary [of Labor] Department of Labor, Washington, D.C. / John Haynes Holmes. — 1 p. ; 22 x 22 cm.  
 Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Columbia University Rare Book and Manuscript Library. Institutional Location: Frances Perkins Papers, Special Manuscripts Collection.  
 Summary: Holmes urges Perkins to extend Goldman's visa another ninety days.

## THE COMMUNITY CHURCH OF NEW YORK

MINISTER  
JOHN HAYNES HOLMES

STUDY  
26 SIDNEY PLACE  
BROOKLYN, N.Y.

April 11, 1934.



Dear Secretary Perkins:

I am one of the many friends of Miss Emma Goldman who are interested in extending her visit in this country for another period of ninety days. The permission originally granted Miss Goldman by your office was very gracious, and I hope that the spirit which dictated this original permission may continue the favor then given her. Miss Goldman has had a happy experience meeting her kinsmen and her large number of friends in various parts of the country, and she is now eager to make the most of her visit, now that she is here. I am sure that nothing has happened to make either necessary or desirable a rigorous compliance with the original order of your office, and that the extension of ninety days which has been requested will, therefore, be easily and happily authorized. I shall be grateful if you can give your personal attention to this matter.

With greetings, and highest regards, I remain,

Very sincerely yours,

Secretary Frances Perkins,  
Department of Labor,  
Washington, D.C.



# The Emma Goldman Papers

900404110

[Telegram] 1934 April 11 [New York to] Clifford McCarthy, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Department of [the] Interior, Washington, D.C. / Roger Baldwin.— 1 p.; 17 x 19 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Princeton University Library. Institutional Location: American Civil Liberties Union Archives.

Summary: Baldwin asks McCarthy for the results of his lobbying on behalf of Goldman's visa extension.

Notes: For reply, see 900404111. Follow-up to 900404103.

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PRESIDENT

NEWCOMB CARLTON  
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

J. C. WILLEVER  
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

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TIME FILED

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

CLIFFORD MCCARTHY  
BUREAU OF INDIAN AFFAIRS  
DEPARTMENT OF INTERIOR  
WASHINGTON D C

APRIL 11, 1934

KINDLY WIRE ME COLLECT WHAT LUCK YOU HAVE HAD IN REGARD  
TO GOLDMAN EXTENSION

ROGER BALDWIN

THE QUICKEST, SUREST AND SAFEST WAY TO SEND MONEY IS BY TELEGRAPH OR CABLE.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Telegram] 1934 April 12, Washington, D.C. [to] Roger Baldwin, N[ew] Y[or]k / Clifford McCarthy [Bureau of Indian Affairs, Department of the Interior].— 1 p. ; 16 x 19 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Princeton University Library. Institutional Location: American Civil Liberties Union Archives.

Summary: McCarthy does not think the administration will grant Goldman's visa extension.

Notes: Reply to 900404110.

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## WESTERN UNION

R. B. WHITE  
PRESIDENT

NEWCOMB CARLTON  
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

J. C. WILLEVER  
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

**SIGNS**

DL = Day Letter

NM = Night Message

NL = Night Letter

LC = Deferred Cable

NLT = Cable Night Letter

Ship Radiogram

1934 APR 12 PM 3 (40)

The filing time as shown in the date is for full-rate telegrams and day letters, and the time of receipt at destination as shown on all messages, is STANDARD TIME.

Received at ALGONQUIN 4-9077

A847 22=WASHINGTON DC 12 337P

SD 73

MINUTES IN TRANSIT

FULL RATE DAY LETTER

14

ROGER BALDWIN=

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION 100 FIFTH AVE NYK=

MY ABSENCE FROM OFFICE DELAYED YOUR MESSAGES WILL MAKE FINAL ATTEMPT AND LET YOU KNOW IMMEDIATELY STOP BELIEVE NOT MUCH CHANCE SUCCESS=

CLIFFORD MCCARTHY.

WESTERN UNION GIFT ORDERS SOLVE THE PERPLEXING QUESTION OF WHAT TO GIVE

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

542

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1934 April 12, Washington, D.C. [to] Stella [Ballantine, New York] / Elizabeth Watson. — 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Tamiment Library, New York University.

Summary: Watson advises Ballantine on the best way to approach Secretary of Labor Perkins regarding Goldman's visa extension. She suggests the personal approach.

Notes: Broken type; light copy; barely legible. For related document, see 840306138.

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No part may be sold, copied or published without the express permission of the Tamiment Library- N.Y.U.

ALLIES Inn,  
Washington, D. C.

April 12, 1934

Dear Stella:

Your letter came at the Inn, when I went over for lunch today and I am hurrying to reply to the best of my judgment. If I were in the same plight as Emma Goldman, I should write directly to Frances Perkins herself, emphasizing the human side, the family relationship here — a sister, brother, nieces, etc. her age, her old home here. I would stress softly on the earning of money by lecturing, but would emphasize the fact she would never become a dependent on assistance (outside her own family, of course).

I should make my own direct appeal to Frances and send a copy of the same letter to Col. Daniel McGarrack, the Commissioner of Immigration, who is an A. W. 1 human being.

Frances likes people to make direct contact with her rather than through friends or people of influence, so she says a public office should be open to the least citizens or residents in the country as it is to the most powerful and celebrated. She likes to be written to directly and let me give you a straight tip — the person who writes to her office here in Washington gets a much speedier reply than anyone who writes to her in New York. Just direct the letter to her and put 'special attention of Miss Jay' that is, her private secretary. It would do no harm to have Katherine Anthony write also, if you like, but I would advise against trying for a personal interview, at present. Try this way first, anyway — then try another, if this doesn't work. The policy at present is to be as human as possible regarding entry and visitors, etc.

I hope this answers your question, if not, write again.

Affectionately yours,

Elizabeth Watson.

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543

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1934 April 13, New York [to Frances] Perkins [Secretary of Labor, Department of Labor, Washington, D.C.] / [Stella Ballantine]. — 1 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Tamiment Library, New York University.

Summary: Ballantine asks Perkins to grant Goldman's request for a visa extension, emphasizing her family ties in the United States.

Notes: Broken type; barely legible. Handwritten note by Ballantine. For related document, see 840306137.

15 Charlton Street, New York City  
April 13, 1934

Dear Miss Perkins:

We know each other many years ago, but you will remember best, perhaps, as Emma Goldman's niece and we used to see each other when we both lived on Washington Place. I hesitated to write to you but I think a frank statement of our situation will appeal to you more than letters of influential people interested in Emma Goldman, the public personage.

I am writing you as her niece, her more than niece for all my life I have stood in the relation of a dearly loved and loving daughter. No one will ever know what a boon it was to her to be allowed to come back home and feel herself a functioning being again. Her brother was ill when her visa was granted. He never expected him to live. He recovered and she actually had the happiness of spending a week with him in the Middle West where his work keeps him. My mother, her only surviving sister, 72 years old, never dreamt she would see Emma again. Since her exile 15 years ago, she lost her eldest sister and her mother. I went to France 3 years ago with my little boy, but my own responsibilities made another such visit a rather remote dream.

If you have seen my interviews with her or reports of her meetings in the press, you will know how completely she kept her word as to the subjects her attorney agreed she would discuss when her visit was granted. Her attitude to the Administration has been honest and fair.

The three short months she has been with us are nearly at an end. Her family, are so eager to have her with us a while longer. Emma is 65 years old. We have seen little of her so far, she has some writing to do, and she could do it in peace in my little place in the country at Woodstock, N.Y. You will be officially asked to give her a three months' extension. I wanted you to have the facts from a human point of view. All her family and her closest friends are here and the United States is in the truest sense her home.

You must be harassed with thousands of requests. ~~Emma's reactionary press has denied the justice of her readmission here.~~ I wonder if you will be kind enough to let me know what the chances are for an extension of her visit here.

I want to thank you too for your kind note about our memorial meeting for Marie Jenny Bone. Fred Howe and Marie's friends appreciated it.

Very sincerely yours,

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

830523127

[Telegram] 1934 April 14, St. Louis, Mo. [to] Franklin D. Roosevelt, President, Wash[ington] D.C. / Joseph M. Klamon, et al. — 1 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Columbia University Rare Book and Manuscript Library. Institutional Location: Frances Perkins Papers, Special Manuscripts Collection.

Summary: Klamon and others from St. Louis urge Roosevelt to extend Goldman's visa another ninety days. Notes: For copies, see 880507002 and 880507003.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

1220-B

## CLASS OF SERVICE

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# WESTERN UNION

R. B. WHITE  
PRESIDENT

NEWCOMB CARLTON  
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

J. C. WILLEVER  
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

## SIGNS

DL = Day Letter  
NM = Night Message  
NL = Night Letter  
LC = Deferred Cable  
NLT = Cable Night Letter  
Ship Radiogram

The filing time as shown in the date line on full-rate telegrams and day letters, and the time of receipt at destination as shown on all messages, is STANDARD TIME.

Received at 708 14th St. N. W. Washington D. C.

AB347 100 37 EXTRA DL=AC STLOUIS MO 14 1257P

HON FRANKLIN D ROOSEVELT=

PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES WASHDC=

THE WARMTH OF EMMA GOLDMANS RECEPTION HERE AND ELSEWHERE IS A TOKEN OF AMERICAN TOLERANCE OF FREEDOM OF DISCUSSION AND WE ENDORSE THE ACTION OF THE GOVERNMENT IN UPHOLDING THIS AMERICAN TRADITION BY PERMITTING HER TO SPEAK IN THIS COUNTRY STOP WE RESPECTFULLY RECOMMEND THAT SHE BE PERMITTED TO REMAIN AN ADDITIONAL NINETY DAYS SO SHE MAY COMPLETE A TOUR OF THE COUNTRY=

JOSEPH M KLAMON PROFESSOR ECONOMICS WASHINGTON

UNIVERSITY JULIUS GORDON TEMPLE SHAARE EMETH LUTHER

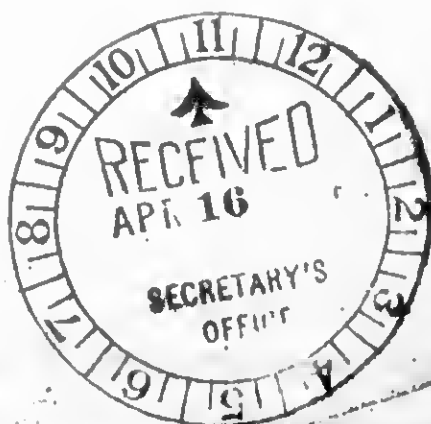
ELY SMITH ATTORNEY DR MAJOR G SEELIG ROBERT M

SCHMITZ PROFESSOR ENGLISH WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY DANA

JENSEN PROFESSOR ENGLISH WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY

CHARLES E COREY PROFESSOR PHILOSOPHY WASHINGTON

UNIVERSITY GILBERT HARRIS.



THE QUICKEST, SUREST AND SAFEST WAY TO SEND MONEY IS BY TELEGRAPH OR CABLE

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545



The Emma Goldman Papers

[Telegram] 1934 April 14, St. Louis, Mo. [to] Franklin D. Roosevelt [President], Washington, D.C. / Joseph M. Klamon, et al. — 1 p. ; 18 x 20 cm.  
Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.  
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.  
Notes: Broken type; light copy; portions illegible. Copy of 830523127.

CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED	
DOMESTIC	CABLE
TELEGRAM	FULL RATE
DAY LETTER	DEFERRED
NIGHT MESSAGE	NIGHT LETTER
NIGHT LETTER	SHIP RADIOGRAM

Patrons should check class of service desired; otherwise message will be transmitted as a full-rate communication.

7722 1207-A  
**WESTERN UNION**

CHECK
ACCT'G INFMN.
TIME FILED

R. B. WHITE  
PRESIDENT

NEWCOMB CARLTON  
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

J. G. WILLEVER  
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

St. Louis, Mo. April 14 19 34

To Hon. President, Franklin D. Roosevelt,

Street and No. The White House, Washington, D. C.

~~THE~~ THE WORTH OF EMMA GOLDMAN'S RECEPTION HERE AND ELSEWHERE IS A TOKEN OF AMERICAN TOLERANCE OF FREEDOM OF DISCUSSION AND WE ENDORSE THE ACTION OF THE GOVERNMENT IN UPHOLDING THIS AMERICAN TRADITION BY PERMITTING HER TO SPEAK IN THIS COUNTRY STOP WE RESPECTFULLY RECOMMEND THAT SHE BE PERMITTED TO REMAIN IN ~~AMERICA FOR AN ADDITIONAL~~ AN ADDITIONAL NINETY DAYS SO THAT SHE MAY COMPLETE A TOUR OF THE COUNTRY.

Joseph M. Klamon, Professor, Economics, Washington University

Julius Gordon, Temple Charles Emeth

Luther Fly Smith, Attorney

Mr. Major C. Seelig,

Robert M. Schmitz, Professor, English Washington University

Lana Jensen, Professor, English " "

Charles H. Corey, Professor, Philosophy, Washington University

Gilbert Harris, Y.M. H. A.

Sender's address  
for reference

WESTERN UNION GIFT ORDERS SOLVE THE PERPLEXING  
QUESTION OF WHAT TO GIVE.

Sender's telephone  
number

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546

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Telegram, 1934 April 14, St. Louis, Mo. to Franklin D.] Roosevelt, President, and [Francis] Perkins [Secretary of Labor, Department of Labor, Washington, D.C. (transcript)] / Joseph M. Klamon, *et al.* — 1 p. ; 21 x 14 cm.

*Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.*

*Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.*

*Notes: Dark copy. Copy of 830523127.*

COPY to President Roosevelt and Miss Perkins

7761

The warmth of Emma Goldman's reception here and elsewhere is a token of American tolerance of freedom of discussion and we endorse the action of the Government in upholding this American tradition by permitting her to speak in this country. We respectfully recommend that she be permitted to remain an additional ninety days so she may complete a tour of this country.

Signed by Joseph M. Klamon, Professor of Economics,  
Washington University

Julius Gordon, Temple Shaare Emeth

Luther Ely Smith, Attorney

Dr. Major G. Seelig

Robert M. Schmits, Prof. English, Washington Univer

Dana Jensen, Prof. English, Washington, University

Charles E. Corey, Professor, Philosophy, "

Gilbert Harris.

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547

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1934 April 16, New York [to] Frances Perkins, Secretary of Labor [Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / Arthur Garfield Hays. — 1 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.  
*Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Columbia University Rare Book and Manuscript Library. Institutional Location: Frances Perkins Papers, Special Manuscripts Collection.*  
 Summary: Hays urges Perkins to permit Goldman to stay another ninety days in the United States.

HAYS, ST. JOHN, ABRAMSON & SCHULMAN

ARTHUR GARFIELD HAYS  
 T. RAYMOND ST. JOHN  
 WILLIAM ABRAMSON  
 JOHN SCHULMAN  
 SIDNEY STRUBLE  
 JOSEPH CASSIDY

COUNSELORS AT LAW  
 43 EXCHANGE PLACE  
 NEW YORK  
 CABLE ADDRESS "HASTHOR"  
 TELEPHONE HANOVER 2-2462

April 16, 1934

Miss Frances Perkins  
 Secretary of Labor  
 Washington D C



My dear Secretary Perkins:

I wish to join with the many others who have asked that an extension be granted to Emma Goldman for an additional ninety days.

It seems preposterous that our country is so fearful that it must keep out Miss Goldman at all. Fortunately, the present administration has a different attitude toward these matters than those formerly in power.

Many of us were greatly encouraged that she was permitted to come in and we would be more encouraged if she were permitted additional time.

With an expression of my high respect,

I remain

Sincerely yours,

*Arthur Garfield Hays*

AGH/p

# The Emma Goldman Papers

830523125

[Telegram] 1934 April 17, New York [to] Frances Perkins, Secretary of Labor [Department of Labor], Wash[ington] D.C. / E.C. Lindeman. — 1 p. ; 17 x 21 cm.  
 Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Columbia University Rare Book and Manuscript Library. Institutional Location: Frances Perkins Papers, Special Manuscripts Collection.  
 Summary: Lindeman urges Perkins to grant Goldman's request for a visa extension.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

1204-S

## CLASS OF SERVICE

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# WESTERN UNION

R. B. WHITE  
PRESIDENT

NEWCOMB CARLTON  
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

J. C. WILLEVER  
VICE-PRESIDENT

## SIGNS

DL = Day Letter  
 NM = Night Message  
 NL = Night Letter  
 LC = Deferred Cable  
 NLT = Cable Night Letter  
 Shp Radiogram

The filing time as shown in the date line on full-rate telegrams and day letters, and the time of receipt by the addressee, is STANDARD TIME.  
 Received at 708 14th St., N. W. Washington, D. C.

NA1169 56 NL=NEWYORK NY 17

MISS FRANCES PERKINS=

SECRETARY OF LABOR WASHDC=



MINUTES IN TRANSIT	
FULL-RATE	DAY LETTER

I RESPECTFULLY RECOMMEND TO YOUR GENEROUS POLICY PERMISSION FOR EMMA GOLDMANS LECTURING IN THE UNITED STATES BE EXTENDED FOR AN ADDITIONAL NINETY DAYS THIS I BELIEVE IS WARRANTED BY HER RECEPTION AND CONDUCT IN AMERICA HER REPUTATION AS AN AUTHOR AND LECTURER AND IS IN ACCORD WITH THE TRADITIONAL AMERICAN TOLERANCE OF OPINION AND FREEDOM OF DISCUSSION=  
 E C LINDEMAN NEWYORK SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK.

THE QUICKEST, SUREST AND SAFEST WAY TO SEND MONEY IS BY TELEGRAPH OR CABLE

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549

# The Emma Goldman Papers

830523124

[Letter] 1934 April 17, Rochester, N.Y. [to] Frances Perkins, Secretary of Labor [Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / Meyer Jacobstein. — 1 p. ; 26 x 20 cm.  
*Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Columbia University Rare Book and Manuscript Library. Institutional Location: Frances Perkins Papers, Special Manuscripts Collection.*  
**Summary:** Jacobstein hopes that Perkins grants Goldman's request for a visa extension.

405 Westminster Road  
Rochester, New York  
April 17, 1934

Miss Frances Perkins  
Secretary of Labor  
Washington, D. C.



Madam Secretary:

I had the privilege of hearing Emma Goldman speak on two separate occasions in Rochester within the last six weeks. After each address I felt like exclaiming, "Thank God I am an American and living in these United States!" Her speeches, I believe, make her listeners more appreciative of the liberties we enjoy here in our own beloved country.

I do not agree with Emma Goldman's philosophy and never have. Notwithstanding this, I am writing to state that I hope favorable action will be taken upon her application for a ninety-day extension of her vise. I assume, of course, that such extension will be conditioned upon her continued good conduct in this country. I believe that because of her unusual talents and her tolerant spirit, she is entitled to this ninety-day extension.

I am writing this, of course, in my individual capacity, as a friend of Emma Goldman, and as one who has known her for over thirty years. I am in no manner making this request in my official capacity as Publisher of the Rochester Journal-American.

Very sincerely yours

*Meyer Jacobstein*

MJ-BB

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550



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Telegram] 1934 April 22, Rochester, N.Y. [to] Franklin D. Roosevelt, President, Washington, D.C. / Henry M. Stern, et al. — 2 p.; 18 x 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.  
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Summary: Stern and other Rochester residents ask Roosevelt to extend Goldman's visa another ninety days.

Notes: Broken type.

CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED	
DOMESTIC	CABLE
TELEGRAM	FULL RATE
DAY LETTER	DEFERRED
NIGHT MESSAGE	NIGHT LETTER
NIGHT LETTER	WEEK END LETTER

Patrons should check class of service desired; otherwise message will be transmitted as a full-rate communication.

# WESTERN UNION

NEWCOMB CARLTON, PRESIDENT

J. C. WILLEVER, FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

CHECK
ACCT'G INFMN.
TIME FILED

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to: April 22nd, 1934

NIGHT LETTER (COPY)

APRIL 22nd, 1934

19

To President Franklin D. Roosevelt,

Street and No. The White House, Washington, D.C.

Place (Copy sent to Francis Perkins)

We, the undersigned American citizens living in Rochester, New York, have heard Emma Goldman speak here. On the basis of her two speeches here, we are strongly of the opinion that she inspires a greater love for our country and its liberties.

We, therefore, respectfully request that Emma Goldman be granted a ninety day extension permitting her to remain in this country. This we believe is in accordance with the traditional American spirit of toleration making America a haven of refuge for such persons as Emma Goldman.

(continued)

Sender's address for reference

THE QUICKEST, SUREST AND SAFEST WAY TO SEND MONEY IS BY TELEGRAPH OR CABLE.

Sender's telephone number

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551

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Telegram] 1934 April 22, Rochester, N.Y. [to] Franklin D. Roosevelt, President, Washington, D.C. / Henry M. Stern, et al. — 2 p.; 18 x 21 cm.  
 Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.  
 Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.  
 Summary: Stern and other Rochester residents ask Roosevelt to extend Goldman's visa another ninety days.  
 Notes: Broken type.

CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED	
TELEGRAM	CABLE
DAY LETTER	FULL RATE
NIGHT MESSAGE	DEFERRED
NIGHT LETTER	NIGHT LETTER
WEEK END LETTER	WEEK END LETTER

## WESTERN UNION

CHECK
ACCT'G INFMN.
TIME FILED

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

C O P Y April 22nd, 1934. 19

To President Franklin D. Roosevelt- #2. Rochester, NY

Street and No.

Place

Re ~~interference~~ Night Letter-Emma Goldman.

SIGNATURES:

Henry M. Stern.....Michaela Stern Co.  
 William Pidgeon....Shoo Merchant.  
 Mary T. L. Garnett....Prominent civic leader.  
 Katherine M. Weil, President Rochester Council Jewish Women.  
 Robert C. Tait....President City Club of Rochester.  
 Ida H. Post.....President Council Protestant Church Women, Rochester.  
 Mrs. Walter Meyers....President of Rochester Vassar Club.  
 Rev. David R. Williams.....Minister Unitarian Church.  
 Miss Esther Weiss.....Pres. Jewish Young Women's Assn.  
 Rabbi Philip S. Bernstein...Rabbi Temple Berith Kodesh.  
 Dr. Hazel M. Gushing Ph.D. Prof. of Education.  
 Miss Marion Meyers....Visiting School Teacher.

Sender's address  
for reference

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IS BY TELEGRAPH OR CABLE.

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number

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552

**Notes:** Broken type; portions illegible. Enclosed with 870708073. For other clippings, see 870708075, 870708076, and 870708078.

# 553

# The Emma Goldman Papers

850128018

[Memorandum] 1934 May 3, Montreal [to J.H. MacBrien] Commissioner, R[oyal] C[anadian] M[ounted] Police, Ottawa / F.J. Mead, Sup[erintenden]t, C Division, Royal Canadian Mounted Police. — 1 p. ; 32 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the National Archives of Canada. Institutional Location: Record Group 18.

Summary: Mead assures the commissioner that he will watch Goldman while she is in Montreal, although she is no longer dangerous.

L.H. 3A

## ROYAL CANADIAN MOUNTED POLICE

\*C\* DIVISION.

IN REPLY PLEASE QUOTE

DIV. FILE No. 212-254.

Montreal, May 3rd., 1934.

H. Q. FILE No. P.R. 19-11-27.

1754414

~~secret~~  
do not

The Commissioner,  
R.C.M. Police,  
Ottawa, Ont.

133478 MAY 5-34

Sir:

Re: Emma Goldman (Mrs. Colton).

1. I have the honour to report that the above named is at present in Montreal and, according to the local press, she is expected to remain here a couple of weeks.

2. Emma Goldman apparently is no longer the dangerous revolutionary she once was. In an interview yesterday with local newspaper reporters, she stated she was now both anti-Communist and anti-Fascist.

3. Our agents however have been instructed to be on the alert for any possible subversive activity on the part of this woman.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your obedient servant,



SUPT.

(F. J. Mead)  
COMMANDING \*C\* DIVISION.



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1934 May 4, Washington, D.C. [to Joseph B.] Keenan, Assistant Attorney General [Department of Justice], Washington, D.C. / J. Edgar Hoover, Director [Bureau of] Investigation, Department of Justice. — 1 p. ; 34 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 60.

Summary: Hoover sends Keenan a report on one of Goldman's speeches, which suggests she is violating her agreement not to discuss politics.

Notes: For enclosure, sec 870810001.

COPY

from

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

Record Group No. 60

General Records of the Department of Justice  
D. J. Central Files — Straight Numerical Files  
File Number 133149

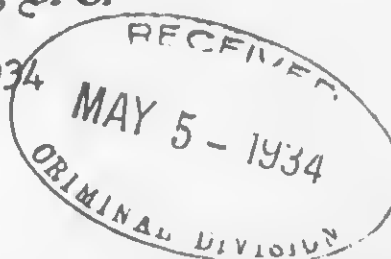
JOHN EDGAR HOOVER  
DIRECTOR

Division of Investigation

U. S. Department of Justice

Washington, D. C.

May 4, 1934



*W. Fisher*

*E. J.*

MEMORANDUM FOR ASSISTANT ATTORNEY GENERAL KEENAN

As of possible interest to you there are attached two excerpts from confidential reports received by this Division relating to Communistic activities.

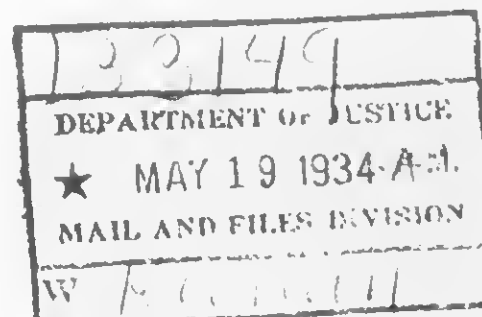
The one relating to the speech made by Emma Goldman may indicate that her activities in this country at the present time are in violation of the agreement upon which she was permitted to enter the country for a ninety-day stay.

Very truly yours,

*J. Edgar Hoover*  
Director

Enclosure 554206.

*File 133149*



*MAY 22 1934*

555



## The Emma Goldman Papers

"Red Emma's" Visit — 28 cm. In St. Louis Post-Dispatch (May 7, 1934) [transcript] / [author unknown].

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Princeton University Library. Institutional Location: American Civil Liberties Union Archives.

Summary: The *Post-Dispatch* editorializes that the experiment of Goldman's visit proved a successful vindication of free speech principles.

Notes: Transcript copy of article enclosed with 830214057.

FROM ST. LOUIS POST DISPATCH MAY 7, 1934

### "RED EMMA'S" VISIT

Emma Goldman has ended her 90-day visit to the United States and the Republic still stands. Audiences of only moderate size over the country listened to her theories, and not a bomb was heaved. She had pledged to do no agitating, but managed to make clear everywhere for what principles she stood, yet the theory of anarchism remains a quaint whimsy to the American mind. There were some ardent patriots who wanted against admitting "Red Emma," under any conditions, but their fears proved groundless. Though disapproving of the Roosevelt program she had to admit that Americans had, comparatively speaking, far more liberty than most of their foreign brethren. The experiment of opening the country's gates to a reputedly dangerous radical has been successful. It is a refreshing contrast to the bars that have been put up at Ellis Island in previous years, when other persons of leftist persuasion have sought to visit our shores.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1934 May 11 [Washington, D.C. to Frances Perkins] Secretary of Labor  
[Department of Labor, Washington, D.C.] / Joseph B. Keenan, Assistant Attorney  
General [Department of Justice]. — 1 p. ; 33 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 60.

Summary: Keenan sends Perkins a report on Goldman's speech in Pittsburgh.

Notes: For enclosure, see 870810001. For reply, see 810930118.

COPY

from

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

Record Group No. 60

General Records of the Department of Justice

D. J. Central Files — Straight Numerical Files

File Number 133149

JBK

HAF:LCB

May 11, 1934

E. J.

The Honorable

The Secretary of Labor.

Madam:

I have the honor to transmit herewith for your  
information an excerpt from a confidential report received  
by this Department relating to communistic activities con-  
cerning a speech made by Emma Goldman in Pittsburgh on  
April 11, 1934.

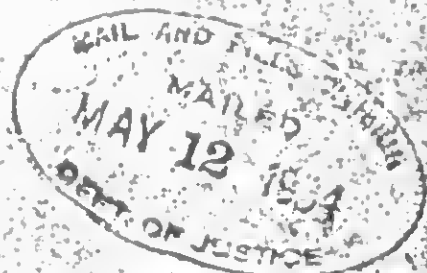
Respectfully,

For the Attorney General.

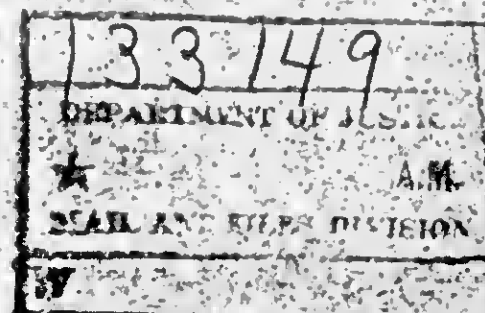
(Signed) Joseph B. Keenan

JOSEPH B. KEENAN  
Assistant Attorney General.

Enclosure #389563



MAY 15 1934



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557

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1934 May 14 [New York to] Daniel W. MacCormack, Commissioner [Immigration and Naturalization Service] Department of Labor, Washington, D.C. / Roger Baldwin. — 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the Immigration and Naturalization Service via FOIA.

Summary: Baldwin sends MacCormack a St. Louis Post-Dispatch article that should vindicate his judgment in Goldman.

Notes: For enclosure, see 900406000.

HARRY F. WARD, *Chairman*  
HELEN PHELPS STOKES, *Vice-Chairman*  
JAMES H. MAURER, *Vice-Chairman*  
FREMONT OLDER, *Vice-Chairman*

ARTHUR CALVERT, *Chairman*  
MORRIS L. ERNST, *Chairman*

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DR. JAMES H. DILLARD  
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ELIZABETH CURLEY FLYNN  
WALTER FRANK  
PROF. FELIX FRANKFURTER  
KATE CRANE CARTZ  
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POWERS MAPCOOD  
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DR. JOHN A. LAPP  
AGNES BROWN LEACH  
DR. HENRY R. LINVILLE  
PROF. ROBERT MORRIS LOVETT  
MARY E. McDOWELL  
ANNE MARTIN  
PROF. ALEXANDER MEIKLEJOHN  
PROF. HENRY R. MUSSKY  
A. J. MUSTE  
PROF. WALTER NELLES  
PROF. WILLIAM L. NUNN  
JULIA S. O'CONNOR PARKER  
WILLIAM PICKENS  
AMOS PINCHOT  
JEANNETTE RANKIN  
PROF. EDWARD A. ROSS  
DEAN ELBERT RUSSELL  
REV. JOHN A. RYAN  
JOHN NEVIN SAYRE  
RT. REV. WILLIAM SCARLETT  
JOSEPH SCHLOSSBERG  
PROF. VIDA D. SCUDDER  
RABBI ABBA HILLEL SILVER  
JOHN F. SINCLAIR  
PROF. CLARENCE R. SKINNER  
NORMAN M. THOMAS  
EDWARD D. TITTMANN  
MILLIE N. TRUMBULL  
WILLIAM S. U'REN  
OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD  
R. CHARNEY VLADECK  
GEORGE P. WEST  
PETER WITT  
L. HOLLINGSWORTH WOOD

May 14, 1934.

Col. Daniel W. MacCormack,  
Commissioner General of Immigration,  
Department of Labor,  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Col. MacCormack:

I don't know whether you have  
seen the attached editorial from the St. Louis  
Post Dispatch in regard to Emma Goldman's visit.  
I know it will be gratifying to you as vindicating  
your judgment and her good faith.

Sincerely yours,

*Roger Baldwin*

RNB.GP  
Enc.

RECEIVED  
MAY 15 1934  
IMMIGRATION & NATURALIZATION

152

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1934 May 18, Washington [D.C. to] Joseph B. Keenan, Assistant Attorney General, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. / Ralph H. Horner, Chief, Information Section, Immigration & Naturalization Service, Dept. of Labor. — 1 p. ; 34 x 22 cm. Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 60. Summary: Horner acknowledges receipt of the report on Goldman's Pittsburgh lecture. Notes: Reply to 810930119. For report mentioned, see 870810001.

COPY  
from  
THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES  
Record Group No. 60

General Records of the Department of Justice  
D. J. Central Files — Straight Numerical Files  
File Number 133149

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR  
IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION SERVICE  
WASHINGTON

ADDRESS REPLY TO COMMISSIONER OF  
IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION  
AND REFER TO FILE NUMBER

May 18, 1934.

Honorable Joseph B. Keenan,  
Assistant Attorney General,  
Department of Justice,  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

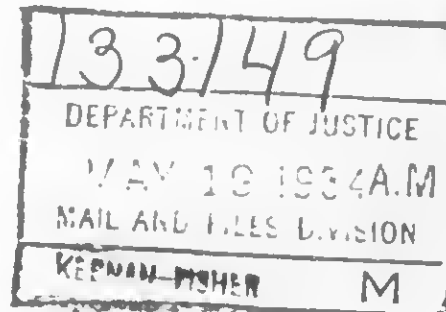
Commissioner MacCormack has directed me to acknowledge  
the receipt of your letter of May 11th, and to thank you  
for bringing to the attention of the Department the confi-  
dential report which you have received relating to an ad-  
dress made on April 11, last, by Emma Goldman.

Respectfully,

*Ralph H. Horner*  
Chief, Information Section.



MAY 24 1934



RECORDED

559

## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1934 June 3, Dorchester, Mass. [to Eleanor] Roosevelt, [Washington, D.C.] /  
Julia E. Deane. — 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.  
Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde  
Park, NY. Institutional Location: Eleanor Roosevelt Collection.  
Summary: For the safety of President Roosevelt, Deane urges Eleanor Roosevelt to see that Goldman is  
forced to leave the country.  
Notes: For reply, see 880428007.

12 Syndhurst Street, <sup>acn</sup>  
Dorchester, Mass. 6-7-34  
June 3, 1934-

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Dear Madam:-

Emma Goldman, I have been  
told, was the instigator of the  
assassination of President McKin-  
ley. President Roosevelt is in  
danger while she is in the coun-  
try, and her "ninety days" must  
be passed by this time. For  
President Roosevelt's sake and  
for the country's sake I entreat  
you to see that she is sent from  
our dear United States of America.

Sincerely and patriotically yours,  
Julia E. Deane.



## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1934 June 7 [Washington, D.C.? to] Julia E. Deane, Dorchester, Mass. / [Eleanor Roosevelt]. — 1 p. ; 28 × 18 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, NY. Institutional Location: Eleanor Roosevelt Collection.

Summary: Mrs. Roosevelt assures Deane that she has nothing to fear from Goldman, who is an old woman.

Notes: Broken type. Reply to 880428008.

June 7, 1934

My dear Mrs. Deane:

Emma Goldman is an old woman with absolutely no desire in her heart to do any harm to any one, nor any opportunity to do so if she should want to.

Thank you very much for your interest.

Very sincerely yours,

Mrs. Julia E. Deane  
12 Lyndhurst Street  
Dorchester  
Mass.

S:0

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1934 July 13, Marlboro, N.H. [to] Frances Perkins [Secretary of Labor, Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / Frank E. Ward. — 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.  
Obtained from the Immigration and Naturalization Service via FOIA.

Summary: Accusing Goldman of fomenting strikes, Ward demands that the Labor Department expel her as promised.

COAL AND

MARLBORO, N. H.

Miss Frances Perkins  
Washington, D. C.  
Madam Secretary:--

52 4 10  
43

Sometime ago Miss Emma Goldman was admitted to the United States by your permission for a "Three months visit" to relatives so we were informed. The three months must be over and yet we have not seen any record of her having returned to the Country she came from. At the time she arrived according to the papers she said she was as much of an Anarchist as ever. Since she has been here the Country has been treated to an orgy of strikes etc which as is very apparent in many cases are only instituted for one reason namely the overthrow of constituted Authority and the break down of our form of Government, as is evidenced by the fact that if the demands of Strikers are granted, they refuse to abide by their agreements, and we are told by the papers this is because of the Radicals and Communists within their ranks. Their tactics are causing the loss of Millions dollars worth of Property, keeping men from work who desire to work, and add greatly to the burden of already overburdened tax-payers, through costs of relief etc. These tactics are doing more to hinder the recovery of prosperity, than the Government can overcome by all it's spending. Possibly Miss Goldman has nothing to do with these disorders but why not keep faith with the American people and if her three months are up see that she goes back? I for one demand that she be sent back. There are still a few Americans left in this Country that are old fashioned enough to think that the United States should be run for the benefit of Law Abiding American Citizens.

Yours truly

Frank E. Ward.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

900404126

[Letter] 1934 Sept. 10, Pittsburgh, Pa. [to] Daniel W. MacCormack, Commissioner [Immigration and Naturalization Service] Department of Labor, Washington, D.C. / R[oger] B[aldwin]. — 1 p. ; 26 x 17 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Princeton University Library. Institutional Location: American Civil Liberties Union Archives.

Summary: Baldwin asks MacCormack to consider letting Goldman back into the country.

Notes: For reply, see 900404130.

Pittsburgh, Pa.  
September 10, 1934.

Hon. Daniel W. MacCormack  
Commissioner General of Immigration  
Department of Labor  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Colonel:

I was distressed to find in Washington that you had a relative on the Morro Castle and had to leave on such a mission. I trust she was not among the victims. I shall not be back in the east until early in October. The matters I had to discuss with you can wait, --all except Emma Goldman who must make her plans for the season. She is in Canada where she will lecture before going back to France, if she cannot come back here for a brief tour.

Her trip last year was a failure from the point of view of netting any proceeds for her living abroad. Her sole income is from lectures and writing. She was in the hands of a professional manager, one of the best, who mismanaged her tour. Now she wants to return for small lectures arranged by her friends. She could be trusted to keep any undertaking she agrees to, as experience on the last trip shows.

If you are willing to consider her reentry, will you be good enough to let me know at the New York office? If necessary to make any arrangements in person, either Miss Goldman's representative or ours will come to Washington at your convenience.

Sincerely yours,

RNB:RW

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

900404130

[Letter] 1934 Sept. 14, Washington [D.C. to] Roger Baldwin, New York / D[aniel] W. MacCormack, Commissioner, Immigration and Naturalization Service, Department of Labor. — 1 p. ; 27 x 18 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Princeton University Library. Institutional Location: American Civil Liberties Union Archives.

Summary: MacCormack will not agree to another visit from Goldman so soon.

Notes: Reply to 900404126. For reply, see 900404131.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR  
IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION SERVICE  
WASHINGTON

ADDRESS REPLY TO COMMISSIONER OF  
IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION  
AND REFER TO FILE NUMBER

September 14, 1934.  
9/15/34  
a.l.w.

Mr. Roger N. Baldwin, Director,  
American Civil Liberties Union,  
100 Fifth Avenue,  
New York City.

My dear Mr. Baldwin:

Referring to your letter of September 10, I do not believe that we would be justified in acceding to another request from Miss Goldman for her admission so soon after her departure from this country and do not feel that I should recommend to the Secretary that she approve any such request.

Very sincerely yours,

  
D. W. MacCORMACK  
Commissioner.

## The Emma Goldman Papers

900404131

[Letter] 1934 Sept. 22, Chicago [to] D[aniel] W. M[ac]Cormack [Commissioner, Immigration and Naturalization Service] Dep[artmen]t of Labor, Washington, D.C. / R[oger] B[aldwin]. — 1 p. ; 26 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Princeton University Library. Institutional Location: American Civil Liberties Union Archives.

Summary: Baldwin explains why MacCormack should reconsider his decision not to allow Goldman to return for another short visit.

Notes: Reply to 900404130.

If E.G. wants action before my return, I told her to advise Al and he might then take it up direct by phone or visit. I hope to meet her on the 3rd.

RNB

*T3  
Goldman*

Chicago, Ill.  
Sept. 22, 1934

Col. D. W. McCormack,  
Dept. of Labor,  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Col. McCormack, —

Your letter of the 14th concerning the readmission of Emma Goldman was forwarded to me here. I venture the hope that your mind is not entirely closed on the matter and that I may discuss it with you. I shall return to New York Oct. 5 and will be glad to come down at your convenience thereafter.

The points I trust you will bear in mind are: (1) that Miss Goldman lives in France, lives solely by lecturing and writing and can earn anything above expenses only in the United States and Canada, (2) that she is now in Canada and could not afford to return to France and come back here, (3) that she was admitted for only three months last winter while the usual period for alien lecturers is six; (4) that she scrupulously observed the limitations set in her application; (5) that she would not return until early in 1935, but must make her plans shortly; and (6) that a second trip would attract far less public attention.

RNB

Sincerely yours,

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## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Memorandum] of an interview with Emma Goldman, Niagara Falls, Canada, 1934  
Oct. 4 / R[oger] B[aldwin].— 1 p. ; 26 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Princeton University Library. Institutional Location: American Civil Liberties Union Archives.

Summary: Baldwin outlines the terms under which Goldman is willing to return to the United States.

Memo of an interview with Emma Goldman  
Niagara Falls, Canada, October 4, 1934.

Miss Goldman asked me to take up with the Commissioner General of Immigration her readmission to the United States under the following terms;

1. The auspices of her lecture <sup>tour</sup> ~~bureau~~ will be the same committee as those who stood sponsor for her before.
2. She would like to enter the United States at Windsor, Ont. some time in January to remain until June. Then she intends to go back to France. She wants a six months' visa.
3. The subjects of her lectures will be those given on the attached card including the two titles on the back.
4. She will also agree to abstain from current political controversies and will put her application in writing in a form agreeable to the Department with any general conditions.

RNB  


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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1934 Oct. 16 [New York to] Frances Perkins, Secretary of Labor [Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / R[oger] B[aldwin]. — 2 p. ; 25 x 18 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Princeton University Library. Institutional Location: American Civil Liberties Union Archives.

Summary: Baldwin urges Perkins to allow Goldman to reenter the United States for another short visit.

Notes: For reply, see 900404140.

Oct. 16, 1934

(Personal)

Miss Frances Perkins  
Secretary of Labor  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Miss Perkins:

When I saw Col. MacCormaack the other day on various matters, we discussed the readmission of Emma Goldman for a brief stay to complete in the far west her contact with old friends and her lecture trip, which was impossible in her three months' visit last winter. The Colonel took the position that he would not consent to her readmission until a year after her departure, which would bring it up to next June. He said, however, that he had no objection to my putting the matter to you and I earnestly do so, believing that she deserves special consideration and for these reasons.

1. Miss Goldman lives in France and is only temporarily on this Continent. She is now in Canada where, as a British subject, she is entitled to stay. She could not go back to France and come over here again a year after her departure without an expense impossible to her in her present poverty-stricken condition. Therefore, if she is to return at all, it must be while she is able to remain on this side of the water. There is little for her to do in Canada.

2. Miss Goldman was admitted for only three months last winter, where as the usual period for visas for alien lecturers is six months. She needs only a few months more now to complete her contacts and to make what little money she can, her only source of income being by writing and lecturing.

3. Miss Goldman scrupulously observed the conditions laid down in her application last year and would of course do so again. A second trip would attract far less public attention than the last one, particularly as she would be most of the time in the west.

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## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1934 Oct. 16 [New York to] Frances Perkins, Secretary of Labor [Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / R[oger] B[aldwin].— 2 p. ; 25 × 18 cm.

*Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Princeton University Library. Institutional Location: American Civil Liberties Union Archives.*

**Summary:** Baldwin urges Perkins to allow Goldman to reenter the United States for another short visit.

**Notes:** For reply, see 900404140.

-2-

We all trust that you will personally consider her case and give her the opportunity to complete her visit to the country which in fact, not in law, is really her home.

Sincerely yours,

RNB/IE

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## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1934 Oct. 22, Washington [D.C. to] Roger Baldwin, New York / Frances Perkins, Secretary [of Labor] Department of Labor. — 1 p. ; 25 × 18 cm.

*Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Princeton University Library. Institutional Location: American Civil Liberties Union Archives.*

**Summary:** Perkins agrees to discuss Goldman's reentry with the head of the Immigration Service.

**Notes:** Reply to 900404138.

DEPARTMENT OF LABOR  
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY  
WASHINGTON

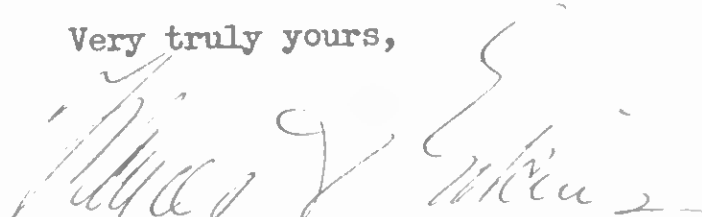
October 22, 1934

Mr. Roger N. Baldwin, Director  
American Civil Liberties Union  
100 Fifth Avenue  
New York City

My dear Mr. Baldwin:

I have your letter of October 16 and  
shall be very glad to discuss the matter to  
which you refer with Colonel MacCormack.

Very truly yours,



# The Emma Goldman Papers

Memorandum [on Emma Goldman's Return to United States, 19]34 Oct. 26 / R[oger] B[aldwin]. — 1 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Tamiment Library, New York University.

**Summary:** Baldwin summarizes his telephone conversation with Secretary of Labor Perkins regarding Goldman's proposed return to the United States. Perkins rejected the idea because of increased anti-alien sentiment in the country and the need to not alienate Congress.

727 2:80

MEMORANDUM 10/26/34 (CONFIDENTIAL)

Miss Perkins, Secretary of Labor, called up today from Washington in response to my letter of Oct. 16th concerning the reentry of Emma Goldman, to say that she had conferred with Col. MacCormack and had reluctantly come to the conclusion that she must support the position he had taken, because on the whole she felt precisely the same consideration must determine the Department's policy. She pointed out that the public attitude toward aliens is much more intolerant than a year ago, because of the propaganda aroused at the time of the San Francisco general strike, the arrest of Hauptman in the Lindbergh case and the bitter anti-alien policy of the Chicago Tribune and the Hearst newspapers. What the department could do a year ago without fear of much criticism today cannot be done without risking open controversy which would jeopardize any attempt to get Congress to liberalize the law.

Miss Perkins expressed her personal interest in seeing Miss Goldman back, but felt that she could not let that affect the major consideration of congressional action on the Department's bill, which she felt would not be taken early in the session. She agreed that if Miss Goldman would remain in Canada until the congressional session were well advanced, the Department would be in a position then to reconsider her application. She gave no assurance of favorable consideration, but her whole attitude indicated that if reentry could be effected without risk of raising an issue, it would be granted.

RNB

Copy to Mrs. Ballantine  
Mr. Arthur Leonard Ross

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Report] re: Mrs. E.G. Colton, alias Emma Goldman, Toronto, 1934 Nov. 29 / R.W. Irvine, Royal Canadian Mounted Police. — 1 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.  
 Obtained from the National Archives of Canada. Institutional Location: Record Group 18.  
 Summary: Irvine reports on Goldman's address, political affiliations, and activities while in Toronto.  
 Notes: Top document only. Enclosed with 850128056.

Division Fyle No. T935/39

F. 237

## ROYAL CANADIAN MOUNTED POLICE

Division  
"O"

Sub-Division

Detachment  
Toronto

Province

Western Ontario

Date

Nov. 29th 1934.

380298 DEC 1-34

Dg 35-419

~~SECRET~~  
 Fyle References

Re:

Mrs. E.G. Colton, alias Emma Goldman,  
 471 Brunswick Ave., Toronto, Ont.

Headquarters  
 D.935-419.

Sub-Division

Detachment

P. C. R.

1. Enquiries were made in the city of Toronto, and it was learned that Mrs. E.G. Colton, 471 Brunswick Ave., is the name used by Emma Goldman, Organizer and Speaker of the "Liberation & Anti-Militaristic Group" in Toronto, and the address is where she usually resides whilst in this district.

2. Emma Goldman recently completed a series of lectures on Russia, Anarchism, and Anti-Militarism, which she conducted in various halls throughout Toronto. She left for Montreal several weeks ago.

3. Her assistant in this matter is one J. Desser, 759 Bathurst St. Toronto. Although the above mentioned group has been active for a number of years, it does not appear to gain any footing, nor enjoy the same amount of publicity of other radical organizations.

*R.W. Irvine* D/Cpl.  
 R.W. Irvine, Reg. No. 10313.

To - The Commissioner, R.C.M.P.

Forwarded, vide the D.C.I's memorandum of the 7th instant. See also H.Q. Files 175/4745, and 175/6521.

*W.L. Nauze*

Toronto  
 30-11-34  
 D.

C. D. LaNauze, Supt.  
 Comdg. "O" Div.

*71*

*Dg*

Fyle numbers must be quoted.

# 571

# The Emma Goldman Papers

850128036

[Memorandum, 19]34 Nov. 30, Toronto [to J.H. MacBrien] Commissioner, R[oyal] C[anadian] M[ounted] P[olice, Ottawa] / C.D. LaNauze, Sup[erintenden]t, O Division, Royal Canadian Mounted Police. — 1 p. ; 34 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the National Archives of Canada. Institutional Location: Record Group 18.

Summary: LaNauze forwards a report on Goldman's activities in Toronto.

Notes: Lower document only. For enclosure, see 850128017.

Division Fyle No. T935/39

F. 237

## ROYAL CANADIAN MOUNTED POLICE

Division "O"  
Sub-Division  
Detachment Toronto  
Province Western Ontario  
Date Nov. 29th 1934.

Dg 35-419

3802, 38 BLE 1-34

~~SECRET~~  
Fyle References

Re:

Mrs. E.G. Colton, alias Emma Goldman,  
471 Brunswick Ave., Toronto, Ont.

Headquarters  
D.935-419.

Sub-Division

Detachment

P. C. R.

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2. Emma Goldman recently completed a series of lectures on Russia, Anarchism, and Anti-Militarism, which she conducted in various halls throughout Toronto. She left for Montreal several weeks ago.

3. Her assistant in this matter is one J. Desser, 759 Bathurst St. Toronto. Although the above mentioned group has been active for a number of years, it does not appear to gain any footing, nor enjoy the same amount of publicity of other radical organizations.

*R.W. Irvine* D/Cpl.  
R.W. Irvine, Reg. No. 10313.

To - The Commissioner, R.C.M.P.

Forwarded, vide the D.C.I's memorandum of the 7th instant. See also H.Q. Files 175/4745, and 175/6521.

*W.L. Hays*

Toronto  
30-11-34  
D.

C. D. LaNauze, Supt.  
Comdg. "O" Div.

Fyle numbers must be quoted.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1935 May 28 [to Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.? (excerpt)] / [author unknown]. — 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: A letter to the Bureau of Investigation mentions Goldman.

Notes: Censored by FBI.

May 28, 1935.

II.

(c)(a)(cc)

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

(4)(7)(cc)  
outside  
of  
scope

Old red harridan (probably still on the GPU payroll, for all of her books "against" the Soviet), Emma Goldman, always visited her anarchist friends there.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

outside  
of  
scope

With all thanks for your every attention and courtesy,

I am,

Sincerely,

[REDACTED]

(4)(7)(cc)

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Memorandum] 1936 Feb. 18 [to Homer Cummings] Attorney General [Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. (excerpt)] / [Federal Bureau of Investigation? Department of Justice?].— 1 p.; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

**Summary:** A memorandum includes the opinion that the Jews organized Goldman's return to the United States.

**Notes:** Dark copy; barely legible.

17281

Memorandum for the  
Attorney General

- 4 -

February 18, 1936.

[REDACTED]

(b)(7)(c)  
(b)(7)(d)  
Outside  
of  
scope

[REDACTED] indicated his belief that it was a part of a plot of a pro-Jewish nature that Emma Goldman was then permitted to be in the United States. [REDACTED]

(b)(7)(c)

[REDACTED]

7  
(b)(7)(c)  
(b)(7)(d)  
(b)(7)(e)  
(b)(7)(f)  
(b)(7)(g)  
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(b)(7)(s)  
(b)(7)(t)  
(b)(7)(u)  
(b)(7)(v)  
(b)(7)(w)  
(b)(7)(x)  
(b)(7)(y)  
(b)(7)(z)

[REDACTED]

Outside  
of  
scope

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

62-33719-9

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Telegram] 1936 Sept. 21, Barcelona [to Cordell Hull] Secretary of State [Department of State], Washington [D.C.] / Perkins [Department of State].— 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Perkins notifies the secretary of state that Goldman is in Barcelona.

## TELEGRAM RECEIVED

U

1-1236

F88AY

Barcelona

Dated September 21, 1936

Rec'd 2:15 a.m., 22nd.

Secretary of State

Washington

September 21, 7 p.m.

Emma Goldmann arrived Barcelona three days ago and gave talk this afternoon to representatives of the press.

PERKINS

JS

852.00/3233

SEP 24 1936

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1936 Oct. 28, New York [to J. Edgar Hoover] Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Washington, D.C. [excerpt] / [Agent?] Federal Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice. — 2 p. ; 28 x 20 cm.

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: The New York office's report on local Communist Party activities notes that an anarchist bulletin, "Spanish Revolution," includes an article by Goldman.

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP(S) OF 2/2/82  
DATE 7/27/82

Federal Bureau of Investigation

U. S. Department of Justice  
607 U.S. Court House,  
Foley Square,  
New York, N.Y.

October 28, 1936.

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

DECLASSIFIED BY SP4 EW/EW  
ON 7-15-85

Director,  
Federal Bureau of Investigation,  
Washington, D.C.

Re: COMMUNIST PARTY AND  
AFFILIATED ORGANIZATIONS.  
General Activities.  
(Bureau File 61-7559)

Dear Sir:

There are forwarded herewith a pamphlet and a bulletin which I obtained from distributors on the street in front of Madison Square Garden, New York City, while a meeting on behalf of Spain was being held inside the Garden. This meeting was attended by [redacted] and report covering it will be submitted.

As to the literature referred to, the pamphlet is entitled "The Truth about Spain". It is written by Rudolph Rucker, and was published by Freie Arbeiter Stimme, 45 West 17th Street, New York City.

The bulletin is entitled "Spanish Revolution" and published by the United Libertarian Organizations at New York City, this being the issue of October 19, 1936, Vol. 1, No. 4. A solicitation for funds requests that the contributions be sent to the United Libertarian Organizations, I. Radinowsky, Treasurer, 45 West 17th Street, New York City. It is described as being a publication dedicated to current labor news from Spain, published by the United Libertarian Organizations against Fascism and for support of Spanish workers. A list of donations received shows some substantial contributions, one of them for \$677.65 contributed by the Jewish Anarchist Federation. This is worthy of notice inasmuch as it was not known to me that there was an Anarchist group in this city of sufficient size to make a contribution of such a substantial amount of money. The bulletin itself would appear to be strongly Anarchist and contains an article by Emma Goldman. The text of the article headed "Emma Goldman In Spain Appeals For World Aid",

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NOV 6 1936

INDEXED

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1936

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## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1936 Oct. 28, New York [to J. Edgar Hoover] Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Washington, D.C. [excerpt] / [Agent?] Federal Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice. — 2 p. ; 28 x 20 cm.

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: The New York office's report on local Communist Party activities notes that an anarchist bulletin, "Spanish Revolution," includes an article by Goldman.

NY File 61-507  
Letter to Director  
October 28, 1936.

indicates that Emma Goldman was in Spain, apparently, and delivered a radio talk at Barcelona on September 23, 1936.

There is forwarded herewith a Communist Election Campaign contribution certificate. The various active Party members have been furnished with books containing these certificates which are issued to each person donating 25¢. The book also contains other types of certificates, and the worker is expected to turn in \$35 for the book.

The October 1936 issue of "The Communist International", an organ of the Executive Committee of The Communist International, is forwarded herewith. Interesting matter has been underscored on pages 1335 and 1336, pertaining to the drive to raise funds for Spain. In speaking of the contributions made by the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, and the Furriers Union, each for \$5,000, there is nothing to indicate that this is for relief work. The two first mentioned contributors are described as being "in support of the Spanish anti-facist." It goes on further to state that "They have announced a campaign to collect \$100,000 to be used in support of the Spanish people." Referring to the contributions from the Furriers Union and also one from the Painters Union, the article states "and called upon their members to contribute to the fund for the Spanish fighters". *Attached*

Facism in the United States is covered on pages 1372 to 1374 of "The Communist International". On pages 1395 to 1397 is an article on the election campaign in the U.S.A. The article indicates the necessity from the Communist viewpoint of defeating what is referred to as the Landon-Hearst-Wall Street Campaign. The article also stresses the part being played by the Communist Party in developing local and state Farmer-Labor tickets, and states that the Party is developing the most elaborate election campaign in its history.

? 0 (( A book by Anna Rochester, a member of the Communist Party, called "Rulers of America" is reviewed on pages 1400 to 1404. Your attention is directed to this review with the request that this office be informed whether it is desired that a copy of this book be purchased for the information of the Bureau.

*attached* "Economic Notes", November, 1936, a monthly publication of the Labor Research Association, is forwarded herewith. There does not appear to be any information of special importance in this issue.

# The Emma Goldman Papers

890414028

Answers to Questions / Frederic J. Haskin. — 28 cm. In [Washington Star (March? 3, 1937)].

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: Haskin answers the question, "What ever happened to Emma Goldman?"

## ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS

BY FREDERIC J. HASKIN.

Q. What has become of Emma Goldman?  
—J. G.  
A. She has been in Spain for several  
months and has now returned to London,  
where she is aiding the cause of Spanish  
Lettists.

NOT RECORDED

INDEXED

61-7561-102 X5

WASH. STAR

MAR 3 1937

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578



# The Emma Goldman Papers

See C.I.O. Drive as Communist in Its Objects / Chesly Manly. — 28 cm. In [Chicago Daily Tribune (March 28, 1937, excerpt)].

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: Manly describes the links between the C.I.O. and the Communist Party. In his brief biographies of the key figures, he notes that Rose Pesotta was associated with Goldman.

Notes: Dark copy; barely legible.

## SEE C. I. O. DRIVE AS COMMUNIST IN ITS OBJECTS

Report by John L. Lewis Is  
Cited as Proof

BY CHESLY MANLY

[Chicago Tribune Press Service]  
Washington, D. C., March 27.—(Spre-  
ad.) The industrial union drive of  
the C. I. O. Committee for Indus-  
trial Organization, which has brought  
the current epidemic of sitdown  
strikes, is essentially a communist  
movement and has been advocated as  
the first step in a program to over-  
throw the government of the United  
States and set up a soviet dictator-  
ship ever since the communist party  
of America was officially organized  
at Woodstock, N. Y., in May, 1921.  
William Z. Foster, national chair-  
man of the communist party of  
America, and John L. Lewis himself  
are authorities for this statement.

Lewis Report Doubled.

In 1934 the United Mine Workers,  
through its president, Mr. Lewis, sub-  
mitted to the United States senate  
an exhaustive report on communist  
activities in the United States, with  
particular reference to their efforts  
to organize all craft unions of the  
American Federation of Labor.

Industrial unions." William Z. Foster  
was denounced as the man who, on  
direct orders from Moscow, was  
directing this movement through the  
Trade Union Educational League.

Mr. Lewis' report, which was pub-  
lished as Senate document No. 14,  
68th congress, first session, on re-  
quest of the late Senator Henry Cabot  
Lodge of Massachusetts, said:

"The overthrow and destruction of  
this government, with the establish-  
ment of an absolute and arbitrary  
dictatorship and the elimination of  
all forms of popular voice in govern-  
mental affairs, is being attempted on  
a more gigantic scale than at any time  
in the history of this nation."

Agents of Communism.

The Trade Union Educational League,  
Lewis reported, was "cultivated and  
prompted by the organizers and  
agents of the Communist and Work-  
ers' parties," and was "the direct  
instrumentality of Lenin's agent, Zho-  
viev of the Communist International,  
and Kozlovsky of the subsidiary Red  
Trade Labor Union International."

"Through this organization," he  
said, "the revolutionary leaders in  
America are making a nation-wide  
attempt to obtain control of the  
American Federation of Labor, rec-  
ognize the craft unions on the basis  
of 'one big union' in an industry,  
and weld them together into a cen-  
tral revolutionary agency in America.  
It is a situation that challenges

WILLIAM Z. FOSTER



Denounced by John L. Lewis  
as an enemy of the gov-  
ernment and who now says "The  
communist party heartily supports  
C. I. O. organizing campaign."

not only organized labor but every  
employer as well. This is one situa-  
tion when labor and the employer  
might very well join hands and  
work together."

Now Lewis Means Fight.

Now Mr. Lewis is leading the  
industrial unions and he  
wants the white hope of the  
nation. Says Mr. Foster in a  
speech, "Industrial Unionism,"  
issued for distribution in Michigan  
universities during the autumn  
and spring organization drive.  
"The C. I. O. led by Mr. Lewis,  
is doing an excellent  
work."

NOT RECORDED INDEXED

61-7559-132212

CHICAGO DAILY TRIBUNE

3-21-37

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

See C.I.O. Drive as Communist in Its Objects / Chesly Manly. — 28 cm. In [Chicago Daily Tribune (March 28, 1937, excerpt)].

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: Manly describes the links between the C.I.O. and the Communist Party. In his brief biographies of the key figures, he notes that Rose Pesotta was associated with Goldman.

Notes: Dark copy; barely legible.

## Left Wing Organizers and Agitators Who Are Aiding John



## Lewis' Campaign to Line Up Labor Under the C. I. O.



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CHICAGO DAILY TRIBUNE

3-28-37

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

See C.I.O. Drive as Communist in Its Objects / Chesly Manly. — 28 cm. In [Chicago Daily Tribune (March 28, 1937, excerpt)].

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: Manly describes the links between the C.I.O. and the Communist Party. In his brief biographies of the key figures, he notes that Rose Pesotta was associated with Goldman.

Notes: Dark copy; barely legible.

of Brookwood, who writes for the auto workers' C.I.O. organ and edited the C.I.O. in founding a training school last summer at Sangamon, Ill., where agitators were trained for the pithead strike.

John Schmales, former assistant to William Z. Foster and one time organizer of the Auto Workers' union, a communist organization, which was active until a few years ago. He is the Detroit representative of the Fraternal Orders committee, organized by the C.I.O. to line up fraternal organizations.

Former Co-head Ford Ad.

Clinton S. Golden, former director of the Carland Fund and former business manager of Brookwood, C.I.O. former director in the steel organization campaign in Pennsylvania.

Leo Kirsch, member of the advisory board of the C.I.O., vice president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and a member of the national executive committee of the Socialist party.

John W. Anderson, C.I.O. organizer, who was the communist candidate for governor of Michigan in 1934.

Mary Heston, well known communist author, who has been directing the organization of C.I.O. women's auxiliaries.

Margaret Court, another communist writer and agitator, who is on the pay roll and was active in promoting women's activities at Flint, Mich.

Mary Hittet, leader in the left wing League for Industrial Democracy, who has been directing Communist work.

Vice President Committee.

James M. Ford, colored, communist candidate for Vice President.

One of the principal agitators in the labor field, called by the C.I.O. as the director of the C.I.O.

organization drive at Pittsburgh. William Weinstone, general secretary for the communist party in Michigan, who has been directing communist activities in the Flint and Detroit strikes.

Rose Pesotta, C.I.O. organizer in the rubber and automotive industries, who is a veteran anarchist leader and one time associate of Emma Goldman.

Georgia Johnson, leader of the Women's Brigade at Flint and a member of the Socialist party. William Z. Foster, associate of William Z. Foster and member of the

JOHN L. LEWIS



Who now welcomes the support of Foster and his lieutenants in joining the C.I.O.

JOHN BROPHY



Associated Press Wirephoto.

Who was accused by the United Mine Workers' Journal in 1935 of trying to transform this union into a communist organization and who now is the executive director of the C.I.O.

central committee of the communist party, who is now a C.I.O. organizer and is in frequent contact with Philip Murray.

Formerly with Anderson.

Jack Stachel, member of the full committee of the communist party and director of C.I.O. organizers in Pennsylvania, is the author of a brochure on Foster's propaganda campaign against C.I.O. organizers. Stachel, also known as Jack Stachel, is a known communist.

CHICAGO DAILY TRIBUNE

3-28-37

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

See C.I.O. Drive as Communist in Its Objects / Chesly Manly. — 28 cm. In [Chicago Daily Tribune (March 28, 1937, excerpt)].

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: Manly describes the links between the C.I.O. and the Communist Party. In his brief biographies of the key figures, he notes that Rose Pesotta was associated with Goldman.

Notes: Dark copy; barely legible.

...party represented Antony, the  
...trading agency, on the Pacific  
... At present he works with  
... in the Pittsburgh district.  
... George Power, alias Morris Power,  
... former district organizer of the  
... communist party in South Carolina.  
... is now a district director of the  
... Steel Workers' Organization committee  
... of the C.I.O. in Pittsburgh, at  
... large salary.  
... Comales, Mexican, member of  
... communist party and full time  
... salaried man on the S.W.O.C. in  
... Pittsburgh.  
... Clarence Rye, colored, an organizer  
... for the National Negro Congress,  
... communist outfit, and on the private  
... pay roll of Van A. Bittner, Chicago  
... regional director of the C.I.O.  
... Clarence Irwin, district organizer  
... for the communist party, who is on  
... the S.W.O.C. pay roll in Pitts-  
... burgh.  
... Louis Majors, member of the com-  
... munist party and on the S.W.O.C.  
... pay roll in Pittsburgh.  
... Steve Steel Organizer.  
... Tony Shane, member of the com-  
... munist party and a full time C.I.O.  
... organizer on the steel workers' pay  
... roll in Pittsburgh.  
... Doyle Glorner, reporter for the  
... communist People's Press, who is on  
... the pay roll of the S.W.O.C.  
... Paul Glaser, attorney for the  
... union committee of the communist  
... party, who is a full salaried member  
... of the S.W.O.C. staff and spends  
... much time with Van Bittner in Chi-  
... cago.  
... Peter Chaps, for years a com-  
... munist organizer who is now a full  
... time S.W.O.C. organizer at Gary,  
... reporting directly to Van Bittner.  
... Ruth Chaps, wife of Peter Chaps,  
... paid by the S.W.O.C. to do mis-  
... cellaneous work in the homes of Span-  
... ish steel workers.  
... Alfred Abilio, member of the com-  
... munist party at South Chicago and  
... paid S.W.O.C. organizer among  
... Mexicans in that section.  
... Harry, first name unknown, who  
... is a member of the communist party  
... at Chicago Heights and a full time  
... S.W.O.C. organizer.  
... Charles Henry, member of the com-  
... munist party and a part time S.W.  
... C. organizer in South Chicago.  
... Leonides McDonald, Negro com-  
... munist leader who is on the pay roll  
... of the S.W.O.C. at Indiana Harbor.  
... Mike Detroit, member of the  
... communist party who is on the S.W.O.  
... pay roll in Gary.  
... George A. Patterson, member  
... of communist party on the S.  
... O.C. pay roll in South Chicago.  
... Joe Cook, member of the communist  
... party and a part time S.W.O.C.  
... organizer in South Chicago.  
... Dave Dorn, Pittsburgh district  
... organizer for the Young Communist  
... League, who is on the S.W.O.C.  
... pay roll and confers frequently  
... with Philip Murray. He is also a  
... associate of William Z. Foster.

CHICAGO DAILY TRIBUNE

3-28-37

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## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Sept. 16 [New York to] Frances Perkins, Secretary of Labor [Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / R[oger] B[aldwin]. — 1 p. ; 28 × 17 cm.

*Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations. Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Papers, Rare Books and Manuscripts Division.*

**Summary:** Baldwin asks Perkins if it would be possible to arrange another visit for Goldman.

**Notes:** For response, see 810519619.

September 16, 1937

Honorable Frances Perkins  
Secretary of Labor  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Miss Perkins:

I had hoped to have a word with you in Washington this week in regard to Emma Goldman's desire to come back to the United States for a brief period to see her many relatives -- all of whom live here.

I know how delicate the matter is and I would like to get your slant on it before any formal application is made. I think she would be quite willing to come with an agreement not to engage in any public activities, if that seems desirable. But I know she would like, if possible, to help raise some money for Spanish relief, the task in which she is now engaged in England.

With regards,

Sincerely yours,

RNB:RM

42X1114

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Memorandum] 1937 Sept. 30, Washington, D.C. [to Edward A.] Tamm [Federal Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.? (excerpt)] / [Agent?] Federal Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice. — 2 p. ; 27 x 20 cm.

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: A Federal Bureau of Investigation official recounts the text of an upcoming, unflattering article on J. Edgar Hoover in *The New Yorker*.

JOHN EDGAR HOOVER  
DIRECTOR

Federal Bureau of Investigation  
United States Department of Justice  
Washington, D. C.

KRC:EE

449,870  
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 7-23-85 BY SP4/EW/KW

Date September 30, 1937.  
Time: 9:50 A.M.

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. TAMM

At this time [redacted] of New York City telephonically communicated with [redacted] in my Office, with regard to the second installment of "Profiles," an article in three installments, in "The New Yorker." [redacted] advised [redacted] that this issue of "The New Yorker," dated October 2, 1937, contained on page twenty-one and the following pages the article entitled "The Director," Part II. Further that this installment was preceded by a caricature of the Director which differs from the one contained in the last issue; that the artist, as far as is discernible, is "W.A.L." and that this caricature is not very flattering. [redacted] advised that the first part was devoted to the Director's boyhood and at this point quoted: "Twenty-four years have elapsed but the temptation to stand up and tell the world where to head in remains strong in it." [redacted] stated that following this is the experiences of the Director in school, etc. At this point [redacted] reads from the article verbatim: "From the day he entered the Department certain things marked Hoover apart from scores of other young law clerks. He dressed better than most, and a bit on the dandyish side. He had an exceptional capacity for detail work, and he handled small chores with enthusiasm and thoroughness. He constantly sought newer responsibilities to shoulder and welcomed chances to work overtime. When he was in conference with an official of his department, his manner was that of a young man who has confidently expected to rise. His superiors were duly impressed, and so important did they consider his services that they persuaded him to spend the period of the World War at his desk. In 1919 when Attorney General Palmer was organizing his notorious radical baiting campaign, he made Hoover Special Assistant Attorney General and put him in charge of the Radical Section of the Division of Investigation. Taking advantage of a national hysteria over the supposed imminence of revolution, Palmer's Special Agents and the Police ruthlessly violated the civil rights of thousands of American in this riot. Homes were entered without search warrants and people under the meager sort of suspicion were jailed and held for days, in many cases without being told what charges they were being held on. Of more than six thousand people arrested only three hundred fifty were found guilty."

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INDEXED

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

89414000

[Memorandum] 1937 Sept. 30, Washington, D.C. [to Edward A.] Tamm [Federal Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.? (excerpt)] / [Agent?] Federal Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice. - 2 p. ; 27 x 20 cm.

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: A Federal Bureau of Investigation official recounts the text of an upcoming, unflattering article on J. Edgar Hoover in *The New Yorker*.

Memo Mr. Tamm

- 2 -

September 30, 1937.

enough to be deported, and it was almost ridiculously easy to pull under the drastic war-time Sedition Act, which Palmer was invoking. Hoover's part in the purge was to organize the evidence which was obtained and to present it to a Department of Labor Tribunal which had the power to deport under the Sedition Act. (page 22) Clean-cut, cold at decisions, the young prosecutor was a striking symbol of Palmer's holy warfare. Among the scalps which hung at his belt when it was all over were those of such important radicals as Emma Goldman, Alexander Berkman and Ludwig Martens, the unrecognized Soviet Ambassador to the United States. Their method of working fascinated Hoover and spurred him to a concerted attempt to understand them. He never quite succeeded. He read books and pamphlets which they had written and held long arguments with them in his office, and in the end decided that most radicals must be psychologically twisted."

[redacted] continued stating that several paragraphs followed this on the graft and dishonesty which Hoover discovered in the Bureau, the horrible condition existing in the Bureau in 1921, and finally leading up to his appointment as Assistant Director and then Director for the purpose of cleaning up the Bureau. [redacted] advised that these paragraphs are very complimentary, except one sentence referring to his appointment by Assistant Attorney General Stone, quoted as follows: "With a presumption that was close to brazen, Hoover replied that he would." (meaning take over the job) This, [redacted] advises is followed by the same type of information that was set forth in the last issue, about the political work, advising further that this is preceded by a short paragraph on the Special Agents in the Office now. [redacted] quotes concerning the political work as follows: "In fact, the chief objection to Hoover is based upon what certain groups think he is liable to do, rather than upon what he has done or is doing. Remembering his sturdy service in Palmer's radical baiting orgy the pinks and some liberals shudder in apprehension lest another purge be launched. One hears in Washington that Hoover has secret dossiers on all Left Wingers and is just awaiting a chance to clap them in concentration camps. Hoover pooches such stories. In discussing this, he points out that the Sedition Act has long since been repealed and that it is now anyone's privilege to advocate overthrow of the Government, so long as no overt act is committed. He doesn't believe that the law should be so broadminded, but says that as long as it is, he considers it no business of his to gather evidence on agitators, and insists that he had not done so. The supposed secret dossiers he says do not exist. Privately, Hoover is frankly disturbed by Communist activities, particularly on college and university campuses. 'Youth is unable to evaluate such theories properly' he says. He reminds those who

(4)  
(7)  
(C)

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

Memorandum [on Emma Goldman's Return to United States, 19]37 Oct. 21 / R[oger] B[aldwin].— 1 p. ; 28 × 17 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations. Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Papers, Rare Books and Manuscripts Division.

Summary: Baldwin notes that the commissioner of immigration recommended that Goldman not ask for a visa until Congress passes the legislation now before it.

Notes: Response to 810519620.

## MEMORANDUM

10/21/37

Re: Emma Goldman

Mr. Houghteling, Commissioner of Immigration, called from Washington and said that Miss Perkins referred my letter of Sept. 16th to him. He said he would have to recommend adversely in view of the present difficulties which the Department confronted with legislation in Congress. Newspaper criticism, which would be inevitable, would tend to defeat the bill. Mr. Houghteling said he could not consider the matter until that was out of the way.

RMB

ES:all

42M74

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Oct. 30, Valencia [Spain to Cordell Hull] Secretary of State [Department of State], Washington, D.C. / Walter C. Thurston, American Embassy [Department of State]. — 2 p. ; 34 × 21 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Thurston's list of recent American visitors to Spain includes Goldman.



EMBASSY OF THE  
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

RECEIVED  
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DEC 11 1937

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

1937 NOV 23 PM 2 14

DIVISION OF  
COMMUNICATIONS  
No. X-253 AND RECORDS

Valencia, October 30, 1937.

Subject: The Spanish civil war; American visitors.

852.00/6956

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,  
Washington, D. C.

Sir:

Among recent American visitors to Loyalist Spain  
(in addition to those concerning whom special reports  
have been submitted) the following may be mentioned:

Emma Goldman,  
Barbara Wertheim,  
Dorothy Parker,  
Ernest Hemmingway,  
Elliot Paul,

Thyra Edwards (A negress, representing  
the Chicago Defender and "Woman Today").

Constance Kyle, (with Miss Edwards, repre-  
sents the American Committee to Aid Spanish  
Democracy), and

David Levinson, described in press releases  
issued by the propaganda bureau as "a Philadelphia  
lawyer,

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## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Oct. 30, Valencia [Spain to Cordell Hull] Secretary of State [Department of State], Washington, D.C. / Walter C. Thurston, American Embassy [Department of State]. — 2 p. ; 34 × 21 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Thurston's list of recent American visitors to Spain includes Goldman.

-2-

lawyer, the defender of Rakosi, in Hungary, of Luis Prestes and Harry Berger, in Brazil, Dimitrov, Popov, and other proletarian fighters". The same press releases state that for the last ten years he has been the attorney for the "International Labor Defense" of New York.

Respectfully yours,

*Walter C. Thurston*  
Walter C. Thurston

030

WCT/wk

Copy to Ambassador Bowers,  
Saint-Jean-de-Luz, France.

Copy to Embassy, Paris.

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588

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Report from New York re:] Emma Goldman, Rome, 1938 Jan. 18 / Ministro dell'Interno. — 1 p. ; 30 x 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from Archivio Centrale dello Stato, Rome.

Summary: The consul general in New York reports that Goldman wrote to the American anarchists from Spain defending the actions of the Spanish anarchists.

Notes: In Italian.



*Ministero dell'Interno*  
Direzione Generale della P. S.

Divisione Affari Generali e Ricerche

Sez. I° n. 441/066249

*110858-35  
70-1-1938*

Roma, 11 18 Gennaio 1938-XVI°

RISERVATA

*Goldmann Emma  
45*

ON. SEZIONE TERZA - S E D E  
(per il fasc. pers. e l'ulteriore trattazione) -

COPIA DELLA NOTA DEL R. CONSOLATO GENER. ITALIA IN NEW YORK  
IN DATA 26.II.1937 n. 4347 DIRETTA AL MINISTERO ESTERI E P.C.  
AL MINISTERO INTERNO - R. AMBASCIATA ITALIA WASHINGTON AVENTE  
PER OGGETTO: "Goldmann Emma di anni 63, ebrea d'origine tedesca, anarchica, propagandista."

=====

Facendo seguito al mio rapporto n. 19777-1430 del 6/aprile 1935, mi onoro di riferire all'E.V. che la nominata Goldmann Emma ha scritto da Parigi a questi gruppi anarchici per difendere l'operato degli anarchici spagnoli e specialmente della F.A.I. e della C.N.T.

La Goldmann sarebbe ritornata a Parigi dopo un soggiorno di quattro o cinque mesi in Spagna.

Mi riservo di riferire ulteriormente al riguardo.

Gratifica, Sig. Ministro, gli atti del mio profondo ossequio.

IL R. CONSOLE GENERALE  
f.° Vecchiotti

P.C.C.  
II CAPO DELLA SEZIONE PRIMA

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Jan. 27, New York [to Stella] Ballantine, Bearsville, N.Y. / Nancy Cook. — 1 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, NY. Institutional Location: Eleanor Roosevelt Collection.

Summary: Cook suggests that Ballantine send her request concerning a new visa for Goldman to Eleanor Roosevelt's secretary.

Notes: For related documents, see 901105005 and 901105006.

Mrs. FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT  
Mrs. DANIEL O'DAY  
Miss NANCY COOK

331 MADISON AVENUE  
Room 704  
NEW YORK CITY

Murray Hill 2-7400

January 27, 1938.

*Cook  
2-5-38*

Mrs. E. J. Ballantine  
Beechoroft  
Bearsville, Ulster Co., N.Y.

Dear Mrs. Ballantine:

I have your note of January 25th, and I am very sorry that I cannot do anything about your letter, but I am sure if you wrote to Mrs. Roosevelt's secretary, Mrs. Malvina Thompson Scheider, The White House, Washington, D.C., she would see that Mrs. Roosevelt received your message.

With best wishes to you.

Very sincerely yours,

*Nancy Cook*

(Miss Nancy Cook)



## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Feb. 5 [Washington, D.C. to Stella] Ballantine, Bearsville, N.Y. / Malvina T. Scheider, Secretary to [Eleanor] Roosevelt. — 1 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.

*Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, NY. Institutional Location: Eleanor Roosevelt Collection.*

**Summary:** Scheider explains that she has forwarded Ballantine's letter concerning Goldman's possible visit to the secretary of labor.

**Notes:** For related documents, see 901105004 and 901105005.

February 5, 1938

6 / 16

My dear Mrs. Ballantine:

Mrs. Roosevelt is sorry that she will not be able to see you as her time is filled so far in advance. In any case, there is nothing she can do in official matters other than to bring them to the attention of the proper authorities. She has sent your letter to the Secretary of Labor and is sure that it will be given every consideration.

Very sincerely yours,

Malvina T. Scheider  
Secretary to  
Mrs. Roosevelt

Mrs. E. J. Ballantine  
Beechcroft  
Bearsville  
Ulster County  
New York

DD

See Ballantine

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591

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Feb. 5 [Washington, D.C. to] Frances Perkins, Secretary of Labor [Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / Malvina T. Scheider, Secretary to [Eleanor] Roosevelt. — 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

*Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, NY. Institutional Location: Eleanor Roosevelt Collection.*

**Summary:** Scheider asks Perkins to answer Stella Ballantine's inquiry regarding Goldman's proposed visit.  
**Notes:** For related documents, see 901105004 and 901105006.

\*Mrs. E. J. Ballantine, Beechcroft, Bearsville, N.Y. Wants her Aunt, <sup>+</sup>Emma Gold~~man~~, to come over to this country for a visit, or to return to make her home here.

February 5, 1938

My dear Madam Secretary:

At Mrs. Roosevelt's request I am sending you the enclosed letter. Would you be good enough to look into the matter and send Mrs. Ballantine a reply?

Very sincerely yours,

Malvina T. Scheider  
 Secretary to  
 Mrs. Roosevelt

Honorable Frances Perkins  
 The Secretary of Labor  
 Washington, D.C.

DD

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 March 14 [to Federal] Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. / [author unknown]. — 1 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: A citizen asks the Federal Bureau of Investigation to look into a proposed college in Oregon that he fears will become like Goldman's radical school.

Notes: For reply, see 890414045.

(b)(7)(C)

March 14th, 1938.

U. S. Bureau of Investigation,  
Department of Justice,  
Washington, D. C.

249,870  
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 6/24/85 BY SP4 EWL/EN

Gentlemen:

I am inclosing some circulars, which I think require your attention. Innocent enough on the surface, but what is behind it? I attended the first lecture last night and all I got out of it was a suspicion of a Russian propagandist starting a school for the purpose of teaching Soviet theories in the United States, without U. S. Government interference or investigation.

The man claims naturalization and residence in Washington, D. C., and spent nearly two hours denouncing and criticizing American institutions of learning, parental training, co-education, our public school system, etc. He claims he has purchased a tract of land on the Columbia River in the State of Washington, about 40 miles from Portland, Oregon, where he intends to start a College of the Science of Being, where the proper system of instruction will be demonstrated. Will it be another Red Institute like the one operated a few years ago by Emma Goldman and associates? There are still lots of men and women in Washington who believe in those theories and the only reason they do not express them openly is because they are afraid of deportation.

I am an American, born of American parents, in the State of Wisconsin and any attack on the Public School System or the United States system of government riles me to action at once. I do not claim we are perfect but still believe in the rule of the majority at the polls.

Sincerely yours,

(b)(7)(C)

ack.  
CO. 3/22/38

RECORDED  
&  
INDEXED.

61-7559-252	
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION	
MAR 24 1938	
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE	
ONE	FILE

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593

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 March 22 [Washington, D.C. to unknown recipient] / Harold Nathan, Assistant Director [Federal Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].— 1 p.; 27 × 20 cm.

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: Nathan advises an undisclosed correspondent that he cannot authorize the requested investigation.

Notes: Broken type; light copy. Reply to 890414046.

67-557-2523

KFM:CF

March 22, 1938.

RECORDED

(b)(7)(c)  
249,870  
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 6/24/85 BY SP4EN/EN

Dear [REDACTED] (b)(7)(c)

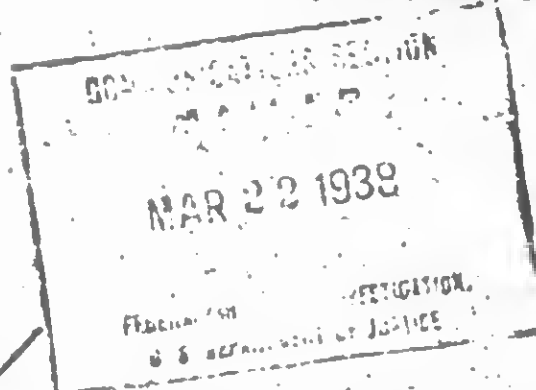
I sincerely appreciate the interest which prompted you in directing to me your letter of March 14, 1938, together with the enclosures attached thereto.

I must advise you, however, that the matters referred to in your letter do not come within the investigative jurisdiction of this Bureau. For this reason it will be impossible for me to authorize any investigation in the premises.

Very truly yours,  
For the Director,

Harold Nathan,  
Assistant Director.

CC - Seattle



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**Notes:** In Italian. Broken type; light copy; portions illegible. For related document, see 880511007.

Conto del teletrasferimento del Consel to per. "Italia e Londra, in al  
1970, II/24, diretto al 2° stato - 2° interno - p.p.  
Tabacchini "Italia e Londra.-

[illegible]

Un'importante notizia informa che sono venute a conoscenza che al n. 1 di Oak Str. Ohio, nella casa di proprietà del noto sovversivo "Red", Luigi A. Francesco, hanno trasportato gli uffici i sovversivi locali.

Infatti al primo piano trovansi quelli di area di massa ritenuti originari  
russi o tedeschi (il primo), che fu l'area del socialismo e che si occupa ora  
di politica internazionale comunista. Ha per segretario il suddito britannico  
co. 140.-

Il secondo piano trovato all'ufficio del 400 della 12. I che oltre alla relazione del giornale sovversivo "peace and the world" si occupa della propaganda anarchica. Ha per segretario la moglie del figlio del prof. Carillo 1001.

Il 1° aprile la sotto locale ebbe luogo una riunione alla quale parteciparono un bel numero di persone tra le quali gli amici, il parroco, il sindaco, il notaio, il medico ed un certo numero di persone di nazionalità francese, provenienti voluti da crisi, per essere il 1° aprile festeggiato il 1° con buona cultura.

... a rimuovere così i loro protestare contro l'arresto  
dell'... della... persona.

non tutte le discussioni pare non si siano venuti d'accordo sul modo

Il "Corriere della Sera" del 22 marzo 1934, nella pagina 1, ha pubblicato un articolo intitolato "L'opera di Giuseppe Verdi", che è stato tradotto in italiano e pubblicato nel numero 100 della rivista "L'Espresso" del 1934.



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 May 19, New York [to J. Edgar Hoover] Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation [Department of Justice], Washington, D.C. [excerpt] / R.E. Vetterli, Agent in Charge, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice. — 3 p. ; 28 x 21 cm. Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: Vetterli submits subversive literature, including *Vanguard*, an anarchist publication that prints a letter from Goldman.

Federal Bureau of Investigation  
United States Department of Justice  
607 U. S. Court House  
Foley Square  
New York, N. Y.

61-507

May 19, 1938

Director,  
Federal Bureau of Investigation,  
Washington, D. C.

RE: SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES -  
GENERAL.  
(Bureau file #61-7559)

Dear Sir:

There is forwarded herewith the following literature bearing on the subject of this investigation, which was obtained by Special Agent [redacted] of this office:

4 pamphlets on the 13th Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

The first of these deals with "Theses and Decisions" of the 13th Plenum and also with the "Draft Resolution" proposed for the Eighth Convention of the Communist Party, U.S.A. There will be found a number of underscored passages which Agent [redacted] states very clearly indicate that the purpose of the Communist International and the Communist Party, U.S.A., is to overthrow the present form of government of the United States and set up in its place a Soviet government. On page 33 the following statement appears under the heading "The Tasks of the Communist Party":

"The central task of the Party is to organize and lead the fight against the offensive of the capitalist class, against developing fascism, and the threat of imperialist war and to develop these struggles, on the basis of the fight for the immediate partial demands of the workers, into general class battles for the overthrow of capitalist dictatorship and the setting up of a Soviet government."

The references to the Resolution and purpose of the Communist organization are so extensive in this particular pamphlet that no attempt is made to give any further quotations. The following two brief quotations from page 17 are set out to show that not only does the organization advocate the revolutionary overthrow of the existing form of government, but also goes on to state

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61-7559-2817  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
MAY 25 1938 A. M.  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

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596

## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 May 19, New York [to J. Edgar Hoover] Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation [Department of Justice], Washington, D.C. [excerpt] / R.E. Vetterli, Agent in Charge, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice. — 3 p. ; 28 x 21 cm. Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: Vetterli submits subversive literature, including *Vanguard*, an anarchist publication that prints a letter from Goldman.

61-507  
5/19/38

In the May 7th issue there is an article on the "Convention on the Michigan State Industrial Union Council" which was established by the Convention of the Michigan State Committee for Industrial Organization. Likewise a lengthy article on the "Sailors Union of the Pacific" (SUP).

The organization publishing "Revolt" adopted the official designation "Revolutionary Workers League, U.S.". It recently held a convention in New York City which extended from April 30th to May 2nd. It does not give the names of any of the delegates or officers present except a man named OEHLER, who apparently caused a split in the organization. These two issues of "Revolt" carry what might be called correspondence course lessons in the Marxist Theory and Practice. It is stated that there will be ten of these lessons, after which they will be reproduced in pamphlet form.

X "Jewish Frontier", issue of April, 1938. This contains an interesting article on the Fascist situation in Quebec (page 7); also on the X German American Bund on page 5.

X "Foreign Policy Reports", November 15, 1937. This contains an article by RAYMOND LESLIE X PUELL on X "U. S. Neutrality in the Spanish Conflict".

X "Vanguard", which is described as a "Libertarian Communist Journal", published by the Vanguard Group. An interesting article in which a number of passages have been underscored, on "Seamen Fight Government Control" is contained herein. The Fascist situation in Canada is dealt with on pages 9 and 10, and the alleged activities of G.P.U. Agents in the United States and elsewhere is dealt with in an article entitled "G.P.U. Intrigues in America", on pages 11 and 16. This would appear to be an anarchistic publication inasmuch as it publishes a letter of greeting from EMMA X GOLDMAN, and also it is noted that an article on page 10 is headed "Japanese Anarchists Oppose War", and thereafter the text in referring to these Japanese anarchists reads "some of our Japanese comrades".

X "Socialist Call", issue of May 7, 1938, giving the Socialist Resolution on the Labor Party, which was adopted by the National Convention of the Socialist Party, U.S.A., at Kenosha, Wisconsin, April 23, 1938. There is also an extensive article on Governor Philip X LaFollette.

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 May 19, New York [to J. Edgar Hoover] Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation [Department of Justice], Washington, D.C. [excerpt] / R.E. Vetterli, Agent in Charge, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice. — 3 p. ; 28 x 21 cm. Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

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61-507  
5/19/38

~~X~~ "Socialist Appeal", issue of May 7, 1938. The recent student anti-war strike (April 27, 1938) is described on page three insofar as it pertains to the activities in New York. This issue of the "Socialist Appeal" and the May 14th issue of the same paper, also forwarded herewith, contain on the last page a lengthy article in two parts headed "Inside the New York Painters Union". The first part is sub-titled "The Painting Industry Today", and the second part "In the Grip of Racketeers". This organization is believed to be strongly Communistic and is under the control of [REDACTED] Both of these issues come very close to inciting disorder in Jersey City in articles dealing with the situation there. The two copies of the paper referred to are submitted herewith and it is respectfully suggested consideration be given to the advisability of subscribing for this paper. b7c

~~X~~ "The Challenge of Youth", issue of April, 1938. The students' anti-war strike is given considerable attention in this issue in several articles.

In accordance with the instructions of the Bureau, a subscription is being placed for the publication "The Challenge of Youth" and an order has been placed for a copy of the book "Christianity, Capitalism and Communism", by ALBERT HYMAN, which was requested in Bureau letter of April 27, 1938.

Very truly yours,

*Received*  
R. E. Vetterli  
R. E. VETTERLI, *am's*  
Special Agent in Charge.

Encls. 20

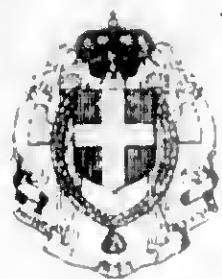
# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Report re: Emma Goldman, Dr. F. Galasso, in London] Rome, 1938 May 29 / Ministero dell' Interno. — 2 p. ; 30 x 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from Archivio Centrale dello Stato, Rome.

Summary: The Interior Ministry copies a telegram from the Italian consul general in London reporting that Goldman has an office at 21 Greek Street, Soho, in the house of the famous subversive, Dr. Galasso.

Notes: In Italian. For original document, see 880511005.



N.G.

Mod. 840

*Ministero dell' Interno*

DIREZIONE GENERALE DELLA P.S.  
DIVISIONE A.G.R. - SEZ. I<sup>a</sup> - S.S. POL. CENTR.

no 33858 2938

ON/LE SEZIONE III<sup>a</sup> - SEDE

Roma, 11 29, 5/ 1938 XVI

per quanto riguarda la Emma GOLDMANN che vi ha  
precedenti, ed il suddito britannico Barr.

COPIA del Telespresso no 2116/248 in data 22 aprile u.s. del  
Consolato Generale d'Italia a Londra avente per oggetto:  
Dr. F. Galasso - Emma Goldmann - Vero Recchioni ed altri,  
diretto al Ministero Aff. Esteri, Ministero Interno e, per  
conoscenza alla R. Ambasciata d'Italia a Londra.

Il Maresciallo di P.S. Mortara mi ha testè riferito:

"Per opportuna notizia informo che sono venute a conoscenza che al n. 21 di Greek Str. Soho, nella casa di proprietà del noto sovversivo Dott. Galasso Francesco, hanno trasportato gli uffici i sovversivi locali.

Difatti al primo piano trovansi quelli di Emma Goldmann ritenasi oriunda russa o tedesca di anni 65, che fu amica del Malatesta e che si occupa ora di politica internazionale comunista. Ha per segretario il suddito britannico Barr.

Al secondo piano trovansi gli uffici del Vero Recchioni che oltre alla redazione del giornale sovversivo "Spagna and the World" si occupa della propaganda anarchica. Ha per segretaria la moglie Berneri figlia del prof. Camillo Berneri.

Giorni scorsi in detto locale ebbe luogo una riunione alla quale hanno partecipato una dozzina di persone tra le quali Deoio Anzani, Vittorio Taborelli, Tamburini Nicola, Angelo Parrussolo ed un certo Conzani, toscano che ritenasi naturalizzato francese, proveniente vuolsi da Parigi, persona di forti mezzi

./.

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## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Report re: Emma Goldman, Dr. F. Galasso, in London] Rome, 1938 May 29 / Ministro dell' Interno. — 2 p. ; 30 x 22 cm.

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**Summary:** The Interior Ministry copies a telegram from the Italian consul general in London reporting that Goldman has an office at 21 Greek Street, Soho, in the house of the famous subversive, Dr. Galasso.

**Notes:** In Italian. For original document, see 880511005.

finanziari e di non comune cultura.

Lo scopo era di promuovere comizi per protestare contro l'annessione dell'Austria alla Germania.

Dopo lunghe discussioni pare non si siano messi d'accordo sul modo di agire.

Ho disposto che persona di fiducia prenda parte alla prossima riunione e mi riservo di riferire ulteriormente. ""

IL R. CONSOLE GENERALE

f/ .....

P.C.C.  
IL CAPO DELLA SEZIONE I<sup>a</sup>  
A.G.R.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report In re: Name Deleted] 1938 July 26 / [Federal Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].— 1 p. ; 28 x 21 cm.

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: The Federal Bureau of Investigation reports on a left-wing socialist married to a friend of Goldman.

Notes: Dark copy; barely legible.

The following information was taken from an outside unknown source, dated August 2, 1936.

is reported as a left wing socialist.

He was born in [redacted] where his father was a merchant. He was educated in a Jewish seminary there and came to the United States at the age of twenty. It is alleged that in New York he came under the influence of [redacted] and Leon Trotsky, whereupon he is said to have joined the Socialists. He married [redacted], who is a protégé of Emma Goldman.

A publication called "The Advance" became the official organ of the organization. It is reported that an editorial appearing in "The Advance" on March 9, 1937, stated:

"We have unfurled the crimson banner of the International Working Order of America for the tens of thousands of workers who rally around it. It is bearing a message of hope and salvation for the workers. Our banner will never be furled before we reach the goal - - - - the emancipation of the working class."

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

AUG 4 1938 A.M.

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

890414147

[Investigation of] Un-American Propaganda Activities [in the United States] / [Special Committee to Investigate Un-American Activities, House of Representatives]. — p. 455, 501, 519, 693, 694 ; 25 cm. In [Hearings before a Special Committee... House of Representatives, 75th Congress, 3rd Session]. — Vol. 1 (Aug. 17, 1938).

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: Goldman's name is mentioned several times in testimony before the House Un-American Activities Committee in connection with the International Labor Defense and the history of American anarchism.

Notes: For related documents, see 890414148, 890414149, and 890414150.

VOL-1

## UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES

...ue if they know it was a part of the Com-

Chaillaux, is it not a fact that those who be- Party or who are sympathetically inclined it directly or indirectly, are themselves pro- country, for the reason that the history of all and people shows that the people will not In Germany, due to lawlessness and violence, Hitler and his group seized upon that as a ins of slavery upon the people? y definitely. They are promoting some defi- people, whatever it may be, knowing that the unism, and that whatever that action would e to take it.

same is true in Italy, is it not; that the whole for a long period, and finally, because a man y reached a point where they would approve ness, and that gave Mussolini, with his Black y to march on Rome and seize control of the that history before them, they themselves are ism more effectively than any other group;

ere is not much difference between communism dictatorship, so far as we are concerned. We

u want the American form of government. ey are in opposition to the civil liberties that o have.

n you explain why it is that they spend so much civil liberties and proclaim so loudly that they f civil liberty, when anyone can see that when nity to put in practice their tenets, the first thing all freedom?

f they do not defend civil liberties for them- going to be able to have the opportunity to sell

e really not civil liberties that they defend; it is defend.

That is right. y do not make much of an effort except in de- n who has violated moral or legal laws? The majority of their defense has been in the who have been in conflict with existing American

at is the point I wanted to bring out. n are aware of the new tactics of the Communis that is, the so-called Trojan horse tactics—to di- and enable them to infiltrate into existing organi-

That is right. at is the method that your investigations have be are pursuing at the present time; is that right? That is right.

## UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES

455

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any other questions? If not, the committee will go into executive session. Mr. Chaillaux, we thank you very much. We will resume our hearing at 1 o'clock. (Thereupon a recess was taken until 1 o'clock p. m.)

### AFTER RECESS

The committee resumed its session at 1 p. m., pursuant to the taking of recess.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Steele, you may proceed with your testimony.

TESTIMONY OF WALTER S. STEELE—Resumed from August 16, 1938

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Steele, suppose that we take up some of these "front" organizations and discuss them a little while. Get your data on your various "front" organizations, and, if you can, their officers and directors, and some of their aims, as announced by them. For instance, see what you have on this American League for Peace and Democracy.

Mr. STEELE. I promised the committee that I would bring the Moscow News, plus the wrapper, which I believe Congressman Thomas asked about. In addition to that—I did not notice this—but here is material inserted in it, listing additional propaganda.

(The material referred to was filed with the committee and appears at the end of Mr. Steele's testimony.)

The CHAIRMAN. Is this distributed by the members of the Communist Party, or do you know?

Mr. STEELE. That is purchasable at the Communist Party book sales agencies; but that, of course, was mailed from Moscow.

The CHAIRMAN. It has the Moscow stamp on it.

Mr. STEELE. Now, Mr. Chairman, I had some other angles here that I would like to leave for the record, and you can use your discretion in using them. That is still on the Communist Party angle; but, as I understand, you want to take up the other first.

The CHAIRMAN. We are interested in some of these "front" organizations right now, and we will take that up later. Suppose you take up these "front" organizations. Do you have lists of officers and directors?

Mr. STEELE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What have you there on the American League for Peace and Democracy?

Mr. STEELE. I have a document here that I will present, just as proof of my statement. It is their document. It is a report of their congress.

In that document it is stated that the American League for Peace and Democracy was originally called the United States Congress Against War and Fascism. That was the original name. Until a short time ago it was known as the American League Against War and Fascism. It is a section of the World Committee Against War and Fascism, now the World League for Peace and Democracy. The membership of the league, as claimed by them, direct and affiliated, totals 4,025,920.

The CHAIRMAN. That is in the world at large?



# The Emma Goldman Papers

890414147

[Investigation of] Un-American Propaganda Activities [in the United States] / [Special Committee to Investigate Un-American Activities, House of Representatives]. — p. 455, 501, 519, 693, 694 ; 25 cm. In [Hearings before a Special Committee... House of Representatives, 75th Congress, 3rd Session]. — Vol. 1 (Aug. 17, 1938).  
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Summary: Goldman's name is mentioned several times in testimony before the House Un-American Activities Committee in connection with the International Labor Defense and the history of American anarchism.

Notes: For related documents, see 890414148, 890414149, and 890414150.

## UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES

advisory board, I. L. D.; national committee, Anti-Imperialist League. Prisoners Relief Fund; to Aid Striking Miners Fighting Starvation; International Workers' Aid; national address, New York City; Communist Party; sponsors, mass celebration in honor of the chairman, California, Communist Party. I. L. D.; national advisory committee, I. L. D.; national Workers' Aid; sponsor of mass celebration

advisory committee, I. L. D.; editor The Congress for Unemployment and Social C., 1935; trustee, Political Prisoners Bail for Mutual Aid; Communist Party candidate, 1936; sponsor of mass celebration in writer, Daily and Sunday Worker; sponsor, Communist Party, 1937; editor New South,

advisory committee, I. L. D.; National Negro for Defense of Brazilian People; sponsor, Polish Democracy; national council, Inter- for Social Insurance; endorser, People's of meeting, auspices American League and American Friends of Chinese People,

advisory committee, I. L. D.; contributing 1930; Los Angeles committee, American national committee for Student Congress ory council, Book Union; sponsor of mass "Mother" Bloor, 1937; sponsor, Friends of n; Communist Party candidate, associate California.

Advisory Committee, I. L. D.; lecturer, k City.

Advisory Committee, I. L. D.; national Lawyers Guild; attorney for John Steuben, Youngstown, Ohio.

ory committee, I. L. D.; Communist Party or, Ohio, 1936.

l advisory committee, I. L. D.; national Lawyers Guild.

ory committee, I. L. D.; American Com- preign Born.

advisory committee, I. L. D.; lecturer, k City.

visory committee, I. L. D.; national execu- ers Guild.

visory committee, I. L. D.. American Civil New York City.

er, I. L. D.; member, Federated Press; uting editor New Pioneer; National Com- olitical Prisoners; National Committee to ing Starvation; contributing editor, Labor

## UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES

501

Defender; signer of Anti-Imperialist League protest against United States' aid to Japan against China; national advisory council, Workers Schools, New York City; Communist Party candidate, supreme court justice, New York; Labor Research Association; sponsor, National Congress for Unemployment and Social Insurance, Washington, D. C., 1935; contributor, Soviet Russia Today; editorial board, Woman Today; national executive committee, American section, International Women's Congress Against War and Facism (Paris), 1934; sponsor of mass celebration in honor of "Mother" Bloor, 1937; opposed New York State Legislature bill barring Communists from office, 1938.

Rose Baron: Secretary, Prisoners Relief Fund of the I. L. D.; is an old-timer in the international revolutionary movement. On March 2, 1918, when Soviet Russia was threatened by Germany, she wired the following message to Lenin and Trotsky, as an official of the International Social Revolutionary Group, 819 Second Avenue, New York City: "You have our whole-hearted faith and support. Ready to organize and send you international revolutionary army from America." Rose Baron, at that time, was also a member of the general committee of the League for Amnesty of Political Prisoners, unquestionably the forerunner of the I. L. D. The legal adviser of that organization was Isaac Hourwich, the head of the statistical department of the Martens (communist) Bureau in New York City. Margaret Sanger, of birth-control fame; Roger Baldwin, director of the American Civil Liberties Union; Robert Minor, Helen Keller, Alex Cohen, Elizabeth Freeman, Ross Strunsky, Emma Goldman, Harry Weinberger, and others were also on this committee.

Among the sponsors of the 1937 Christmas drive to raise \$25,000, conducted by the Prisoners Relief Fund, were Mary E. Woolley, formerly president of Mount Holyoke College; Hannah M. Stone, Babette Deutsch, Josephine Herbst, Leane Zugsmith, and Stella Adler.

The following is a list of the district headquarters and officers of the International Labor Defense:

Carl Hacker, Mike Walsh, George Maurer, 22 East Seventeenth Street, New York City.  
Joe Gaal, M. Stern, 49 North Eighth Street, Philadelphia, Pa.  
Bill Browder, Herbert Newton, S. Rubicki, 1703 West Madison Avenue, Chicago, Ill.  
G. Kristalsky, A. Gerlack, 2539 Woodward Avenue, Detroit, Mich.  
J. Schiffer, W. C. Sandberg, 750 Prospect Avenue, Cleveland, Ohio.  
Fred Bell, James Dolson, 424 Fourth Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pa.  
F. Spector, Ida Roth, 1005 Market Street, San Francisco, Calif.  
A. Frommer, Wesley Randall, 309 Lyons Building, Seattle, Wash.  
D. Ell, George Kaplan, 1018 Fifteenth Street, Denver, Colo.  
Harry Cantor, 5 Harrison Street, Boston, Mass.  
L. A. Sheppard, Charlotte, N. C.  
Pettis Perry, 1275 Broadway, Los Angeles, Calif.  
Robert Wood, Donald Burke, Birmingham, Ala.  
J. Lokus, Paul Kaufman, 926 North Plankinton Avenue, Milwaukee.  
Tom Foley, L. S. Cuthill, 10 South Third Street, route 34, Minneapolis.  
Robert E. Burns, Atlanta, Ga.  
Hannah Blumenthal, Youngstown, Ohio.  
William Zukerman, Henry Wright, 881 Broadway, Buffalo, N. Y.  
A. Tonaken, Robert Linn, 429 Elm Street, New Haven, Conn.  
Owen S. Penny, 812 Wyandotte Street, Kansas City, Mo.  
M. Collino, post-office box, drawer B, Ybor City, Fla.  
Louis Berger, Baltimore, Md.

# The Emma Goldman Papers

890414147

[Investigation of] Un-American Propaganda Activities [in the United States] / [Special Committee to Investigate Un-American Activities, House of Representatives]. — p. 455, 501, 519, 693, 694 ; 25 cm. In [Hearings before a Special Committee... House of Representatives, 75th Congress, 3rd Session]. — Vol. 1 (Aug. 17, 1938).

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## UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES

the Union Unity League, the Relief Work-  
the Communist Party, and so forth.  
Friends of the Soviet Union issued what it  
Book of American Friendship With the So-  
on, a 100-page edition of its official publica-  
y, eulogizing Soviet Russia on its twentieth  
ndred thousand signatures of American rad-  
en Book under greetings to the Soviet Gov-  
00-page edition reproduced some of these  
number of Members of Congress. Ambassa-  
novsky and Prof. Corliss Lamont attended  
olden Book (Carnegie Hall Program, p. 5).  
re James Waterman Wise, Dr. Henry E.  
vis (head of the American Teachers' Federa-  
nounced the American Legion as a "Fascist"  
an Kleck. Included in the list of speakers  
s of the Soviet Union were Dr. Rochelle S.  
Lydia Beidel, Prof. Frederick L. Schuman,  
W. Ingvaldstad, Dr. J. C. Coleman, J. B.  
Harry Shaw, Congressman Ernest Lundeen,  
mir Janowicz, Ferdinanda W. Reed, Martha  
y, Romain Pollard, Dr. Alice Parsons, Dr.  
John Illif, Gen. V. A. Yakhontoff, James  
Fischer, Mauritz A. Hallgren, Malcolm Cow-  
r. A. S. Levin, Dr. Stephen Braunauer, Clar-  
dman, I. Wang, Ella Reeve Bloor, J. Markel,  
y W. L. Dana, Anna Burlak, Donald Hender-  
Israel Amter.

the Soviet Union threatened a boycott in the  
ny film company (Principal Pictures, Holly-  
that might repair and run Dr. Carveth Wells'  
The Truth About Russia." Mr. Wells claims  
y inspectors who seized them while he was on  
As a result of the threatened boycott, the film  
hown at a movie theater. On the other hand,  
and caused to be shown many films of a propa-

the Friends of the Soviet Union in the United  
professionals, little-business men, and office  
nia branch in 1936 issued a questionnaire to  
and teachers offering to send them free litera-  
would lead to enrollments in the F. S. U.  
n of the Friends of the Soviet Union is Corliss  
Frank is national secretary. Editor of Soviet  
Smith. The editorial council of the publica-  
Brewster, Malcolm Cowley, Robert W. Dunn,  
Fairchild, A. A. Heller, Langston Hughes,  
George Marshall, Broadus Mitchell, Isobel  
Iwell S. Stewart. The following are affiliated  
e Soviet Union: Roger N. Baldwin, H. W. L.  
nn, Ilya Ehrenbourg, Waldo Frank, Bonchi  
row Field, Joseph Freeman, Eugene Gordon,  
Gorki, Langston Hughes, Grace Hutchins, Wil-  
Kingsbury, N. K. Krupskaya, Joshua Kunitz,

## UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES

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Robert Morss Lovett, John Howard Lawson, Gerald McGill, Scott  
earing, Harvey O'Connor, Moissaye J. Olgin, Alice M. Parsons, John  
s Passos, Karl Radek, Anna Rochester, Romain Rolland, Anna L.  
strong, Jack Scott, Ella Winter, James Waterman Wise, and Reuben  
Young.

The CHAIRMAN. I think we are informed about that.  
Mr. STEELE. I might add that this group issued some publications  
ere in Washington in 1936 which were designed to be distributed at  
the Government navy yard. They were seized by the police here at  
the time and were not distributed.

In that particular publication, which was called the Navy Yard  
Worker, they called for the solidarity of our armed forces with the  
communist forces of the Soviet Union.

The CHAIRMAN. We will take an adjournment now until 10 o'clock  
tomorrow.

(Thereupon, at 3:30 p. m., the committee adjourned to meet  
tomorrow, Thursday, August 18, 1938, at 10 a. m.)

(Mr. Steele subsequently submitted the following evidence:)

### THE AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION—A "RED" DEFENDING MOVEMENT

The American Civil Liberties Union, in its role as defender of civil liberties  
and the right of free speech, assembly, and the press (according to its inter-  
pretation of these provisions under the American Constitution), is often re-  
ferred to as a mere protective organization for Communists and other types  
of radicals who are undermining the Constitution and threatening to put into  
effect their theories of government, which would not provide for freedom of  
speech, freedom of the press, or freedom of assembly, eliminating, therefore,  
the reason for the existence of the American Civil Liberties Union.

### 90 PERCENT OF ITS EFFORTS IN BEHALF OF COMMUNISTS

Report No. 2290 of the House Committee Investigating Communist Activities  
in the United States, Seventy-first Congress, third session, classifies the Ameri-  
can Civil Liberties Union as being "closely affiliated with the Communist move-  
ment in the United States, and fully 90 percent of its efforts are in behalf of  
communists who have come into conflict with the law." Other Government  
files have likewise uncovered the alliance between the union and communistic  
movements.

### "AS AN AGENT OF MOSCOW"

In the June 1936 report of its activities, the American Civil Liberties Union  
says: "Despite the constant attack by reactionaries on the Civil Liberties  
Union as an agent of Moscow, for its defense of radicals as others, the mem-  
bership of the union not only showed an increase but no resignations."

### COMPLIMENTS COMMUNIST UNITED FRONT

In the same report, the union admits that the "defense work was strengthened  
by the new policy of the Communist Party, which has encouraged the forma-  
tion of united-front committees to bring together diverse agencies in common  
and harmonious action."  
There has apparently been no direct denial on the part of the American  
Civil Liberties Union of the charges made to the effect that the major portion  
of its activities are in behalf of Communists and extreme radicals. If so,  
it has escaped the attention of our organization.

### THE MELTING POT OF RADICALS

Since the American Civil Liberties Union has been accused so openly of being  
not only the champion defender of "reds" in the United States but also the  
melting pot of numerous radical movements, it will be well to review the  
history of the organization from its inception, taking note of the character of



NY 100-414147

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Bern L. Mischke, manager; 3284 Southeast Lincoln, St. Paul, Minn., manager.  
The Death Benefit Fund contributes to national strikes, propaganda. The majority of its members are affiliated with the United States. Its official organ is Solidarity, which is published monthly.  
The officers of the Death Benefit Fund are: Henry J. Mischke, president; William Spuhr, secretary; William Spuhr, treasurer.

**THE FABIAN SOCIETY**

**THE FARM SOCIETY**

was founded in England in the form of a debating society on ethical anarchist-Communist. In 1884 it adopted more fully. Among the early leaders were Frank Podmore, Bland, J. Ramsay MacDonald, R. B. Haldane, George Webb, Graham Wallas, Mrs. Ansel Besant, Dr. Parkes Wilson.

that there was an apparent connection between the anarchists in England. However, the society finally became a propaganda agency for socialism. Approximately half of the Independent Labor Party in England, which was led by Hardie and Frederick Engels, disciples of Karl Marx. The Party took over the original political activity of the latter to carry on with the propaganda and literary work.

Society advocated "Socialism by municipalization and industry and a world control by a centralized superpower," and inheritance tax to accomplish it.

Chase was to be the leader of the Fabian movement in the United States; treasurer of the League for Industrial Democracy; treasurer of Reconstruction Farms in 1928; member of the national League for Independent Political Action, which tried to put a third Party campaign in 1924; advisory committee of the League, under the leadership of Prof. John Dewey, the defender of the Government ownership; vice president of the Public Enemies of the Emergency Peace Campaign; advisory commissioner of the Association for Old Age Security; advisory council of the Association for Old Age Security; advisory committee, Co-Operation with Soviet Russia; advisory committee, Co-Operation with Soviet Russia; and an instructor at the Rand School of Social Science, Inc.; and an instructor at the Rand School of Social Science, Inc.

Chase was implicated in the Communist Party of the United States scandal some years ago, according to a report of the International Union of Laborers. He is author of Socialism of the Future and a Socialist Program, and A New Deal, which was published in 1932.

**FINNISH SOCIALIST FEDERATION**

**FINNISH SOCIALIST FEDERATION**

alist Federation was organized in the United States in 1908 the Socialist Party. The federation has over 10,000 members in the United States. It carries on Socialist propaganda

HUNGARIAN SOCIALIST CLUB

**HUNGARIAN SOCIALIST CLUB**

Socialist Club was organized in the United States in 1904 exceedingly small. Many of its members joined the International World in 1911. It was reorganized in 1912 and called the Federation. It is affiliated with the Socialist Party. Monthly publication.

**JAPANESE SOCIALIST ASSOCIATION**

JAPANESE SOCIALIST ASSOCIATION

socialist Association was organized in San Francisco in 1900  
small. Its publications are the Revolution and Helmin.

LITHUANIAN SOCIALIST FEDERATION

LITHUANIAN SOCIALIST FEDERATION

## EN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES

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Party in 1914. The federation has 4,000 or more members. Its headquarters are located in Philadelphia. Its organs are Kerr (the Struggle) and Naufojs Gadyne (New Age).

The Pollah Alliance of the Socialist Party was organized in the United States in 1918. The Alliance of Pollah Socialists of America is another organized group in this country, as is the Pollah Socialist Federation, Scandinavian Socialist Federation (organized in Chicago in 1910), Slovak Socialist Federation (organized in Chicago in 1904), South Slovak Socialist Federation (organized in 1910), Italian Socialist Federation (organized in the United States in 1898, with headquarters in Chicago), German Language Federation of the Socialist Party (organized in the United States in 1912).

There are some 28 foreign-language federations organized in the United States, which include Bohemians, Lettish, Ukranian, etc.

**JEWISH SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY**

(National headquarters, 183 Second Avenue, New York City)

The Jewish Socialist Labor Party affiliates and cooperates with international and American Socialists. It is the American section of Poale Zion. The major objective of the party is the building of a "Jewish Socialist Commonwealth in Palestine" (American Labor Year Book, vol. VI, p. 144-145). Its members are obligated to join labor unions. It conducts 35 schools along Socialist lines, with an enrollment of over 2,000. It also maintains a teachers' seminary in New York City.

The Jewish Socialist Labor Party was organized in 1905. It has 70 branches in 16 States. It has 40 junior clubs. Der Yiddisher Arbeiter, Youth, and Pioneer Woman are its official organs in the United States. A central committee of 17 directs the activities of the organization. Isaac Hamlin for many years was general secretary. It has raised over a million dollars for the Palestine movement.

An auxiliary fraternal body of the Jewish Socialist Labor Party is the Jewish National Workers' Alliance, which has a membership of approximately 6,000. Its publication is the Jewish Workers' Voice.

## SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

The Socialist Labor Party was organized in 1877. It polls about 21,000 votes a year in national elections.

## FARMER-LABOR PARTY

The Farmer-Labor Party was organized in Chicago in 1920 at Carmen's Hall. On the same day, also in Chicago, The Committee of 48 was organized at a meeting held at the Hotel Morrison. Those attending this meeting marched to Carmen's Hall and joined in the Farmer-Labor Party new formation. Parley P. Christensen was elected president of the party.

The Committee of 48 was headed by J. A. H. Hopkins, Howard Williams, Charles Ingersoll, McAllister Coleman, John Haynes Holmes, Leslie Allen, Frank Stevens, and Horace B. Liveright.

In 1933 the platform of the Farmer-Labor Party was similar to that of the Communist Party, so much so, in fact, that the Communist Party later withdrew its ticket and threw its support to the Farmer-Labor Party. In 1938 Benson was nominated by the party as its candidate for Governor of Minnesota, after a split of the right wing had weakened the support by nearly 50 percent.

## ANARCHISM

Anarchism is another destructive force that is organized in our country. It is nearly like bolshevism in theory and practice that it is hard to distinguish between them. The leading anarchist organization in the United States is the International Anarchist Publishing Committee of America, the headquarters of which are located in New York City. The following are sections of this movement: Free Society Group of Chicago, Anarchist Federation of America, United Libertarian Organizations, Jewish Anarchist Federation, Federation of the Italian Anarchist-Communist Groups of the United States of America and Canada, International Workingmen's Association—Russian aid fund for anarchists and



# The Emma Goldman Papers

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## UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES

anarchists imprisoned and exiled, Progressive Society, Mohegan Anarchist Group, Swaboda, Freedom Forum, Russian Progressive Club, Confederate Libertarian Union, and the International Group, whose headquarters are said to be in Switzerland.

Among the regular anarchist publications in the United States are *Man*, published in Los Angeles, editor, Marcus Graham; *Road to Freedom*, published in New York City; *Freie Arbeiter Stimme* (Jewish), New York City; *L'Adunata* (Italian), Newark, N. J.; *Alba*, Pittsburgh; *Emancipazione*, San Francisco; *Culture Proletaria* (Spanish), New York City; *Erosia*, New York City; *Dielo Truda* (Russian), Chicago; *Free Society*, Chicago; *The Liberator*, Chicago; *The Firebrand*, Portland, Oreg.; *The Vanguard*, New York City; *Il Martello* (Italian), New York City, and *Mother Earth*, New York City. As other revolutionist organizations, the anarchists, of course, print and circulate hundreds of pamphlets and books of agitation for anticapitalist and antireligious groups.

It will be recalled that many of the early leaders of the Socialist and Communist movements in the United States were former anarchists—*Emma Goldman*, *Alexander Berkman*, *P. Kropotkin* and others, including *Marcus Graham*. The American Civil Liberties Union has in the past and within the last few years campaigned to prevent the deportation of such anarchists.

The anarchists maintain a number of farms, camps, and meeting places in the United States, but these appear to be transient with the season.

Anarchist and syndicalist organizations are all-in-one in this country. *William Z. Foster*, present head of the Communist Party of the United States of America, was formerly a member of this group, as was *Earl Browder*, general secretary of the Communist Party.

The anarchists held national conventions in Chicago, September 2-3, 1934, and in New York City, September 18, 1937. Over 300 delegates attended these conventions. *Walter Starrett*, editor of *Road to Freedom*, was chairman. *Harry Meyers*, an Industrial Worker of the World; *Leiston M. Oak*, formerly publicity director of the Valencia Government of Spain; *Marcelino Garcia*, who recently returned from Spain; *Carlo Tresa*, and *Pedro Segura* were among the speakers.

The Jewish Anarchist Federation held a convention in New York City, January 31-February 1, 1938. *Rose Pesotta*, C. I. O. organizer in the 1937 Cleveland knitting-mill strikes; active in Ohio rubber and auto strikes; vice president of the C. I. O. International Ladies Garment Workers Union, addressed the convention, as did *L. Levy*, described as "another paid union official."

According to one anarchist publication, anarchist groups are active in California, Colorado, Connecticut, Florida, Illinois, Idaho, Ohio, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York, Massachusetts, and Maryland. They are known to have a youth group in Brooklyn, N. Y.

The *Marcus Graham Freedom of the Press Committee* was organized by the American Civil Liberties Union to attempt to prevent the deportation of the editor of the anarchist publication *Man*. Members of the committee include *Prof. Newton Arvin*, *Roger Baldwin*, *Harry Elmer Barnes*, *Louis Untermeyer*, *James Waterman Wise*, *Harry F. Ward*, *George Soule*, *George Seldes*, *James Borty*, *Kirby Page*, *Rev. John Haynes Holmes*, *Arthur Garfield Hays*, *Prof. Robert Morris Lovett*, *Max Eastman*, *Robert Dunne*, *Prof. John Dos Passos*, *Prof. John Dewey*, *Prof. George S. Counts*, *Alice Stone Blackwell*, *Kate Crane-Gart*, *Donald Ogden Stewart*, and *Prof. Alexander Meiklejohn*.

Another defense committee, set up in the United States to defend two anarchists from deportation, was the *Ferrero-Salletto Defense Committee*. The *International Ladies Garment Workers Union*, *League for Industrial Democracy*, *Workers' Alliance*, the *Industrial Workers of the World*, the *Committee for Protection of Foreign Born*, the *American Civil Liberties Union* and *C. I. O. unions*, as well as *Scott Nearing*, *Kirby Page*, *Kate Crane-Gartz*, *Norman Thomas*, *David Dubinsky*, *Luigi Antonini*, and *Joseph Schlossberg* cooperated with this committee (according to an anarchist journal).

On December 23, 1938, a delegation headed by *Rose Pesotta*, *Albert Strong*, *Ulysses de Domenicis*, and *William Taback* visited Mrs. Perkins and demanded that the deportation orders against *Ferrero* and *Salletto* be dropped.

### INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

(National headquarters: 555 W. Lake Street, Chicago, Ill.)

The Industrial Workers of the World was organized in the United States in 1905. The general secretary was *John I. Turner*. Members of the general board were *Carl Keller*, *W. E. Spear*, *S. Hendrickson*, *Raymond Henry*, *Alfred Kohn*.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

890414148

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Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: Harper L. Knowles testifies that the Department of Labor permitted Goldman to reenter the United States contrary to law.

Notes: For related documents, see 890414147, 890414149, and 890414150.

2006

Vol 3

## INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 25, 1938

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE  
TO INVESTIGATE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,  
Washington, D. C.

The committee met at 10 o'clock a. m., pursuant to adjournment,  
Hon. Joe Starnes presiding.

Mr. STARNES. The committee will come to order and resume its  
sessions.

I am authorized by the chairman of the full committee to announce  
that Homer Martin, who was slated to testify here Wednesday, will  
appear Thursday of this week, and will give testimony with reference  
to un-American activities and trade-union movements in the auto-  
mobile industry.

### FURTHER TESTIMONY OF HARPER L. KNOWLES AND RAY E. NIMMO

Mr. STARNES. Mr. Nimmo, will you briefly summarize for the benefit  
of the committee this morning the matters which you will present  
and the testimony to be given at this time?

Mr. NIMMO. Mr. Chairman, we would like to proceed with the  
agricultural brief today. That involves, as I have indicated, a state-  
ment of the work of the Communist group and also the maritime  
unions in connection with the food supplies of the State of California.  
It will be noted in the brief that at the present time that State pro-  
duces a very large percentage of both the fresh vegetables and fruit  
and the canned vegetables and fruit of the entire country.

Now, in view of the exceeding importance of that, we would like  
to proceed with that brief, and that will merely indicate the infil-  
tration throughout of the Communist group and the maritime group  
in proceeding to assist in these strikes of agricultural workers.

I do not know that I could summarize it more briefly than that.

Mr. STARNES. You are proceeding along those lines because of the  
fact that the maritime industry and the agricultural field are your  
two most important fields out there from an economic standpoint?

Mr. NIMMO. I should say so; yes, sir; and certainly the agricul-  
tural field is. We feel that they are more or less interwoven, and  
this discloses the un-American activities of the group which we have  
tried to explain at the present time.

Mr. STARNES. All right; you may proceed.

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### UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES

Attention of the committee is directed to a clipping from The American Citizen of April 29, 1936, submitted as Exhibit No. 10, relating to disclosure of confidential information in the Ferrero-Sallitto cases and referred to in this section of the report.

#### UNDESIRABLE ALIENS ADMITTED TO THIS COUNTRY

Among Communist and Anarchist aliens who have been granted temporary passports in this country in direct violation of the laws and of previously established regulations, the following are mentioned:

Lola de la Torriente, French Communist; Emma Goldman, notorious Anarchist; John Strachey, English Communist; Kanju Kato, Japanese Communist; Toyo Kagawa, Japanese Communist; Henry Barbusse, French Communist.

In the case of Kagawa, this man was a sufferer from trachoma and, as far as can be ascertained, is the first visitor to our shores suffering from this disease who was permitted to land on American soil.

In each of the cases above referred to, protests were filed with the Department of Labor against the admission of these individuals, but without avail.

Mr. STARNES. You, of course, are aware of the fact that we have already had testimony before the committee that some of these parties were admitted to this country on presentation of a petition addressed to the Department of Labor by radical leaders and Communists in this country, instigated by the Communist Party.

Mr. KNOWLES. It will be recalled that Emma Goldman was expelled from this country because of her anarchistic activities, yet the Department of Labor permitted her reentry.

In the case of John Strachey, this man is now being billed for another tour of the United States for the promulgation of his Communistic ideology.

#### RADICAL PORTUGUESE AND ITALIAN ALIENS

Guiseppe Grecco was arrested in 1932 and a warrant of deportation was issued by the Department of Labor. It was alleged that Grecco was a member of the Trade Union Unity League, which he admitted to immigration inspectors. Later, however, he changed his testimony and claimed that he was not a member. Grecco's attorney applied for a writ of habeas corpus, which was denied both by the district court and the United States Circuit Court of Appeals.

Without any explanation the Department of Labor arbitrarily cancelled the order of deportation and Grecco was released.

In or about September of 1931 four Portuguese were arrested in Stockton as members of the Marine Workers' Industrial Union, the names of these men being:

Frank Acosta, Joaquin Nunes Allegretti, Francisco Sardinha, and Manuel Rodrigues.

Each of the men carried a membership book in the Marine Workers' Industrial Union, in which it was stated that the Marine Workers' Industrial Union was affiliated with the T. U. U. L., and contained

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Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: C. Nelson Sparks testifies that Rose Pesotta, Goldman's former co-worker, came to Akron, Ohio, to organize the recent rubber industry strikes.

Notes: For related documents, see 890414147, 890414148, and 890414150.

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### INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 15, 1938

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE TO  
INVESTIGATE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,  
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met at 10:30 a. m., Hon. Martin Dies (chairman) presiding.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order. We will have Mr. Metcalfe for a little while this morning before we get to the mayor of Akron.

#### STATEMENT OF JOHN C. METCALFE

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Metcalfe, the Chair instructed you some time ago to investigate a number of organizations in the United States that are disseminating racial and religious hatred through pamphlets and publications, and other avenues of information. Is that a fact?

Mr. METCALFE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You were instructed to take with you an official reporter and interview the officers and directors of some of those organizations for the purpose of affording them an opportunity to present their side of the matter to the committee, and to request them to give you full information with regard to their activities?

Mr. METCALFE. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. It is a fact, is it not, that prior to that the committee had information of publications issued by those organizations?

Mr. METCALFE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, we had in our possession leaflets, pamphlets, and booklets that were distributed by those organizations throughout the country?

Mr. METCALFE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Is it, or not, the fact that this antiracial and anti-religious propaganda has been and is being distributed on a wide-scale basis throughout the whole country?

Mr. METCALFE. It is a fact that this propaganda is being distributed on a wide basis throughout the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. And some of it comes directly from Germany?

Mr. METCALFE. Some of it comes direct from Germany—that is correct.

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## The Emma Goldman Papers

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### UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES

vital interest to the country when we find that while a great many people are worried about Germany and about what is happening in Russia, the same attempt is being made in the United States, by both of those countries, to spread class, religious, and racial hatred throughout the land.

Mr. METCALFE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I think that will be all we will ask of you for the time being.

Mr. Sparks, will you please come around and be sworn?

### TESTIMONY OF C. NELSON SPARKS

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Mosier will examine you, and the Chair wants to caution you, Mr. Sparks, to confine your statements to absolute facts that you yourself know.

Mr. MOSIER. Mr. Sparks, will you please state your full name?

Mr. SPARKS. C. Nelson Sparks—Charles Nelson Sparks.

Mr. MOSIER. How do you spell Sparks?

Mr. SPARKS. S-p-a-r-k-s.

Mr. MOSIER. Where do you live, Mr. Sparks?

Mr. SPARKS. Akron, Ohio.

Mr. MOSIER. How long have you lived in Akron?

Mr. SPARKS. About 25 years.

Mr. MOSIER. Have you held any public office in Akron?

Mr. SPARKS. I have been safety director of the city; I served two terms as postmaster, under two Presidents; I have been mayor of the city; I have been chairman of the Federal Housing Bureau of this present administration.

Mr. MOSIER. And you were elected mayor as a Republican, were you not?

Mr. SPARKS. No, sir; as a nonpartisan.

Mr. MOSIER. Now, Mr. Sparks, this committee has gone somewhat extensively into the sit-down strikes in the State of Michigan as affecting the automobile industry, and we have taken at least a glance at the strikes in the steel industry, and we are interested in going into the strikes and the un-American activities affecting the rubber industry. Akron, I understand, is the center of the rubber industry of the world, is it not?

Mr. SPARKS. Up until 1936 the city of Akron manufactured approximately 67 percent of all the rubber products of the world.

Mr. MOSIER. And you have been in Akron for 25 years?

Mr. SPARKS. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. You have held the various public offices that you have referred to?

Mr. SPARKS. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. Have you held any other positions that might be called civic, that were not subject to popular election?

Mr. SPARKS. I was chairman of the Summit County Veterans' Association.

Mr. MOSIER. Summit County is the county in Ohio in which Akron is located?

Mr. SPARKS. In which Akron is located. It is an association of all the veteran organizations.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

Investigation of Un-American Propaganda Activities in the United States / Special Committee to Investigate Un-American Activities, House of Representatives. — p. 2235, 2246, 2251, 2252 ; 25 cm. In [Hearing before a Special Committee... House of Representatives, 75th Congress, 3rd Session. — Vol. 3] (Nov. 15, 1938).

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: C. Nelson Sparks testifies that Rose Pesotta, Goldman's former co-worker, came to Akron, Ohio, to organize the recent rubber industry strikes.

Notes: For related documents, see 890414147, 890414148, and 890414150.

## PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES

of the record, I understand you are question.

left the office of mayor, will you tell the events that led into the strikes that they in Akron?

its understand your question.

nt to get at is this: After you left the for the purposes of the record, to tell the regarding the rubber situation in Akron, were concerned, and to what extent they which took place.

near strike was pulled on February 18,

people did the Goodyear Co. employ at

oyed approximately 15,000 men.

of the record, how many do these d they employ, at that time, in 1936?

average of workers employed up to 1936 00 to 75,000. They had their off seasons,

you know what wages were paid in the

at wage scale for skilled and semi-skilled

age scale?

ur for men and \$1 an hour for women.

ell the committee a little about the strike t all the details, but just so we can get a th particular reference to the activities of

ately 200 men started the strike. The bulk in favor of the strike and had nothing to

plant, S O S calls were sent out all over enforcements, and they flocked in from all ven down to the mining districts of Penn- inia. More than 8,000 pickets gathered

ation in a shack in the middle of the main whole section of the whole city. In other their own martial law; the police were not y stayed out.

any Communists in that situation?

unists had not appeared in the beginning Communist leaders went on the radio.

they?

en they would select—Mr. Keller and vari- ist Party would select. I began to get letters ed for several weeks, and they organized a l as chairman of the law and order league I workers themselves. I have some of those at liberty to look at them—calling my atten-

## UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES

2251

tion to the fact that both union and nonunion men were not respon- sible for the acts of violence for 4 or 5 weeks; that it was brought about through communistic agitators within the unions.

Mr. MOSIER. Did the Communists send any outside Communists in there?

Mr. SPARKS. That was our information. They sent in some speakers at that time. I have a digest of a communistic meeting held in one of our high schools on March 26, five days after the Goodyear strike was settled. Outside speakers spoke, and one of the well-known leaders in the city made a speech. I would like to read some excerpts.

Mr. MOSIER. Who took that down?

Mr. SPARKS. I had somebody in the meeting.

Mr. MOSIER. You had someone there?

Mr. SPARKS. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. Someone you could rely on?

Mr. SPARKS. That is right; and, following that, later on, one of the ministers of the city used parts of it on the radio.

Mr. MOSIER. Was it a public meeting?

Mr. SPARKS. Yes; more or less. There was no difficulty in getting into it at all.

Mr. MOSIER. Just give us the high lights of that speech.

Mr. SPARKS. This is a digest of a speech made by John Williamson. He said the eyes of all the world are on Akron over the writing of the chapter of glorious victory in the history of strike struggle as a starting of the promotion in mass production control by trade unions in the near future.

Mr. MOSIER. John Williamson is the secretary of the Communist Party in Ohio?

Mr. SPARKS. No; he is a known Communist leader in Akron, and my information is that he has his activities in a larger field.

Mr. MOSIER. But he is secretary of the Communist Party in Ohio, with headquarters in Cleveland?

Mr. SPARKS. He is.

Mr. MOSIER. He has Ohio under his jurisdiction?

Mr. SPARKS. That is right.

He admitted that not all that had been asked before has been won as yet, but that this was a war between management and worker, and that they felt they could gain more in the future by returning to work, as by doing so the picket lines had simply been transferred from the outside to the inside of the factory, and that if they held their lines as firmly in the future as they did in the last 5 weeks they would wring from the company every demand that they had ever made.

He also made the statement that unionism is communism, and agreed that Sparks was right when he said that the leaders were Communists, but he said that strikes come through good leadership.

I had made a charge over the radio that Communists were the agitators back of the strike.

Mr. MOSIER. He agreed with that in his speech and took credit for it in his speech?

Mr. SPARKS. That is right; put it in with my own statements.

Mr. MOSIER. Was there a woman in that strike called Red Rose, or did she come in later?

Mr. SPARKS. When the first strike started three Communist outside organizers came into the city—Adolph Germes and Rosa Pesota.

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## The Emma Goldman Papers

890414149

Investigation of Un-American Propaganda Activities in the United States / Special Committee to Investigate Un-American Activities, House of Representatives. — p. 2235, 2246, 2251, 2252 ; 25 cm. In [Hearing before a Special Committee... House of Representatives, 75th Congress, 3rd Session. — Vol. 3] (Nov. 15, 1938).

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: C. Nelson Sparks testifies that Rose Pesotta, Goldman's former co-worker, came to Akron, Ohio, to organize the recent rubber industry strikes.

Notes: For related documents, see 890414147, 890414148, and 890414150.

2252

### UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES

Mr. MOSIER. Who is she?

Mr. SPARKS. She was formerly a coworker of Emma Goldman's.

Mr. MOSIER. She came there?

Mr. SPARKS. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. Who else?

Mr. SPARKS. Powers Hapgood, who was recently arrested in the State of Maine and sentenced to jail for violence and disturbance.

Mr. MOSIER. What did they do?

Mr. SPARKS. They came to the city and directed the strike and the strike activities, as representatives of the C. I. O.

Mr. MOSIER. Did this Red Rose, so-called, make any speeches?

Mr. SPARKS. No; they do not make speeches.

Mr. MOSIER. She did not make any speeches?

Mr. SPARKS. They do not, except in meetings; meetings of the workers.

Mr. MOSIER. You say you received letters from many workers in the rubber plants and rubber factories saying that these strikes were Communist led?

Mr. SPARKS. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. You have, I understand, quite a file with you, but you have asked the committee not to disclose the names of the writers of those letters, although you will submit the letters to the committee for its examination; that is true, is it not?

Mr. SPARKS. That is true.

Mr. MOSIER. Now, Mr. Sparks, how was it possible for these radical leaders to get the control of the Akron rubber workers?

Mr. SPARKS. Mr. Mosier, I saw that city go from 60,000 to almost 300,000 population, one of the most happy, contented, prosperous communities in the United States. I suppose I have shaken hands with two-thirds of the rubber workers in that city. I know thousands of them intimately; I know their families and their children.

I know there was no higher grade of men in any industry in the whole United States. Knowing them as well as I do, I know that the conditions that arose in Akron, which have decentralized 66 2/3 percent of that industry, could not have come to pass if outside, radical organizers had not gone in there and sold this bunch of workers with a bill of goods, and that bill of goods was this: They came in there and made speeches at these meetings and sold them on the idea that they were going to build a great empire; "that we are going to crack wide open the rubber industry; we are going to move on to steel; and after we have organized rubber and steel, the two chief products of an automobile, we would move into Detroit, to the automobile section, and unionize 260,000 automobile workers."

Nobody has any objection to that, except over the methods which they used in their efforts to organize.

Mr. MOSIER. Did they tell these workers in Akron that they should

Mr. MOSIER. And the treatment that they were getting?

Mr. SPARKS. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. And the treatment that they were getting?

Mr. SPARKS. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. And that they should strike and cause trouble?

Mr. SPARKS. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. That is the typical Communist maneuver, is it not, to spread that feeling of unrest and dissatisfaction?

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Nov. 28, New York [to J. Edgar Hoover] Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation [Department of Justice], Washington, D.C. / Dwight Brantley, Agent in Charge, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice. — 2 p.; 28 x 22 cm. Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: Brantley forwards copies of subversive literature, including *Vanguard*, which notes that Goldman is in Spain.

## Federal Bureau of Investigation United States Department of Justice New York, New York.

November 28, 1938

61-507

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

Director,  
Federal Bureau of Investigation,  
Washington, D. C.

249,870  
DECLASSIFIED BY SP4 E/W/ENT  
ON 7-8-85

Re: SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES - GENERAL

Dear Sir:

There is forwarded herewith the following described literature which was obtained by Special Agent [redacted] of this office: (b)(7)(c)

*Detached*  
~~X~~DIRECTION, issue of November-December 1938. This is published monthly at Darien, Connecticut, the business office being at 112 East 19th Street, New York City. This issue contains a long article on President Cardenas of Mexico; likewise an interesting article on writer's organizations dealing particularly with the Authors' League of America and the League of American Writers. *As we have this address*

*Detached*  
~~X~~THE INDEPENDENT, issue of November 1938, Volume 1, Number 1. This is a publication for teachers, apparently directed against the Communists. It is noted that all communications for the publication are to be directed to JOSEPH WEISS, Secretary, 279 East 203rd Street, New York City. The American Federation of Teachers Convention is criticized quite strongly by WEISS in an article published in this issue.

The publication of an article by EUGENE LYONS and the discussion of the question of FRED E. BEAL in the article on the American Federation of Teachers Convention would arouse the very slight suspicion that this may be a publication emanating from one of the Marxian organizations or from the Communist Party opposition.

*Detached*  
~~X~~VANGUARD, a Libertarian Communist Journal, issue of November 1938. An article on page 5 mentions incidentally that

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

890414044

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Summary: Brantley forwards copies of subversive literature, including *Vanguard*, which notes that Goldman is in Spain.

61-507

EMMA GOLDMAN is now in Spain. This publication would appear to be an anarchist magazine but the anarchists of late seem to have taken very strongly to the use of the designation Libertarian.

*Peace movement*  
BREAKING THE WAR HABIT, issue of October 1938, [redacted] (b)(2)

and with which was also received the enclosed Memorandum on the International Crisis and the American Peace Movement, published by the National Peace Conference, 8 West 40th Street, New York City.

*Detached*  
MODERN MONTHLY, issue of June 1938. This is submitted particularly because of the interesting article on pages 2 and 3 on "The Mexican Crisis".

Attention is invited to the review on page 14 of the book *Our Country, Our People, and Theirs* by M. E. Tracy, published by Macmillan.

*Detached*  
ROUGHS AND COLDS, a publication of the Consumers Union, being "A Frank Discussion of Pills, Gargles and Other Products Widely Used for Colds". This is being distributed through the Workers Book Shop in this city.

*Detached*  
THE SPARK, issue of November 1938. This contains the usual run of theoretical articles on Marxian Communism, it being the theoretical organ of the Marxist Workers League.

Very truly yours,

*Dwight Brantley*  
DWIGHT BRANTLEY,  
Special Agent in Charge.

8 enclosures.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report In] re: Federal Writers Project, 1938 Dec. 2 [excerpt?] / [Federal Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice]. — 1 p. ; 28 x 20 cm.

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: The Federal Bureau of Investigation's report on the Federal Writers Project notes that its Director, Henry Alsberg, spoke at a welcoming banquet for Goldman in 1934.

Notes: Dark copy; barely legible.

December 2, 1936

RE: FEDERAL WRITERS  
PROJECT

249 870  
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 6/10/85 BY SP4 Eln/ew

The following information is taken from the publication entitled "Headlines" for July 30, 1936:

Henry O. Alsberg is National Director of the Federal Writers Project. In 1922 he was the Director of a relief committee to Russia and later rendered distinguished service as a member of the International Committee for Political Prisoners. Alsberg was editor of "The Nation." He served as a delegate to the World Congress Against War in 1932 and in 1934, at a banquet, made a speech welcoming the anarchist Emma Goldman on her return to the United States.

Mr. Tolson .....  
Mr. Nathan .....  
Mr. E. A. Tamm .....  
Mr. Clegg .....  
Mr. Coffey .....  
Mr. Crowl .....  
Mr. Dawsey .....  
Mr. Egan .....  
Mr. Foxworth .....  
Mr. Glavin .....  
Mr. Harbo .....  
Mr. Lester .....  
Mr. McIntire .....  
Mr. Nichols .....  
Mr. Quinn Tamm .....  
Mr. Tracy .....  
Miss Gandy .....

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INDEXED

(5 copies)

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Memorandum, 19]38 Dec. 9-13 [Rome? to Ministro dell' Interno?, Rome?] / [Ministro dell' Interno?].— 1 p. ; 28 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from Archivio Centrale dello Stato, Rome.

Summary: In response to an inquiry, an Italian government official notes that the Italian Consulate in London has sent no further news about Goldman.

Notes: In Italian. Light copy; barely legible. For report mentioned, see 880511007.

Archivio

9.12.38

Prefati miei in risposta di fascicolo  
 H 33858/2998 del Casellario Po-  
 litico per via se il R. Cons. Gen.  
 a Londra abbia fatto seguito al  
 telegrafo 22/4. 1938 H 2116/248 -  
 Grazie -

Luciano

13.12.38  
 Dato il fascicolo  
 di Casellario - il R. Cons. Gen.  
 a Londra - non ha  
 comunicato nei riguardi della  
 Cpl. Goldman se è in internamento  
 o se è stata rilasciata  
 A. H. C.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

Investigation of Un-American Propaganda Activities in the United States / Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House of Representatives. — p. 2886, 2891-2894, 3027-3030 ; 25 cm. In Hearings before a Special Committee... House of Representatives, 75th Congress, 3rd Session. — Vol. 4 (Dec. 14, 1938).

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: Before the House Un-American Activities Committee, Henry Alsberg testifies about his meetings with Goldman and Albert Johnson testifies about the history of anti-communist immigration laws.

VOL 4

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## INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

### HEARINGS

BEFORE A

SPECIAL

COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

SEVENTY-FIFTH CONGRESS

THIRD SESSION

ON

H. Res. 282

TO INVESTIGATE (1) THE EXTENT, CHARACTER, AND OBJECTS OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES, (2) THE DIFFUSION WITHIN THE UNITED STATES OF SUBVERSIVE AND UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA THAT IS INSTIGATED FROM FOREIGN COUNTRIES OR OF A DOMESTIC ORIGIN AND ATTACKS THE PRINCIPLE OF THE FORM OF GOVERNMENT AS GUARANTEED BY OUR CONSTITUTION, AND (3) ALL OTHER QUESTIONS IN RELATION THERETO THAT WOULD AID CONGRESS IN ANY NECESSARY REMEDIAL LEGISLATION

VOLUME 4

NOVEMBER 19, 22, 23, 28

DECEMBER 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, AND 14, 1938

AT WASHINGTON, D. C.

Printed for the use of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities



UNITED STATES  
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WASHINGTON : 1939

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Vol. 4

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## UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES

### TESTIMONY OF HENRY G. ALSBERG, NATIONAL DIRECTOR, FEDERAL WRITERS' PROJECT, WORKS PROGRESS ADMINISTRATION

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Starnes will question you, Mr. Alsberg.

Mr. STARNES. Mr. Alsberg, what is your official position with the Federal Government, or with relation to the Federal Government?

Mr. ALSBERG. I am the National Director of the Federal Writers' Project.

Mr. STARNES. When were you appointed as the director of the project?

Mr. ALSBERG. In the summer of 1935.

Mr. STARNES. First, give us your name and address.

Mr. ALSBERG. I did; Henry G. Alsberg. I live at 3200 16th Street Northwest.

Mr. STARNES. Now, when were you first appointed as director of the Federal Writers' Project?

Mr. ALSBERG. I believe it was in August 1935.

Mr. STARNES. By whom were you appointed?

Mr. ALSBERG. By Mr. Hopkins.

Mr. STARNES. Upon whose recommendation?

Mr. ALSBERG. I don't know. You see, I had a job in the W. P. A. at the time in the reporting division.

Mr. STARNES. What is your background with reference to reporter or newspaper work of any type or character?

Mr. ALSBERG. I have been an editor on the New York Evening Post for—well, in the first place, I was graduated at Columbia University with an A. B. and an LL.B. I took a year's special work at Harvard; I practiced law for about 4 years, as a young man. Then, about a year or so after that, I obtained an editorial position on the New York Evening Post, which I held for about 3 or 4 years. Then I went to Europe as a correspondent and was a correspondent there for, oh, about, on and off—

The CHAIRMAN. Will you speak a little louder? It is very difficult to hear you.

Mr. ALSBERG. I was a correspondent there for a considerable time. I went back and forth three or four times as a correspondent.

Mr. STARNES. For what paper, or for what group of publications?

Mr. ALSBERG. I at one time represented the New York World, for quite a time in Europe, in various countries of Europe; I was a representative of the New York Nation; I have written for the New York Times; I have written for a number of American papers; I have written for the Manchester Guardian and I have written for the London Daily Herald, and a number of other magazines.

Mr. STARNES. You have given us now your complete reporter background?

Mr. ALSBERG. Well, I wanted to meet what you want.

Mr. STARNES. Go right ahead.

Mr. ALSBERG. I was director of the Provincetown Theater for 3 years; I was an adapter of a Jewish play which ran for 2 years in New York and which was played throughout the country, and which was acted as well in London.

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## PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES

and I was glad to get back across the river north to Poland, and I could not get a visa when I went to Latvia and stayed there for a while. Don't forget, this was in 1920, in. Finally I went back to Copenhagen in. He gave me a visa. I had never met him; in Copenhagen. Then I went into Russia in 1921, which was also going

having an international conference at that

time. It was later; they had an international conference but they did not go in for an international conference as kind of an investigating committee to investigate. And there were some quite conservative people, and there were some—there were some, and Tom Shaw. It was a mixed conference, and notwithstanding I had not met up on the way, notwithstanding I had not had no connection with them; so we went in

for you going at that time? Were you going as a delegate of some sort, or just going

as a journalist, but when I went in as a member of the British delegation, although never.

Mr. Starnes arranged that? I don't know who arranged it; but when we got on the same train, and they handed me a card calling me a member of the British delegation. But I had not been appointed there.

Did you represent yourself as a British subject in

Did you have an American passport and everything? Did you have an opportunity

to meet other of the leading lights of the Communist

Congressman, most of the people that I met are now been purged. And they were no friends of mine, say, Thomsen, Zinoviev, Radek, and a lot of others. I spoke to Lenin—just for 3 minutes. I did speak to Lenin for 3 minutes?

He introduced me to Lenin as he passed

What did that occur?

Do you remember the building?

Yes, was it in Moscow, the capital?

Yes, in Moscow.

Was it some sort of an occasion—a meeting of any

## UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES

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Mr. ALBERG. No. I was with some Russian who was going, an interpreter—they gave you an interpreter—and they dragged me over and said, "Comrade Lenin, here is an American journalist."

Mr. STARNES. What did you do while in Russia, Mr. Alsberg?

Mr. ALBERG. I got news about what was happening in Russia and wrote articles for the Nation and London Daily Herald. That was the first time I was in Russia.

Mr. STARNES. That was the first time?

Mr. ALBERG. In 1920.

Mr. STARNES. In 1920?

Mr. ALBERG. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. When was the second time you were there?

Mr. ALBERG. The second time I went in 1921.

Mr. STARNES. In 1921?

Mr. ALBERG. In the winter of 1921 and by the spring I was starved out and I had to leave, because I had lost 25 pounds and there was not enough to eat.

Mr. STARNES. How long did you stay in 1921, Mr. Alsberg?

Mr. ALBERG. I stayed about 6 months. I left sometime in May.

Mr. STARNES. How did you go over there at that time? Did you go over there as a journalist?

Mr. ALBERG. Yes; I went at that time as a newspaperman.

Mr. STARNES. For what publication did you go at that time?

Mr. ALBERG. I was still going for the Nation and the London Daily Journal.

Mr. STARNES. On that trip, in 1921, whom did you meet who were in positions of authority with reference to the Soviet Government—Stalin, Lenin, or any of that group?

Mr. ALBERG. No; at that time I did not meet either Stalin or Lenin. I met mostly the lesser officials who got me news. I met Chicherin practically every night, because I had to get my news from Mr. Chicherin, and we had to sit up in the Foreign Office until 4 o'clock in the morning, because Mr. Chicherin did not give out his interviews until about 3.

Mr. STARNES. Did you attend at any time during 1921, or during the 6 months you were there—did you attend any of their International meetings, or had any been held up to that time?

Mr. ALBERG. They had an International every year. I don't remember; I don't think I attended it, but my memory as to that is not very clear—certainly not as a delegate of any kind.

Mr. STARNES. After 1921, when did you next go back to Russia?

Mr. ALBERG. I went back in the fall of 1922 as director of the American Joint Distribution Committee, which was working as one of the organizations doing famine relief under the American Relief Administration, and I stayed about 9 months.

Mr. STARNES. Did you go then as an official delegate of any kind, representing either the Government or any private organization?

Mr. ALBERG. No; well, I went as a director, as a temporary director to fill a vacancy on the American Joint Distribution Committee.

Mr. STARNES. I see. Who appointed you?

Mr. ALBERG. Mr. Felix Warburg.

Mr. STARNES. Now, after the 1922 trip, when did you next go back?

Mr. ALBERG. I did not go back. You see, that stretched around me 1923.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

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## UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES

Mr. STARNES. I see. Did you see Emma Goldman on either of those trips?

Mr. ALSBERG. Yes; I met Emma Goldman in 1920.

Mr. STARNES. In 1920?

Mr. ALSBERG. Yes. I may add I had never met her before. I knew nothing about her American activities. I met her in 1920.

Mr. STARNES. When did you next see her?

Mr. ALSBERG. I saw her again in 1921, in the winter, in Russia.

Mr. STARNES. She was there in 1921?

Mr. ALSBERG. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. And did you see her when she came to this country in 1934?

Mr. ALSBERG. Yes; I saw her.

Mr. STARNES. Did you attend a meeting given for her on February 6, 1934, in New York City?

Mr. ALSBERG. Yes; they gave her a dinner.

Mr. STARNES. They gave her a welcome at that time?

Mr. ALSBERG. Well, it was a dinner. A great many people were there.

Mr. STARNES. And you spoke on that occasion, did you not?

Mr. ALSBERG. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. And your speech was reported in Freedom, of February 1934?

Mr. ALSBERG. I don't know. I never saw it.

Mr. STARNES. But you did speak at that dinner?

Mr. ALSBERG. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. And that was in the nature of a welcome, of course—a sort of a homecoming?

Mr. ALSBERG. Not a welcome. It was reminiscences of the hard times we had had in Russia. And my great point of agreement with Emma Goldman is that she approaches it from a different point of view, but we both hate the tyranny in Russia.

Mr. STARNES. Who gave this dinner?

Mr. ALSBERG. I don't remember; possibly some friends of Emma Goldman. I had nothing to do with that.

Mr. STARNES. You cannot say, then, under whose auspices the meeting was held?

Mr. ALSBERG. No.

Mr. STARNES. How long did she stay in this country when she was here?

Mr. ALSBERG. I don't know. I don't think I saw her but once more, either before or after that. She was here under a temporary visa that was granted, I think.

Mr. STARNES. You have not seen her since 1934?

Mr. ALSBERG. I have not seen her since.

Mr. STARNES. Do you recall the last place you saw her?

Mr. ALSBERG. I imagine it was in Saint Tropez, in the south of France, and I was on the Riviera, and I think she was there and I saw her then, in 1932.

Mr. STARNES. What year was that?

Mr. ALSBERG. 1932.

Mr. STARNES. In 1932?

Mr. ALSBERG. Yes.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

Investigation of Un-American Propaganda Activities in the United States / Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House of Representatives. — p. 2886, 2891-2894, 3027-3030 ; 25 cm. In Hearings before a Special Committee... House of Representatives, 75th Congress, 3rd Session. — Vol. 4 (Dec. 14, 1938).

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## PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES

you see Emma Goldman on either of those Emma Goldman in 1920.

add I had never met her before. I knew activities. I met her in 1920. you next see her? gain in 1921, in the winter, in Russia. ere in 1921!

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## UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES

2893

Mr. STARNES. Where have you seen her besides in France, New York City, and in Russia?

Mr. ALSBERG. I saw her in Spain. She was in Spain before the revolution.

Mr. STARNES. What year was that, do you recall?

Mr. ALSBERG. I don't quite; it probably was in 1927.

Mr. STARNES. In 1927?

Mr. ALSBERG. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. What were you doing there at that time?

Mr. ALSBERG. I was doing newspaper work and also collecting material on political oppression. You see, until I got this job down here, I was writing a book on political persecution since the war in Europe, and I went to Spain to collect material and see what was happening there; I also went to Bulgaria, and I went to Rumania, and I went to Hungary, Austria, Germany, and I have a vast lot of material. Unfortunately, I did—

Mr. STARNES. Now, Mr. Alsberg—

The CHAIRMAN. Let him finish.

Mr. STARNES. I beg your pardon; I thought you had finished.

Mr. ALSBERG. My only point is that I have never been able to complete that book, because my financial circumstances were such I had to take a job.

Mr. STARNES. What was Emma Goldman doing in Spain when you were there in 1927?

Mr. ALSBERG. She took a trip. She was not engaged in politics, because I saw a good deal of her.

Mr. STARNES. You saw a great deal of her while you were in Spain?

Mr. ALSBERG. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. She took no part in the political activities that were going on in Spain at that time?

Mr. ALSBERG. None at all.

Mr. STARNES. And you did not either?

Mr. ALSBERG. No; I was collecting material for my book, going around to Government offices and getting copies of laws—

Mr. STARNES. Did you exchange views with her at that time on the political situation generally, I will say, both nationally and internationally?

Mr. ALSBERG. I don't remember. I suppose we talked about all sorts of things.

Mr. STARNES. Do you know whether or not your views coincided, as a rule, on international politics?

Mr. ALSBERG. No. We quarreled all the time, bitterly, because I did not believe in violent revolution—a quarrel that has been going on between Emma and me for years.

Mr. STARNES. She believes in violent revolution?

Mr. ALSBERG. She does, or did; I don't know how she believes now.

Mr. STARNES. When you saw her on the Riviera in 1932, I believe you said—

Mr. ALSBERG. I think it was.

Mr. STARNES. How long were you there?

Mr. ALSBERG. Oh, I don't know; I think a week or 10 days.

Mr. STARNES. What was she doing then—vacationing?

Mr. ALSBERG. She was writing her autobiography.

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UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES

Mr. STARNES. And were you still engaged in journalistic pursuits at that time?

Mr. ALSBERG. Not on the Riviera. I had been in Paris and I was collecting material for my book.

Mr. STARNES. That was in 1932?

Mr. ALSBERG. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. In 1932 you also attended the Amsterdam World Congress Against War, in Amsterdam, did you not?

Mr. ALSBERG. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. That was in August, the 27th, 28th, and 29th, 1932?

Mr. ALSBERG. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. You went at that time as a delegate?

Mr. ALSBERG. No; I don't think that is quite right. Will you let me tell you about it?

Mr. STARNES. Yes.

Mr. ALSBERG. We had gotten out this book—this committee—and other things, and I received a letter from the committee would I go to the congress, which I did. But the congress was a very informal affair. There were a lot of people there without any real credentials. I had a letter and I went into the congress and I never made a speech, and there were about 2,000 people there, and I listened to it and then went away. But I do add this: That I refused to sign the blank check which they handed out at the end of the congress saying that the managing committee would draw up resolutions summing up what the congress did. I refused to take any part in that, because I did not want—I will say this: That, like all of these congresses, like the colonial congress, it turned into a Communist congress, which was not the intention. There were hundreds of people there—the women's peace organizations and I myself—interested in civil liberties, who did not want to sign the Russian check. An the point was this: That we wanted a resolution passed against all war and in favor of peace and they wanted a resolution passed against all imperialistic wars and to protect Russia. I did not sign that and I left the congress. It was very hot and all kinds of people talked. There were rows, because there were about 500 delegates from the French teachers' organizations which had the same kick as I did, only they were more vocal and the congress just dissolved. And at the end of the congress they just passed around a blank and said, "Will you please sign this, authorizing the steering committee to draw up resolutions?" I said, "No; I will not sign it, because I don't like the way the congress has gone, and I won't sign a blank check."

Mr. STARNES. Now, the truth of the business is that congress was presided over by Henri Barbusse, a distinguished French Communist?

Mr. ALSBERG. He was chairman in reality, because Barbusse made the main speech. He is also a great French writer. I do not think he presided. They had a regular chairman, but Barbusse made the main speech.

Mr. STARNES. You went there, then, in defense of civil liberties, and when you arrived you discovered the Communists had control of the meeting, did you not?

Mr. ALSBERG. Yes; that is the way it developed. That is the way it happened with the congress, that I never attended on colonial matters and it did develop that the Communists were in fact going to beat up

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## UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES

What was the purpose as you said at that time? At that time, I think that was at the hearing on it, that the real aim of the American build up in the United States a spy organization machine, and a German minority, as, for evidenced in all countries in Europe, and especially in South America and Mexico. Now, you made that statement in August?

Yes, sir. Since that time as a result of your investigation of these various agencies that you have described in various cities, have you discovered evidence corroborating your first statement?

We have turned up evidence which would indicate that the German-American Bund, along with the Government and affiliated subversive groups, at that end, and are setting up a spy organization

is it not a fact that you ran into the difficulty that you mentioned, and I do not want to go into details about it, but much of this information the intelligence has disclosed; is that a fact?

Yes; I believe that is correct. The information that the investigation was promptly reported to the various agencies, particularly.

And they are working on these various matters? As far as we know. It was our belief that the investigation was

from what you have gathered in all of your trips to various States and revealed to these various officials. Now, the information that you have collected, do you feel that there are in the United States placed in key positions in key

positions, believe that the spy situation in the United States is serious and that it cannot be overstated.

And that not only applies to Germany but applies to other countries as well?

Yes, sir; it also applies to other countries. What did your investigation lead you to believe about the plans of sabotage in the event of war? Does it indicate any?

Yes. I believe that the United States has been in a serious position through these efforts of subversive groups to set up a sabotage machine which, in the event they go to war, these men who would perform the duty to cripple our industries, our systems of transportation, systems of communication unless the United States takes militant steps to put an end to this sabotage. Efforts to set up a sabotage machine in the United States.

Well, now, have you given all of your information to the Department of Justice and the other intelligence bureaus? Yes; as much of it as we have at our command. We say this, that we are in possession of a number of

## UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES

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leads, which we believe would lead into further disclosure of espionage activities in the United States, but our limited time has made it impossible for us to follow up some of these leads.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, that we are concluding our investigation, will you give all of those leads and clues to the Department of Justice?

Mr. METCALFE. Yes, I shall be happy to do so.

The CHAIRMAN. To the end that they can follow those up.

Mr. METCALFE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I think that is all.

The Honorable Albert Johnson, who was a member of the House of Representatives for 20 years, and chairman of the House Immigration Committee for a dozen years, and who was author of the 1924 Quota Act and many other laws affecting immigration, naturalization, and deportation, is present. He has lived with these subjects and is an outstanding authority on them. We would like to hear briefly from Mr. Johnson.

Of course, Mr. Johnson, you understand that we are not interested in personalities, or anything bordering on partisanship, or anything that drags into the hearing the names of individuals or groups that have no place here. You are, of course, thoroughly familiar with that, having served as chairman of the Committee on Immigration for many years; and having had experience with it yourself.

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes, sir.

## STATEMENT OF HON. ALBERT JOHNSON

Mr. JOHNSON. Mr. Chairman, I appreciate the compliment paid to me, and I would like to compliment the chairman and all members of this committee on the work they are doing.

No committee can consider the subject of alien activities in the United States without becoming involved in the great question of immigration which is a domestic matter, pure and simple, but which reaches into international phases at nearly every point. In my time, as chairman, high officials from the Italian, the German, the Japanese, and other embassies asked permission to testify before the Immigration Committee. I had to tell them, gently but firmly, that they would have to take up their complaints with our Department of State, and not with a committee of Congress.

It is my purpose, in appearing here today, to suggest to the committee—if I may be permitted to make some extensions in the form of extracts from hearings held in 1919—approved October 16, 1918 (40 Stat. 1012), as amended by the act approved June 5, 1920 (41 Stat. 1008) which is entitled "An Act for the exclusion and expulsion of anarchists and similar classes," is complete and positive to the very last word of the last paragraph, and quite sufficient to cause the deportation of Harry Bridges, of Australia, who has created so much trouble on the Pacific coast, as well as to cause the deportation of all others of his kind.

The CHAIRMAN. You mean the act that makes Communists deportable?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes. The 1918 act, as amended in 1920.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you prepare that act?

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## The Emma Goldman Papers

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### UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes, the amended act, with the aid of an almost unanimous support of a very able committee.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you report it out?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes, I had the honor to report the amended act.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you on the committee when the act was written?

Mr. JOHNSON. I came on the committee in March 1918. You will remember that an extra session of Congress was called in 1919; in that extra session I became the successor of Chairman John L. Burnett, of Alabama, who died from shock as the result of the explosion of a bomb, sent from New York, in the hands of a Negro servant who was standing about 8 feet from him and was literally blown to pieces.

The previous fall when we started out to campaign, Burnett said: "Johnson, one or the other of us will be chairman of the Immigration Committee in the next Congress. You have been my right-hand man on the minority side, and if the Republicans carry the next Congress I hope to be your right-hand man." His death and the extra session made me chairman ahead of time. Mr. Burnett was the author of the basic 1917 Immigration Act, and I helped in its preparation for 5 years. That act was vetoed three times, once by President Taft and twice by President Wilson. One of the points made in the third veto was that Congress proposed to destroy the position of the United States as an "asylum for the oppressed peoples of the world."

During all those years we had no politics in the committee, matters of race and religion were not permitted to seep into the hearings. From what newspaper reports I read I believe that you, Mr. Chairman, and your associates have proceeded along similar lines, but under distressing handicaps.

It is well to remember that President Theodore Roosevelt caused a commission to be established about 1907 to study immigration and allied problems. That Commission worked for about 3 years and produced 42 volumes of reports and studies. These reports are now out of date. Two volumes contained a digest of the whole thing and included several recommendations to Congress. Most of these were the immediate restriction of immigration on various plans and some were related to deportation. These two volumes are very rare and hard to find. These recommendations resulted in hearings that reported to Congress, John L. Burnett's 1917 Act and later hearings and studies produced the 1919 Amended Deportation Act and my act, the 1924 quota law.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you recall, Mr. Johnson, that while you were chairman of the Immigration Committee I was a member of that committee?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes, indeed; and you were a good worker there. You also served 2 years on the committee under my successor, Mr. Dickstein.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you recall that some questions were raised by the Immigration Bureau at that time as to whether or not mere membership in the Communist Party alone would be sufficient to deport an alien Communist, and at the request of the Department, with their assistance I prepared a bill clarifying that.

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes; but I do not remember the details.

The CHAIRMAN. Or, rather, making it so plain that no one could say differently. That bill was reported out and it passed the House.

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## UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES

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by a large vote, and over in the Senate Senator La Follette and several others filibustered that bill to death.

Mr. JOHNSON. I cannot remember the details of that particular bill, but I believe that an amendment was made to your bill that pulled some of its teeth.

The CHAIRMAN. May I ask you, Mr. Johnson, do you think the deportation laws, and I know of no one better qualified than you, because you have helped prepare a great many of those, and sat on the committee while they were being formulated, do you think there are sufficient as now written to deport these Communists.

Mr. JOHNSON. Absolutely, a government must maintain its sovereignty or it will perish, sooner or later.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think they are sufficient to deport Harry Bridges?

Mr. JOHNSON. I am certain that they are.

The CHAIRMAN. When you wrote this law did you have in mind a Communist was deportable regardless of whether or not the Communist alien preached the overthrow of the Government by force and violence—Communist aliens, of course, not Communist citizens.

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes; as regards alien Communists the Bill of Rights protects citizen Communists. It is all very clear in the act. The words are positive and mandatory.

The CHAIRMAN. Your statement is quite positive.

Mr. JOHNSON. I believe that the provisions of the amended Deportation Act will stand in any court with reference to the deportation of aliens who teach, preach, or practice, the overthrow of organized government, whether by force and violence or not. Aliens who write for, contribute to, or participate in the circulation of matter tending to interfere with the ordinary processes of this Government are deportable. The maintenance of the sovereignty of this or any government depends on who shall be its citizens. I find that I printed on the wrapper which enclosed a speech made by me in the House of Representatives, December 20, 1919—at the time of the deportation of Emma Goldman—the following quotation:

### DEPORTATION OF ANARCHISTIC AND REVOLUTIONARY ALIENS

The committee reports this bill firmly convinced that the House, the Senate, and the citizens of the United States generally are through with being told by alien revolutionists, Communists, and Anarchists, who are within our borders by our courtesy and by our grace, how to run our Government. Free press is ours, not theirs; free speech is ours, not theirs; and they have gone just as far as we can let them go toward running over our most precious rights. [Applause.] They have been here as guests in our house. They have misbehaved most woefully. They are welcome no longer. They must go. [Applause.] And those who come from foreign shores in the future must come only on probation or not at all. [Applause.]

Mr. Chairman, if that date fell on a Saturday, it was the date on which the United States deported Emma Goldman, admitted anarchist and Communist and her miserable consort, Alexander Berkman, who had been preaching in the twilight zone of revolution for years; they were sent out with 249 other persons charged with communism or anarchy and that deportation cost this Government \$1,000,000. They were transported to Latvia and left to find their own way into their native Russia.

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### UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES

Has the United States become cowardly? I know that it has not. Mr. Chairman, it takes such a committee as yours to expose incipient uprisings and to develop undercover activities on the part of aliens, who, many of them, who demand all the blessings of good government, but seem not to understand that the sacrifices that free citizens are willing to make in order to maintain a government such as our own United States.

The CHAIRMAN. What suggestions have you to offer with reference to how we can cope with this situation?

Mr. JOHNSON. First, I believe that this committee might do well to recommend certain changes in present immigration and deportation laws that will relieve the Department of Labor from continual embarrassment and danger of the wreckage of the Bureau of Immigration. I speak with no political feeling. Very simple changes can be made to amend some acts of recent years and I shall be glad to offer suggestions before these amendments to any committee entitled to handle them.

Second, if the Department of Labor and some of the courts are inclined to treat the words "Anarchist" and "Communist" as mere verbal brickbats it might be advisable to further amend the act to which I have already referred, although I think it has sufficient teeth to warrant the deportation of anarchists, Communists, and all similar types of alien agitators.

Third, I wish this committee would find copies of a bill entitled something like this: "An act to define and limit citizenship." That act was prepared by members of the Immigration Committee without regard to politics and assisted by representatives of the Departments of State and Labor. Such a piece of legislation would clear the atmosphere right now; would tend to prevent increasing intolerance, reduce racial hatred, cut down subversive activities, and so forth, and so forth.

Fourth, I believe that a joint committee of the House and Senate Members acting in conjunction with this special committee might, with sufficient help, assemble all acts of Congress relating to immigration, deportation, naturalization, and citizenship into one grand statute to be entitled "The Alien Code of the United States of America." This would stop excessive fees charged against aliens legally admitted or seeking to enter the United States.

These are my principal recommendations made offhand. In conclusion I might say that I have often heard the late Samuel Gompers complain that he himself, spent nearly half of his time in his latter years, sitting on the lid to prevent explosions and uprisings.

The CHAIRMAN. You mean you heard him say that before your committee?

Mr. JOHNSON. Absolutely. It is a matter of record. You will find it in the library of the Committee on Immigration. Incidentally, I had the entire library indexed, and the index filed with the custodian of the property of Congress so that that valuable library should belong to the Congress of the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. We thank you very much for your statement, Mr. Johnson.

Mr. JOHNSON. I thank you, sir.

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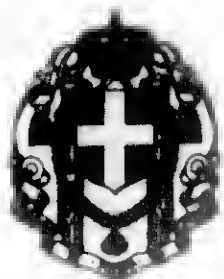
# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Report re: Emma Goldman, Planned Attentat, Rome?] 1939 Jan. 23 / Ministro dell' Interno. — 1 p. ; 30 x 21 cm.

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Summary: The Interior Ministry sends a telegram to its prefects, warning them that Goldman and other anarchists in London are planning terrorist attacks in Italy.

Notes: In Italian Broken type; barely legible. For follow-up, see 880511026.



P.M.

Nulla al C.P.C.

1.2.1939 XVII

Mod. 840

*Ministero dell'Interno*

Direzione Generale della P. S.

Divisione Affari Generali e Riservati.

Seduzione Prima

n° 441/

ON/LE CASELLARIO POLITICO CENTRALE  
e, per conoscenza:  
ON/LE SEZIONE TERZA

S E D E

Copia del telegramma Ministeriale n° 1060 in data 10.1.1939-XVII°  
diretto ai Prefetti Regno - Questore Roma.

441/ è stato riferito che gruppo antifascista residenti Londra  
quasi tutti anarchici starebbero progettando attentati contro  
altissime personalità o attentati terroristici da compiersi  
in Italia punto tra i più attivi di costoro si sarebbero mo-  
strati in proposito i noti Tamburrini Nicola di Anzelo, Reo-  
chioni Vero fu amico Goldman <sup>no</sup> e Parussolo Angelo fu  
Giovanni, tutti iscritti ~~partito~~ frontiera e senza che detto  
Tamburrini faccia assegnamento su amici residenti Regno pres-  
so i quali inviare orissario incaricato sottore in esecuzione  
progetti orissinosi punto Pregasi disporre opportune misure  
vigilanza et indagini.

PER IL MINISTRO  
(F.to Boechini)

P.C.O. a Per conoscenza.  
Roma, 11 14 Gennaio 1939-XVII°  
IL CAPO DELLA SEZIONE PRIMA

1938-100853-15  
20 GEN 1939

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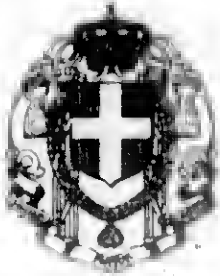
880511026

[Report re: Emma Goldman, Planned Attentat] Rome, 1939 Feb. 10 / Ministro dell'Interno. — 1 p. ; 30 x 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from Archivio Centrale dello Stato, Rome.

Summary: The Interior Ministry copies a telegram from its consul general in London noting that, contrary to a prior report, Goldman and others are not planning an attentat in Italy.

Notes: In Italian. Broken type; barely legible. Follow-up to 880511025.



P.M.

*Ministero dell'Interno*

Direzione Generale della P. S.

Divisione Affari Generali e Riservati

Sezione Prima

N° 441/3019

ON/LE CASELLARIO POLITICO

ON/LE SEZIONE TERZA

ON/LE DIVISIONE POLIZIARE

S E D E

Copia del telexpresso del R. Consolato Gen. D'Italia a Londra n° 613/75 in data 28 Gennaio 1939-XVII° diretto al Ministero Esteri a questo Ministero e p.c. alla R. Ambasciata D'Italia a Londra avente per oggetto: "Propositi criminali di antifascisti residenti Londra".

Il Maresciallo di P.S. Tortara, si ha testé riferito:  
"Le indagini esperite non risulta, per ora, che il nominato TAMBURRINI unitamente al vero RECCHIONI, alla signora GOLDMANN ed al PARUSSIO Angelo, detto Calzitta, stiano cospirando per far compiere atti terroristici o attentati.

Il RECCHIONI unica persona che avrebbe mezzi, influenza, ecc., in questi giorni si sta preparando per gli esami che deve sostenere all'università di Londra e non riceve nessuno, dedicandosi esclusivamente allo studio.

Nei altri lavori burocratici del giornale si occupano la GOLDMANN e la moglie del Recchioni.

Si riserva di riferire quanto eventualmente venisse a risultare da ulteriori indagini".

IL R. CONSOLATO GENERALE  
(F/to Biondelli)

P.C.C. = Per conoscenza.

Roma, li 10 Febbraio 1939-XVII°

IL CAPO DELLA SEZIONE PRIMA

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628

# The Emma Goldman Papers

Emma Goldman, Anarchist, Crazy About Cathedrals — 35 cm. In [Toronto Star (April 22, 1939)] / [author unknown].

Obtained from the National Archives of Canada. Institutional Location: Record Group 18.

Summary: On Goldman's arrival in Canada in 1939, the Toronto Star describes her lecture plans and her perspective on life.

TORONTO STAR  
CANNING DATE 22/4/39... ISSUE OF... 22/4/39...

## EMMA GOLDMAN, ANARCHIST CRAZY ABOUT CATHEDRALS

Hitler and Mussolini Merely  
Puppets—Advises People  
Shake Shelves

### HELPING REFUGEES

Emma Goldman, heading into her 70th year, still talking anarchy in her deep, throaty voice, her home still in her suitcase, arrived in Toronto last night, this time to fight a battle for Spanish refugees.

Gray hair peeping from under her hat, a grim smile still arriving on her features exactly at the moment photographers' bulbs flashed, Emma seemed to have changed not a whit since last she was in Toronto fighting battles for birth control.

She doesn't look like an anarchist, "the mother of anarchy in America." When cameras are not around, her smile is gentle and friendly. She never did care much about clothes, but when she got off the train last night in her soft felt hat and neat ulster, umbrella in hand, spectacles perched above rosy cheeks, she looked like anyone's kindly grandmother.

Her mission to Toronto is to lecture, this time to arouse sympathy for Spanish refugees. She will speak in the Odd Fellows' Temple, College St., next Thursday night. She has been in Spain on three trips in the last three years.

"I am here for two things," she said. "I want to put the English-speaking people straight on what is happening in Spain, to tell them

the Spanish struggle is by no means finished, and also to arouse interest in the frightful conditions of the Spanish refugees."

Communists, "not the real Communists but the kind that Russia produces," were responsible, she declared, for the collapse of the Spanish government's struggle. That she said, and starvation and the assistance lent by dictators to the rebel forces.

#### Blames Sabotage

"They (Communists) tried to establish their methods, but the Spanish people are not pliable, and they undermined everything the people did."

Real Communists, says Emma Goldman, are not "extremists."

"There are no Communists in Russia," she declared. "They are just opportunists. In Spain they claimed to belong to the anti-Fascist front, but they only wanted to impose their own dictatorship."

Russia is one of the many countries that won't admit Emma Goldman. She fled from there in 1919, when deported "home" by the United States, after a bitter quarrel with the Soviet leaders.

"Hitler and Mussolini. Who are they?" she asked and then answered. "Just puppets and if the people would only shake themselves, they would fall off and they would be free of both tyranny and war."

#### Imprisoned When 24

In 1918 she was imprisoned and then deported from the United States to Russia. She was used to prisons by then.

"The first time," she recalled last night, "was when I was 24. I went to prison then for supporting some strikers. Then the next time—it was just for two weeks, was for talking birth control. Then the next time was in 1919. . . ."



EMMA GOLDMAN

"But you've seen inside palaces too?"

"Hmmp," snorted the rugged, stocky little woman. "Lots of them. But I didn't find them especially interesting. I like cathedrals, though. I think some of the cathedrals in France and Spain are marvellous."

Though she visited United States in 1934, under amnesty granted by President Roosevelt to all who had demonstrated against participation by the United States in the great war, she doesn't believe she will be allowed to return again this year.

"Times have changed some since then," she said. "I don't think they will be as likely to welcome again Emma Goldman the anarchist."

#### In Toronto For Summer

She plans to stay in Toronto for the summer, and will celebrate in August her 50th anniversary as an anarchist. As an anarchist, she has never advocated violence, she claims. She urges people to learn to govern themselves. She has not been discouraged, she declared, for all the rise of fascism.

"To me it is just a passing phase in the social struggle. I am not discouraged because I measure the world in historic events," she said. "And the world does not stand still."

She was born in Russia and was 14 years old when she first worked in factories there at \$1.50 a week. A year later she went to the United States and first won the attention of authorities when she led a factory workers' strike when she was 20.

Since then she has popped up here and there almost everywhere in the world. She has been married twice, last time just before she entered Canada in 1928 as a British subject, newly married to James Colton, a Scottish mine worker. He died, she said last night, just two and a half years ago.

"If you had it to begin all over, would you still choose so hard a life?" she was asked.

Emma Goldman smiled. She tucked a gray hair under her hat, adjusted her gold-rimmed spectacles.

"I would never take the easy way," she said. "I think if I have had any experience at all, if I have accumulated anything in my long struggle it is that I am temperamentally unfitted for what you call the easy way. No, I'm still going on."

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report In re:] Communist Activities [19]39 Sept. 15 [excerpt] / [Agent, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].— 1 p. ; 28 x 21 cm.  
Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: A Federal Bureau of Investigation report, probably on Henry Alsberg, notes that he traveled with Goldman in Russia.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Communist Activities

Oklahoma 61-7

9-15-39

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

The report indicates  
[REDACTED] is also supposed to have traveled through Russia with one  
EMMA GOLDMAN, an internationally famous Communist.  
[REDACTED]

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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630

# The Emma Goldman Papers

Charges Stalin Betrayed Workers — 35 cm. In [Winnipeg Free Press (Sept. 20, 1939)]  
/ [author unknown].

Obtained from the National Archives of Canada. Institutional Location: Record Group 18.

Summary: Goldman denounces Stalin for his non-aggression pact with Hitler.

WINNIPEG FREE PRESS

20-9-39.

*Emma Goldman*

D. 935-419

## Charges Stalin Betrayed Workers

Toronto, Sept. 20. (CP)—Emma Goldman, 70-year-old Workers Crusader, speaking at a public meeting here Tuesday night, said Russia's Stalin had betrayed the workers of the world by signing a pact with Hitler.

"Stalin's pretence of world revolution is one of the horrible lies of all history," declared the veteran anarchist. "The workers of the world have been deceived, betrayed and cheated, while they looked to Russia for hope of better days to come. They have been sold out by Stalin, the great betrayer."

She predicted the people of both Germany and Russia would overthrow Hitler and Stalin.

200-115 SEP 22 1939

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

Says Hitler Needs Stalin — 28 cm. In [New York Times (Sept. 20, 1939)] / [author unknown].

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: The New York Times reports Goldman's reaction to the Hitler-Stalin non-aggression pact.

## SAYS HITLER NEEDS STALIN

Emma Goldman Not Surprised  
That They Have Joined Causes

TORONTO Ont., Sept. 19 (Canadian Press)—Emma Goldman, the veteran anarchist, who now lives in Toronto, said today that she foretold five years ago that Adolf Hitler and Joseph Stalin would join hands.

"Hitler needed Stalin desperately," she said. "Now Stalin strengthens his hand. . . . When Hitler found his forces unchecked in Spain, Austria followed — then Czecho-Slovakia, and heaven only knows what more."

The white-haired woman, 70 years old now, said she wished to point out that she opposed the hanging of the democracies as much as the betrayal of Russia by Mr. Stalin and the greed of Herr Hitler.

14 (17) 1C)

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE	
SEP 20 1939	
NEW YORK OFFICE	
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NEW YORK TIMES.

DATE. SEP 20 1939  
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632

# The Emma Goldman Papers

Emma Goldman Denounces Stalin — 28 cm. *In* [New York Post (Sept. 20, 1939)] / [author unknown].

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: The *New York Post* reports Goldman's reaction to the Hitler-Stalin non-aggression pact.

## EMMA GOLDMAN DENOUNCES STALIN

Says Soviet Dictator Has Stabbed  
Workers in the Back

TORONTO, Sept. 20 (UP).—Jose Stalin, through the Russian-German pact, has "stabbed the workers of the world in the back," Emma Goldman, world-famed anarchist, told an audience in Odd Fellows Hall last night.

The seventy-year-old preacher of revolution, who lived for years in Russia, was violently critical of the agreement, which she described as crucifying the world's workers.

"The British and French Governments," she said, "have not pretended to represent the working classes or Communism, or Socialism, or any other, but they have been true to their colors when their people's rights were threatened and we have to admit they do not pretend."

"Stalin pretended to be the symbol of Communism and we expected much from him. Now he has destroyed both Socialism and Communism in his own country and in others."

"This is the arch-betrayal, the crucifying, of the workers of the world by that evil satyr of the Kremlin."

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE	
SEP 20 1939	
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NEW YORK POST

DATE: SEP 20 1939

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DIVISION.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Sept. 29, San Francisco [to] Agent in Charge [Federal Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice], Los Angeles / [author unknown]. — 1 p. ; 28 × 20 cm.  
Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: An undisclosed writer reports on an individual who was a San Diego anarchist and follower of Goldman.

Notes: Dark copy; barely legible.

San Francisco, California  
September 29, 1939

Special Agent in Charge  
Los Angeles, California

249870  
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 7-8-85 BY SP4ENJ/5U

Dear Sir:

Part (b)  
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[REDACTED] that  
he recalled that this individual had been a well known San Diego anarchist  
and radical and a great admirer of EMMA GOLDMAN. [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Memorandum] Re: Rex [v]s. B[or]tol[ot]ti, et al. [Toronto, 1939 Oct.? 26?] / [author unknown]. — 6 p. ; 33 x 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the University of Michigan, Harlan Hatcher Graduate Library. Institutional Location: Labadie Collection, Frederico Arcos Papers, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections.

Summary: Someone summarizes the legal proceedings against Arthur Bortolotti before trial.

Notes: Broken type.

RE: REX Vs. BARTOLLETTI, et al.

1. On or about the 3rd of September, 1939, the Government of Canada brought into being a series of regulations under the authority of the War Measures Act, these regulations being known as Defence of Canada Regulations, Section 39 thereof reading as follows:

No person shall by word of mouth:-

- (a) spread reports or make statements, false or otherwise, intended or likely to cause disaffection to His Majesty or to interfere with the success of His Majesty's forces or of the forces of any allied or associated Powers or to prejudice His Majesty's relations with foreign Powers, or
- (b) spread reports or make statements, false or otherwise, intended or likely to prejudice the recruiting, training, discipline, or administration of any of His Majesty's forces.

2. Subsequently, on the 28th day of September, 1939, there was added to the Regulations, as Section 39a thereof, the following:-

No person shall print, circulate or distribute any book, newspaper, periodical, pamphlet, picture, paper, circular, card, letter, writing, print, publication or document of any kind containing any material, report or statement, false or otherwise,

- (a) intended or likely to cause disaffection to His Majesty or to interfere with the success of His Majesty's forces or of the forces of any allied or associated power, or to prejudice His Majesty's relations with foreign powers, or
- (b) intended or likely to prejudice the recruiting, training, discipline or administration of any of His Majesty's forces, or
- (c) which would or might be prejudicial to the safety of the State or the efficient prosecution of the war.

3. On the 4th of October the Royal Canadian Mounted Police and local Police of Toronto entered the house in which Arthur Bartolletti lived, arresting him and three others living in the same house, one of whom was later released after questioning and examination. On the following day Arthur Bartolletti, Ruggiero Benevenuti, and Ernest Gava, were charged with a breach of section (c) of Section 39(a), being

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## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Memorandum] Re: Rex [v]s. B[or]tol[ot]ti, et al. [Toronto, 1939 Oct.? 26?] / [author unknown]. — 6 p. ; 33 x 22 cm.

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the last section of the added regulation brought into existence on the previous Thursday, the 28th day of September, 1939.

4. In addition to the above, Bartolletti was charged, on the strength of two old, useless guns, with being in possession of offensive weapons without a permit, according to the provisions of the Criminal Code.

5. In the meantime, immediately upon arresting Bartolletti and the others, the police raided the home and took out, at random, books, old files of newspapers, periodicals, pamphlets, etc., indiscriminately from all parts of the house, the total quantity of library material so seized amounting, in the words of the Crown Prosecutor, to a truck load.

6. The men were brought into court on the morning of the 5th of October, and remanded on the above charges, without hearing, bail or Counsel, until the following week, the 12th of October.

7. In the meantime Counsel for the accused was retained who promptly communicated with the Prosecuting Attorney insisting upon being furnished with definite particulars of the charges, particularly as to the printed matter, which it was alleged the respective accused had either printed or circulated or distributed and the time and place and circumstance of such distribution.

8. When the matter came up on the 12th of October, the prosecuting Attorney asked for and obtained a remand for another week, still refusing to consent to any bail, and the question of whether particulars of the charges were to be furnished was referred for argument to the following week.

9. When the charges came up on Thursday the 19th, the prosecuting authorities had, in the meantime, in the place of the single charge against each of the accused for breach of subsection (c) of Section 39(a), as above shewn, substituted new and additional charges. As a result each of the accused was placed upon six charges being respectively as to each accused, a separate charge for breach of subsection (a) and for breach of subsection (b), and for breach of

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## The Emma Goldman Papers

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subsection (c) of Section 39(a), and also separate charge for "attempt to commit the offence of" subsection (a) of Section 39(a); also, similarly, "an attempt to commit the offence" of Subsection (b) of Section 39(a), and also, similarly, "an attempt to commit the offence of" Subsection (c) of section 39(a).

10. Besides adding to the number of charges in this manner, namely, adding five new charges against each of the accused covering every possible phase of Section 39(a), or attempts to contravene Section 39(a), the new charges were also presented in joint form against the accused instead of separate charges against each accused as had been the case earlier.

11. After these new charges were presented, the men were, for the first time, permitted to plead and after a plea of "not guilty" Counsel for the defence presented his motion for particulars, adding, in the meantime, an insistence that particulars be furnished also in respect to all of the new charges and particularly as to the series of charges dealing with "attempt", that particulars be given by the prosecuting attorney of what act or acts it was alleged constituted the "attempt", and so the offence under the Regulations.

12. The Crown prosecutor vigorously resisted any request for particulars, but after considerable argument the presiding Judge agreed with Defence Counsel that such particulars should be furnished and so directed.

13. In the course of the argument on particulars, the Crown Prosecutor took the positions:

- (a) that all of the printed matter seized constituted the Crown's case, whether as to printing or circulating or attempting so to do.
- (b) That the accused themselves knew of this material, what it was and what it contained.
- (c) That in any event Counsel for the Defence would be permitted to examine all of this material and to take copies or extracts as he thought fit.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

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- (d) That so far as the charge of circulation or distribution was concerned the Prosecution could not furnish particulars because they did not have any.
- (e) That, having regard to the war time, there should be no delay in prosecuting the charges; that it would take at least a week to prepare the particulars upon which defence Counsel insisted, and that in these times these cases should be tried swiftly.

Defence Counsel replied to each of these contentions:

- (a) That the Prosecuting Attorney should be obliged to place in writing, and clearly on record, precisely the material which they alleged constituted the respective offences against each of the accused.
- (b) That the accused did not necessarily know of all the material which had been taken from the house at the time of the seizure; certainly that each accused knew nothing of material which might have been taken either from the room of one of the other accused, or from somebody else entirely, or whether, in fact, all of the material now held by the police was, in fact, at all at the premises in question; That, in any event, the accused were entitled to know what portions of this material was complained of and that they cannot be expected to prepare a defence against a complete library of millions of words.
- (c) Defence Counsel declined to assume the responsibility of searching through a truck load of material for the purpose of attempting, on his own analysis, to ascertain what constituted the Crown's case, or what should be the subject of defence by the accused.
- (d) That if, in fact, the Crown did not have particulars of circulation or distribution these should not be charged against the accused, nor should they be required to defend a charge in respect to which the Crown could not furnish particulars or specific allegation.
- (e) That suggestions of speed in the trial at this stage, when particulars are requested, were ill-becoming a prosecution which had, so far, taken three weeks even to determine its charges or to take a plea from the prisoners.

14. On the question of bail, the accused Ruggero Benevenuti and Ernest Gava were each placed on bail of \$10,000.00. Bail has so far been refused to Arthur Bartolletti on the suggestion that proceedings were being taken by the Immigration authorities against his immigration status.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Memorandum] Re: Rex [v]s. B[or]tol[ot]ti, et al. [Toronto, 1939 Oct.? 26?] / [author unknown]. — 6 p. ; 33 x 22 cm.

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Notes: Broken type.

15. Following Court hearing on the 19th, Counsel for the Defence submitted in writing to the prosecuting Attorney particulars of the charges required, as follows:—

1. Specifically, as to each accused, and as to each charge against such accused, particulars of the books, writings, printed material, etc., and of the material, reports or statements alleged to be contained therein.
  - (a) intended or likely to cause disaffection to His Majesty or to interfere with the success of His Majesty's forces or of the forces of any allied or associated power, or to prejudice His Majesty's relations with foreign powers, or
  - (b) intended or likely to prejudice the recruiting, training, discipline or administration of any of His Majesty's forces, or
  - (c) which would or might be prejudicial to the safety of the State or the efficient prosecution of the war.
2. Specifically, as to each of the accused, and as to each of the charges, the books, writings, printed material, etc., which it is alleged each such accused printed, or attempted to print.
3. Specifically, as to each of the accused, and as to each of the charges, the books, writing, printed material, etc., which it is alleged each such accused circulated or distributed, or attempted to circulate or distribute.
4. Specifically, as to each of the accused, and as to each of the charges, and specifically as to such items of printed material, the dates, places, times, occasions and circumstances of such printing, circulation or distribution, or attempts at such printing, circulation or distribution so alleged.
5. Specifically, as to each of the accused, and as to each of the charges, the act or acts and the time, place, occasion and circumstance thereof, which, as to each such accused, it is alleged constitutes an "attempt" to commit the offence either of subsection (a), or of subsection (b) or of subsection (c) of Section 39(a).

16. Prior to the case being called again on Thursday afternoon the 26th of October, no particulars had been furnished, the prosecuting attorney stating, when court opened, that it had not been possible to prepare and furnish these particulars during the week. The court then ordered

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## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Memorandum] Re: Rex [v]s. B[or]tol[ot]ti, et al. [Toronto, 1939 Oct.? 26?] / [author unknown]. — 6 p. ; 33 x 22 cm.

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Summary: Someone summarizes the legal proceedings against Arthur Bortolotti before trial.

Notes: Broken type.

- 6 -

that Defence Counsel be furnished with those particulars by the prosecuting Attorney by Monday the 30th of October, and the case was adjourned for trial to Thursday the 2nd of November.

17. Counsel for the defence then moved against the charges on two technical grounds, as follows:-

- (a) That the formal informations linked more than one offence, thus prejudicing the defence of the accused, and that if the accused were to be charged both with printing and with circulating or distributing these should be respectively the subject of separate charges.
- (b) That the generality of the charge, as set out in the formal information, constituting as it did merely a reprint of the general wording of the regulation alleged to be prejudiced, was so indefinite as to fail, in law, to set out the elements of a crime; that this could not be cured, even by particulars, if furnished, and that the charges should consequently be quashed.

Authorities were cited and the motion, on these grounds, taken under advisement.

18. Counsel for defence then raised again the question of bail. Bail was again refused at all as to Bartolletti, but the amount of bail was reduced to \$5,000 in the cases of Benvenuti and Gava.

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## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Nov. 8, New York [to Ja]mes L. Houghteling, Commissioner [Immigration and Naturalization Service, Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / Harry Weinberger. — 1 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.

*Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the United States Library of Congress.*

*Institutional Location: Levine Collection.*

**Summary:** Weinberger asks if the Immigration Service intends to allow Goldman to visit the United States.

LAW OFFICE  
OF  
HARRY WEINBERGER  
70 WEST 40TH STREET  
NEW YORK, N. Y.  
LONGACRE 5-3552-3553

November 8, 1939

Commissioner James L. Houghteling  
Department of Immigration  
Washington, D. C.

My dear Commissioner:

I wonder whether you have come to any conclusion with reference to the admission into the United States of Emma Goldman Colson, that I spoke to you about on my last visit to Washington.

I would appreciate hearing from you.

I am,

Sincerely,

HARRY WEINBERGER

HW:BW

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

850128014

Soviet Invasion Fails to Surprise "Red Emma" — 35 cm. In [Winnipeg Tribune (Nov. 30, 1939)] / [author unknown].

Obtained from the National Archives of Canada. Institutional Location: Record Group 18.

Summary: Interviewed in Winnipeg, Goldman discusses anarchism, revolution, and the Soviet invasion of Finland.

Notes: Enclosed with 850128012 and 850128055.

## WINNIPEG TRIBUNE

CARDING DATE..... ISSUE CF..... 30-11-39



EMMA GOLDMAN  
"I hope to die an anarchist."

## Soviet Invasion Fails To Surprise 'Red Emma'

Famed Anarchist Predicted  
Russ-Nazi Pact Six Years Ago

A LITTLE, old lady, bright of eye, serene of countenance, stepped from a C.P.R. train this morning to be greeted by five or six Winnipeg friends. Grey-haired, soft-spoken, her gentle mien bespoke "the twilight of a peaceful life."

The woman was Emma Goldman, 70-year-old "Red Emma," for almost half a century one of the world's most noted anarchists; for

20 years an anti-Stalinist; a free-love advocate most of her life; United States' deportee in 1917, and a British subject by virtue of marriage to a Welsh miner.

### "I'm An Anarchist"

Appearances are deceiving. Emma Goldman still lives and breathes revolution and denounces all government as inimical to the welfare of the people.

"I'm an anarchist. I have been one all my life and I hope to die an anarchist."

This was her simple creed expressed in an interview in the Royal Alexandra hotel, where she had registered as Mrs. E. G. Colton. James Colton was the Welshman she married in 1926.

Russia's invasion of Finland today was no surprise to her. She has been denouncing the Soviet government since she visited Russia after her deportation from the United States in 1917. In an interview published in a Toronto paper in 1933 she predicted a Russian-German pact and declared Stalin and Hitler would join hands in imperialistic ventures.

### Too Late Now?

France and Great Britain, she admitted, had little choice but to go to war against Germany to save their own empires.

"But I'm afraid they can't check Germany and Russia now. They made their great mistake when they waited until Hitler fell into Stalin's arms. I'm afraid it's too late now. Who could stop Germany and Russia together?"

Communists outside Russia would never be of any assistance in bringing about world revolution, she said. "It's too late now for them to break with the Soviet. They have only existed by the grace of the great god, Stalin. And they've made too many changes for anyone to have any confidence in their sincerity."

### Violence Not Necessary

Anarchism was the only hope of world revolution. Violence was not necessarily its counterpart. It only became necessary when governing powers used violence to suppress anarchist uprisings. Then the people had to defend their right to rule themselves.

Her own definition of anarchism was: "A state of society based upon the freedom of the individual and the voluntary co-operation of the units of society which make up the collective body."

"Revolution is not made by this or that set of people. It is the culminating bursting point of accumulative revolutionary forces. If a country is ripe for revolution, no one can stop it, but that condition is reached in different countries at different times. It will come to the British perhaps last of all. The Anglo-Saxon temperament doesn't lend itself to revolution. They still think parliament will settle everything."

Born in Kovno, Lithuania (then part of Russia), on June 27, 1869, the daughter of a Russian Jewish family, Emma Goldman migrated with her parents to the United States in 1884.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

Stalin is Likened to Judas Iscariot — 18 cm. In [Winnipeg Free Press (Dec. 4, 1939)]  
/ [author unknown].

Obtained from the National Archives of Canada. Institutional Location: Record Group 18.

Summary: Goldman denounces Stalin's betrayals of Spain and China.

Notes: Enclosed with 850128055 and 850128012.

WINNIPEG FREE PRESS.

4/12/39.

## Stalin is Likened To Judas Iscariot

Denouncing Stalin as more perfidious than Judas Iscariot, Emma Goldman, pacifist and anarchist, accused the Russian dictator of betraying a whole generation of workers, before the Workmen's circle in Starland theatre, Sunday night.

A few deluded people have believed that Stalin worked for the benefit of labor the world over and that Russia was a workers' paradise, even during the years when he killed or threw into slavery millions of peasants and factory laborers, Miss Goldman continued. But two events have torn away the mask of his pretence and revealed him as a ruthless imperialist—the Chinese revolution and the Spanish civil war, the speaker claimed.

Stalin ordered Chinese Communists to support Chiang Kai Shek, well knowing that the Chinese leader and his Nationalist party cared nothing for workers' rights and welfare, said Miss Goldman. Stalin's recent understanding with the Japanese clearly shows he has sold out Chinese Communists for his own ends, charged the speaker.

Miss Goldman told how in Spain Stalin tried to impose his domination until he found that the Spaniards were too independent to accept his help on terms that meant their subjection to Communist tyranny. He then abandoned Spain to the Fascists.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

850128012

Report re: Mrs. Emma Goldman Colton [or] Emma Goldman (Anarchist), Winnipeg, 1939 Dec. 6 / [Agent] 304, Royal Canadian Mounted Police. — 2 p. ; 35 x 21 cm.  
Obtained from the National Archives of Canada. Institutional Location: Record Group 18.  
Summary: Agent 304 describes Goldman's lecture in Winnipeg on Stalin's betrayals.  
Notes: Upper portion of page 2 only. Enclosed with 850128055 and 850128013 through 850128015.

ROYAL CANADIAN MOUNTED POLICE

*Copy for 398 269-  
E-615*

"D" DIVISION

Winnipeg, December 6, 1939.

W 935-388

~~SECRET~~

## R E P O R T re

Mrs. Emma Goldman COLTON & Emma GOLDMAN  
(Anarchist) - speaker at Starland Theatre,  
Winnipeg, December 3rd, 1939  
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1. Advertised to commence at 8.30 p.m. Emma GOLDMAN began speaking after being introduced by the chairman, VIC JEFFREY of the I.W.W., at 8.50 p.m. She spoke until 9.15 p.m., after which time she answered questions until 10.30 p.m.
2. Her lecture was based on what she described a "monumental" work written by a Russian who was born in France and for which she herself supplied some of the material which went into this work, called "Stalin". This writer came to her and a number of other Revolutionary Russians and he went on to investigate and write the entire life of Stalin. She outlined a number of times at which Stalin had turned informer to destroy his immediate confederates, even when he was expelled from the Seminary he exposed those who were with him. He betrayed the Revolution of China, Germany, Spain and Finland. Goldman claimed the numbers who lost their lives in Russia following the Revolution were 12 million, while the official figures of the Soviet gave only 2 million. She proclaimed the whole business since the revolution as a lie and a farce. She said her opinion was that Stalin was a greater menace to world peace than Hitler. (She was applauded for this statement).
3. (for) She was questioned by R.C. McCUTCHEON as to whom she was speaking. She said that she was invited by several personal friends to the city; that the meeting on Friday night, Sunday night and next Sunday were under the Workmen's Circle. She would speak for certain women's organizations and under the I.W.W. She stated that Stalin had planned to destroy the French and British Empires.
4. In the body of the theatre about 600 persons sat. The ushers were from the I.W.W. In charge of the silver collection was Sam SILVERSTEIN, who took over the money. Silverstein was a member of the Jewish Colonization Society which was formed in Winnipeg after the failure of the Revolution of 1905. It is these people Goldman may have meant when she spoke of personal friends. This Society was formed for the purpose of bringing revolutionary Jews from all over the world to Canada, when conditions got too hot for them where they were.
5. A large number of tickets were sold at 25¢ for this meeting. \$13.00 was collected on behalf of an Anti-Fascist Italian held at Toronto for deportation. Silverstein is a foreman with the C.N.R. at Transcona Car Department.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

644

# The Emma Goldman Papers

850128012

Report re: Mrs. Emma Goldman Colton [or] Emma Goldman (Anarchist), Winnipeg, 1939 Dec. 6 / [Agent] 304, Royal Canadian Mounted Police. — 2 p.; 35 x 21 cm.  
Obtained from the National Archives of Canada. Institutional Location: Record Group 18.  
Summary: Agent 304 describes Goldman's lecture in Winnipeg on Stalin's betrayals.  
Notes: Upper portion of page 2 only. Enclosed with 850128055 and 850128013 through 850128015.

-2-

Mrs. Emma Goldman COLTON & Emma GOLDMAN  
(Anarchist) - speaker at Starland Theatre  
Winnipeg, December 3rd, 1939  
-----

~~SECRET~~  
*done*

6. Although a few Communists did question Goldman, none of the better known militants were noticed - a number of them gathered outside to watch who attended. While the meeting was anti-Communist and against Stalin, it was a revolutionary Test Lecture and was for the Revolution against Imperialism & Dictatorship.

"304"

The Commissioner,  
R.C.M. Police,  
Ottawa, Ont.

Forwarded 6-12-39. The Starland Theatre has a seating capacity of 1350 persons and it was about half-filled, as far as could be judged, with persons of Jewish nationality. The meeting was very anti-Communist. Cuttings taken from "Winnipeg Free Press" and "Winnipeg Tribune" attached.

C/M

R.L. Cadiz, A/Com'r.  
Commanding "D" Division.

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645

## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Memorandum, 19]39 Dec. 6 [Winnipeg to J.H. MacBrien?] Commissioner, R[oyal] C[anadian] M[ounted] Police, Ottawa / R.L. Cadiz, A[ssistant] Com[missione]r, D Division, [Royal Canadian Mounted Police]. — 1 p. ; 22 x 21 cm.

Obtained from the National Archives of Canada. Institutional Location: Record Group 18.

Summary: Cadiz forwards a report on Goldman's lecture in Winnipeg and notes that the audience was all Jewish.

Notes: Broken type. Lower document only. For enclosures, see 850128012 through 850128015.

-2-

Mrs. Emma Goldman COLTON & Emma GOLDMAN  
(Anarchist) - speaker at Starland Theatre.  
Winnipeg, December 3rd, 1939  
-----

~~SECRET~~  
*done*

6. Although a few Communists did question Goldman, none of the better known militants were noticed - a number of them gathered outside to watch who attended. While the meeting was anti-Communist and against Stalin, it was a revolutionary Test Lecture and was for the Revolution against Imperialism & Dictatorship.

"304"

The Commissioner,  
R.C.M. Police,  
Ottawa, Ont.

Forwarded 6-12-39. The Starland Theatre has a seating capacity of 1300 persons and it was about half-filled, as far as could be judged, with persons of Jewish nationality. The meeting was very anti-Communist. Cuttings taken from "Winnipeg Free Press" and "Winnipeg Tribune" attached.

C/M

R.L. Cadiz, A/Com'r.  
Commanding "D" Division.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

Report re: Mrs. Emma Goldman Colton [or] Emma Goldman (Anarchist), Winnipeg, 1939 Dec. 6 / [Agent] 302, Royal Canadian Mounted Police. — 2 p. ; 35 x 21 cm.  
Obtained from the National Archives of Canada. Institutional Location: Record Group 18.  
Summary: Agent 302 describes Goldman's Winnipeg lecture on "The Farce of Stalin's Democracy and Peace."  
Notes: Upper portion of page 2 only. Enclosed with 850128054. For another report on same lecture, see 850128012.

ROYAL CANADIAN MOUNTED POLICE

*Copy for 398 269.1E615*

"D" DIVISION

Winnipeg, Dec. 6, 1939.

W 935-388

~~SECRET~~  
*de 9/11*

## REPORT re

Mrs. Emma Goldman COLTON & Emma GOLDMAN  
(Anarchist) — speaker at Starland Theatre,  
Winnipeg, December 3rd, 1939

1. Some 600 people gathered in the Starland Theatre to a meeting, Sunday night, Dec. 3rd. The meeting was called under auspices of Workmen's Circle. Emma GOLDMAN, known anarchist and pacifist woman, addressed the meeting; subject of the address was "THE FARCE OF STALIN'S DEMOCRACY AND PEACE". The meeting was scheduled to commence at 8.30 but as for some reason the speaker did not arrive until close to 9 o'clock and people were growing impatient. VIC. JEFFRY of the I.W.W. was Chairman.
2. Her whole address was an avalanche of condemnation of Stalin and his predecessor, Lenin; she pointed out how disgracefully the workers and peasants in USSR had been cheated out and betrayed by the bolsheviks and not only the people of Russia but also abroad throughout the whole world; those who believed that the Communist Party of bolsheviks really had in mind to organize and lead the workers and peasants into better life; today all are sorrowfully disappointed. She admitted that she herself believed and once supported Lenin; but after two years she stayed in Russia she had enough of the ruthless regime.
3. Stalin was worse than Judas; Judas betrayed only one man; Stalin betrayed a whole people and many adherents to Communist ideology all over the world. Stalin is far more dangerous than Hitler. Hitler destroyed enemies of Nazism only and Stalin destroyed true and loyal Communists; all those charges against executed leaders as contra-revolutionary, were false and used to do away with the people whom Stalin considered not safe for him. So hard did she hammer at Stalin that a few Communists could not stand listening to it and left the meeting. She spoke exactly one hour. Then came a few questions which she readily answered, quoting dates and various events; proved that she knew what she was talking about. Hitler would not dare strike at Poland without Stalin's consent. Stalin is just as lusty for Imperialism as any other power. She explained what Imperialism means and said that she is against it no matter who, Britain, France, Germany, Russia or anyone.
4. She appealed for a collection for the defence of an anti-Fascist Italian in Toronto who is being held for deportation (forgot his name). The collection brought \$13.57. The meeting was over at 10.45 p.m.

*Original on 242-419*

"302"



## The Emma Goldman Papers

Report re: Mrs. Emma Goldman Colton [or] Emma Goldman (Anarchist), Winnipeg, 1939 Dec. 6 / [Agent] 302, Royal Canadian Mounted Police. — 2 p.; 35 × 21 cm.

*Obtained from the National Archives of Canada. Institutional Location: Record Group 18.*

**Summary:** Agent 302 describes Goldman's Winnipeg lecture on "The Farce of Stalin's Democracy and Peace."

**Notes:** Upper portion of page 2 only. Enclosed with 850128054. For another report on same lecture, see 850128012.

-2-

SECRET

Mrs. Emma Goldman COLTON & Emma GOLDMAN  
(Anarchist) - speaker at Starland Theatre,  
Winnipeg, December 3rd, 1939  
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The Commissioner,  
R.C.M. Police, Ottawa, Ont.

FORWARDED 6-12-39. The Workmen's Circle have a number of well-to-do Jews, who provided the funds for Emma GOLDMAN to visit Winnipeg. It will be noted that the collection was only \$13.57, not sufficient to meet expenses.

C/M

R.L. Cadiz, A/Com'r.  
Comdg. "D" Division

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648

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Memorandum, 19]39 Dec. 6, Winnipeg [to J.H. MacBrien?] Commissioner, R[oyal] C[anadian] M[ounted] Police, Ottawa / R.L. Cadiz, A[ssistant] Com[missione]r, D Division [Royal Canadian Mounted Police]. — 1 p. ; 21 x 21 cm.

*Obtained from the National Archives of Canada. Institutional Location: Record Group 18.*

**Summary:** Cadiz forwards a report on Goldman's lecture in Winnipeg.

**Notes:** Broken type; barely legible. Lower document only. For enclosure, see 850128011.

-2-

SECRET

Mrs. Emma Goldman COLTON & Emma GOLDMAN  
(Anarchist) - speaker at Starland Theatre,  
Winnipeg, December 3rd, 1939  
-----

The Commissioner,  
R.C.M. Police, Ottawa, Ont.

FORWARDED 6-12-39. The Workmen's Circle have a number of well-to-do Jews, who provided the funds for Emma GOLDMAN to visit Winnipeg. It will be noted that the collection was only \$13.57, not sufficient to meet expenses.

C/M

R.L. Cadiz, A/Com'r.  
Comdg. "D" Division

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

Stalin's Party Split, Says Emma Goldman — 18 cm. In [Winnipeg Free Press (Dec. 7, 1939)] / [author unknown].

Obtained from the National Archives of Canada. Institutional Location: Record Group 18.

Summary: Goldman's attack on Stalin is printed in the Winnipeg Free Press.

Notes: Enclosed with 850128009 and 850128053.

WINNIPEG FREE PRESS

CARDING DATE..... ISSUE OF .7/12/39

## Stalin's Party Split, Says Emma Goldman

Thousands of communists have left the party since Russia made the pact with Hitler, those remaining being obsessed with the myth of sovietism that all was well in heaven and hell, declared Emma Goldman, addressing a meeting of workers in Manor hall, Wednesday night, under auspices of the I.W.W. with V. Jeffery in the chair.

"Ridiculous and a falsehood," was her reply to the question was Russia not liberating the people in Finland as she had in Poland? Stalin should first liberate the people of Russia. Every step that Stalin has made, she continued, had absolutely nothing to do with the interest of the workers. And to the question would the soviet system work in Sweden and Norway, Miss Goldman replied that it did not work in Russia and she did not believe that those countries would lend themselves to the system. *E.P. 7/12/39*

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

Report re: Industrial Workers of the World—Emma Goldman speaker, Winnipeg, 1939 Dec. 12 / [Agent] 302, Royal Canadian Mounted Police. — 2 p. ; 35 x 21 cm.

Obtained from the National Archives of Canada. Institutional Location: Record Group 18.

Summary: Agent 302 reports on Goldman's lecture on "The Betrayal of Spain by the Democracies and Soviet Russia."

Notes: Broken type. Upper portion of page 2 only. Enclosed with 850128053 and 850128010.

ROYAL CANADIAN MOUNTED POLICE

*Copy for*  
*391269-1E615*

"D" DIVISION  
W 945-1-38

Winnipeg, Man., December 12, 1939.

~~SECRET~~

## R E P O R T

re

Industrial Workers of the World -  
Emma GOLDMAN speaker. Dec. 6, 1939.

1. Under the auspices of I.W.W. Emma GOLDMAN addressed the meeting on Wednesday night, December 6th, in Manor Hall at the rear of the Manor Hotel. Between 80 and 90 persons were at the meeting. V. JEFFERY was the chairman. This was the third meeting of the series she addressed during her visit to Winnipeg, - 1st meeting on Friday night, Dec. 1st, at Hebrew Sick Benefit Hall, second meeting on Sunday night, Dec. 3rd, at Starland Theatre, under auspices of Workers Circle and this the 3rd meeting at Manor Hall under I.W.W. auspices. Another meeting was announced to be held again in Hebrew Sick Benefit Hall on Sunday night, Dec. 10th. Two meetings - 1st and last one coming in Hebrew Sick Benefit Hall addressed in Yiddish and the meetings at Starland Theatre last Sunday and at Manor Hall in English.

2. At the I.W.W. meeting in Manor Hall she spoke on "THE BETRAYAL OF SPAIN BY THE DEMOCRACIES AND THE SOVIET RUSSIA". As for the part of Democracies in the betrayal of Spain, the speaker dealt briefly, telling about the considerable investments of English and French capital in Spain - iron, copper and mercury mines, railways, automobile and other few industries. Democracies, as they did, had to protect their interests in Spain from being seized by the Loyalists and nationalized, so General FRANCO in advance was assured of victory, as he also assured the capitalist interests. But Soviet Russia had no other interests in Spain than that of Communist hegemony to Sovietise Spain. Soviet Russia also entered into the Non-intervention scandal, then tried to get the control of the whole situation in Spain; whatever assistance Russia sent all had to be paid for in full with gold in advance, and all what was sent Communists only got it - not a single cartridge or a rifle was given other soldiers outside of Communists. MAGILL was the tool of STALIN and he took out much of the Spanish gold when the collapse came. When people in Madrid suffered hunger, Communists leaders had barricades made of flour and sugar bags around their quarters. STALIN seeing that there was nothing for him in Spain soon abandoned not only Spanish people but also good Communists from abroad who formed the international brigade. All arms, ammunitions, planes and tanks sent from Russia were old and obsolete, for which high price was charged. Soviet officials sent from Russia to Spain and Spanish Communists were a greater menace than Franco with all Italian and German interventionists; and had the people been free from Communists there would have been a better chance for Loyalists to win the struggle. All this and much more, the speaker poured out in her condemnation on Stalin in her address during her hour and 10 minutes, leaving about half an hour for questions. Clipping from FREE PRESS enclosed will show few of the questions and answers.

3. Before question period she appealed for collection to help the Spanish refugees in France, telling of their miserable life in France. Much more could have been expected from the country who also had their revolutions, she remarked on the treatment Spanish refugees were given in France. The amount of collection was not announced although a couple of dollar bills were on the plate.

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## The Emma Goldman Papers

Report re: Industrial Workers of the World—Emma Goldman speaker, Winnipeg, 1939 Dec. 12 / [Agent] 302, Royal Canadian Mounted Police. — 2 p. ; 35 x 21 cm.

Obtained from the National Archives of Canada. Institutional Location: Record Group 18.

Summary: Agent 302 reports on Goldman's lecture on "The Betrayal of Spain by the Democracies and Soviet Russia."

Notes: Broken type. Upper portion of page 2 only. Enclosed with 850128053 and 850128010.

W-945-1-38  
SECRET

- 2 -

I.W.W. - Emma Goldman meeting, Dec. 6, 1939.

4. There, as well as at previous meeting at Starland Theatre, were quite a few Jews - Jos. CHERNIAK, barrister, and others were at this meeting.

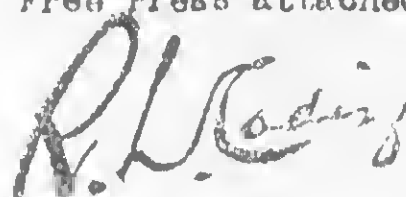
5. These meetings will hardly have any effect either way, neither good nor bad, as quite a few were heard to remark, after the meeting, that she is hired by someone to do this work for some purpose, not only necessarily against Communists but to help to break up labour's confidence; and these remarks were not made by Communists but by so-called fair and level minded men who belong to no organizations, not even anti-Communists.

"302"

The Commissioner,  
R. C. M. Police,  
OTTAWA.

The Manor Hall is a dance Hall with a capacity of less than 200, it would be less than half filled. As the I.W.W. find it difficult in the ordinary way to collect more than 40 persons it can be assumed that most of the crowd were North Winnipeg Jews.

Cutting from the Winnipeg Free Press attached.



R. L. Cadiz, Asst/Comm'r,  
Commanding "D" Division.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Memorandum, 1939 Dec. 12? Winnipeg to J.H. MacBrien?] Commissioner, R[oyal] C[anadian] M[ounted] Police, Ottawa / R.L. Cadiz, Ass[istan]t Comm[issione]r, D Division [Royal Canadian Mounted Police]. — 1 p. ; 18 x 21 cm.

Obtained from the National Archives of Canada. Institutional Location: Record Group 18.

Summary: Cadiz forwards a report on Goldman's lecture, noting that most of the audience was Jewish.

Notes: Broken type; light copy; barely legible. Lower document only. For enclosures, see 850128009 and 850128010.

W-945-1-38  
SECRET

- 2 -

I.W.O. - Emma Goldman meeting, Dec. 6, 1939.

4. There, as well as at previous meeting at Starland Theatre, were quite a few Jews - Jos. CHADIAK, barrister, and others were at this meeting.

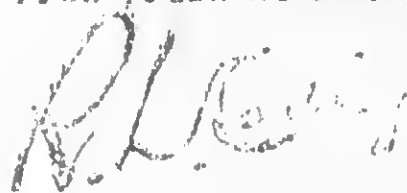
5. These meetings will hardly have any effect either way, neither good nor bad, as quite a few were heard to remark, after the meeting, that she is hired by someone to do this work for some purpose, not only necessarily against Communists but to help to break up labour's confidence; and these remarks were not made by Communists but by so-called fair and level minded men who belong to no organizations, not even anti-Communists.

"302"

The Commissioner,  
R. C. M. Police,  
OTTAWA.

The Janor Hall is a dance Hall with a capacity of less than 200, it would be less than half filled. As the I.W.O. find it difficult in the ordinary way to collect more than 40 persons it can be assumed that most of the crowd were North Winnipeg Jews.

Cutting from the Winnipeg Free Press attached.



R. L. Cadiz, Asst/Comm'r,  
Commanding "D" Division.

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653

# The Emma Goldman Papers

Report re: Industrial Workers of the World—Emma Goldman meeting, Winnipeg, 1939 Dec. 12 / [Agent] 304, Royal Canadian Mounted Police. — 1 p.; 35 x 21 cm.

Obtained from the National Archives of Canada. Institutional Location: Record Group 18.

Summary: Agent 304 describes Goldman's Winnipeg speech on the Stalinist betrayal of the Spanish revolution.

Notes: Broken type. Upper document only. Enclosed with 850128052. For another report on same lecture, see 850128009.

ROYAL CANADIAN MOUNTED POLICE

Copy for  
390769-1E-615

D" DIVISION.  
-946-1-38

Winnipeg, Man., December 12, 1939.

## R E P O R T

re

INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

Emma GOLDMAN meeting - Manor Hall,  
Winnipeg, Wednesday, Dec. 6, 1939.

1. The meeting opened at 9.00 p.m., only about 70 people attended, mostly from the Socialist Party. GOLDMAN spoke on Spain and how the Communist Party betrayed the Revolution in Spain. The help that STALIN gave to Spain was a curse. The arms and supplies were for the last war. Along with these supplies STALIN sent 2,000 commissaries who tried to take possession of Spain. Not one person outside of the Communist Party received as much as one cartridge and everyone was paid for in Spanish gold. GOLDMAN attended a meeting in Paris a few weeks before she came here, this meeting was called by the ex M.P.'s of the old Loyalist Government and NEGRIN was requested to attend this meeting and give an account of the funds lost while NEGRIN was in office, he arrived at the meeting with a body guard of Communists - heavily armed - and refused to give any information regarding the funds of the Government. GOLDMAN claimed that six million pounds of gold was sent to Russia by NEGRIN. She said that the Communist leaders in Spain used bags of flour and sugar as sand bags while the people starved. She claimed the Communists were forced to go to Spain or be expelled from the Party.

2. In the question period GOLDMAN stated that Anna Louise STRONG was married to a Soviet official and had to support the Soviet cause. Sam SILVERSTEIN was again in charge of the collection at the meeting.

3. All activities in regard to this series of meetings point to the fact that the work of the Jewish Colonization Board is still being carried on. That while there is a serious break among these Jews from the Communist Party they are still working on an International Revolution as they did before the Russian Revolution. A meeting in Jewish is planned for Sunday at the Hebrew Sick Benefit Hall.

4. GOLDMAN is teaching that STALIN has given the idea of World Revolution of the proletariat for that of a World Empire under STALIN. The Jews still hold the excuse of World Revolution. The "Workmen's Circle" has 700 branches in Canada, says GOLDMAN.

"304"

The Commissioner,  
R. C. M. Police,  
Ottawa.

Forwarded, 12-12-39. Louise STRONG mentioned in para. 2 will be well known at Headquarters. She is a native of Seattle, U.S.A. and lectured here on behalf of the Communist Party of Canada in 1937.

R. L. Cadiz, Asst/Comm'r  
Commanding "D" Div.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Memorandum, 19]39 Dec. 12 [Winnipeg to J.H. MacBrien?] Commissioner, R[oyal] C[anadian] M[ounted] Police, Ottawa / R.L. Cadiz, Ass[istant] Comm[issione]r, D Div[ision], Royal Canadian Mounted Police].— 1 p. ; 35 x 21 cm.

Obtained from the National Archives of Canada. Institutional Location: Record Group 18.

Summary: Cadiz forwards a report on Goldman's lecture on Spain.

Notes: Broken type; light copy; portions illegible. Lower document only. For enclosure, see 850128008.

ROYAL CANADIAN MOUNTED POLICE

DIVISION  
-945-1-38

Winnipeg, Man., December 12, 1939.

## REPORT

re

INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD  
Emma GOLDMAN meeting - Lanor Hall,  
Winnipeg, Wednesday, Dec. 6, 1939.

1. The meeting opened at 9.00 p.m., only about 70 people attended, mostly from the Socialist Party. GOLDMAN spoke on Spain and how the Communist Party betrayed the Revolution in Spain. She told that the aid given to Spain was a curse. The arms and supplies were for the last war. Along with these supplies GOLDMAN sent 2,000 communists who tried to take possession of Spain. Not one person outside of the Communist Party received as much as one cartridge and everyone was paid for in Spanish gold. GOLDMAN attended a meeting in Paris a few weeks before she came here, this meeting was called by the ex-L.P.'s of the old Loyalist Government and LAGRAN was requested to attend this meeting and give an account of the funds lost while LAGRAN was in office, he arrived at the meeting with a body guard of Communists - heavily armed - and refused to give any information regarding the funds of the Government. GOLDMAN claimed that six million pounds of gold was sent to Russia by LAGRAN. She said that the Communist leaders in Spain used bags of flour and sugar as food bags while the people starved. She claimed the Communists were forced to go to Spain or be expelled from the Party.

2. In the question period GOLDMAN stated that Anna Louise BROWNE was married to a Soviet official and had to support the Soviet cause. SAM STEVENSON was again in charge of the collection at the meeting.

3. All activities in regard to this series of meetings point to the fact that the work of the Jewish Colonization Board is still being carried on. That while there is a serious break among these Jews from the Communist Party they are still working on an International Revolution as they did before the Russian Revolution. A meeting in Polish is planned for January at the Hebrew Sick Benefit Hall.

4. GOLDMAN is teaching that the I.W.O. has given the idea of World Revolution of the proletariat for that of a World Empire under the I.W.O. The Jews still hold the excuse of World Revolution. The Workers' Circle has 700 branches in Canada, says GOLDMAN.

"304"

For Liaison,  
Police.

Forwarded, 12-12-39. Louise BROWNE mentioned in para. 2. She is a native of Seattle, U.S.A. She returned here on behalf of the Communist Party of Canada in 1937.

R. L. Cadiz, Captain  
Commanding "E" Div.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

Report re: Industrial Workers of the World—Emma Goldman, Winnipeg, 1939 Dec.  
 15 / [Agent] 304, Royal Canadian Mounted Police. — 1 p. ; 26 × 21 cm.  
 Obtained from the National Archives of Canada. Institutional Location: Record Group 18.  
 Summary: Agent 304 reports that Goldman left Winnipeg, but plans to return in March 1940.  
 Notes: Upper document only. Enclosed with 850128051.

## ROYAL CANADIAN MOUNTED POLICE

"D" DIVISION  
 W-945-1-38

Winnipeg, Man., December 15, 1939.

~~SECRET~~

### R E P O R T re

Industrial Workers of the World -  
Emma GOLDMAN

1. Emma GOLDMAN left Winnipeg for the East on Tuesday, December 13th. Before leaving she said that she planned to return to Winnipeg next March for a two months stay and that she would live with one of the workers and not in a hotel.

2. The Committee which brought Emma GOLDMAN to Winnipeg has reported that there was a loss of about \$100. on the visit but it is believed that she received a grant from Winnipeg which is included in this amount.

"304"

The Commissioner,  
 R.C.M. Police,  
 Ottawa.

Forwarded for your information, 15-12-39.

R. L. Cadiz, Asst. Comm'r  
 Commanding "D" Division.

R/R

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Memorandum, 19]39 Dec. 15 [Winnipeg to J.H. MacBrien?] Commissioner, R[oyal] C[anadian] M[ounted] Police, Ottawa / R.L. Cadiz, Ass[istant] Comm[issione]r, D Division [Royal Canadian Mounted Police. — 1 p. ; 26 x 21 cm.  
Obtained from the National Archives of Canada. Institutional Location: Record Group 18.  
Summary: Cadiz forwards a report on Goldman's departure from Winnipeg.  
Notes: Broken type; barely legible. Lower document only. For enclosure, see 850128007.

ROYAL CANADIAN MOUNTED POLICE

"D" DIVISION  
-945-1-38

Winnipeg, Man., December 15, 1939.

## REPORT re

Industrial Workers of the World -  
Emma GOLDMAN

1. Emma GOLDMAN left Winnipeg for the East on Tuesday, December 13th. Before leaving she said that she planned to return to Winnipeg next March for a two months stay and that she would live with one of the workers and not in a hotel.

2. The Committee which brought Emma GOLDMAN to Winnipeg has reported that there was a loss of about \$100. on the visit but it is believed that she received a grant from Winnipeg which is included in this amount.

"304"

The Commissioner,  
R.C.M.P. Police,  
Ottawa

Forwarded for your information, 15-12-39.

R. L. Cadiz, Asst. Comm'r  
Commanding "D" Division.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

657

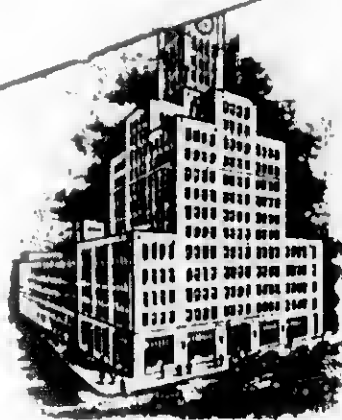
# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1940 Jan. 23, Philadelphia [to Malvina T. Scheider] Secretary to [Eleanor] Roosevelt, Washington, D.C. / Katharine Mulrenan. — 1 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, NY. Institutional Location: Eleanor Roosevelt Collection.

Summary: Mulrenan asks whether Eleanor Roosevelt spoke on the same platform with Goldman in 1934.

Notes: For reply, see 901105008.



## The Philadelphia Inquirer

Philadelphia

January 23, 1940

Secretary to Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt,  
White House,  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Madam:

One of our readers has written to ask if Mrs. Roosevelt appeared on the platform the evening on which Miss Emma Goldman spoke at the Broadwood Hotel in Philadelphia. The date was February 28, 1934.

We have checked our files and find no mention of the fact that Mrs. Roosevelt did attend, but we wished to check the matter with you.

At your convenience, we would appreciate your sending us some information on this point.

Thank you for your courtesy to this request.

Very truly yours,

*Katharine Mulrenan*  
(Miss) Katharine Mulrenan,  
Editor Everybody's Column

KM:eg

*Added 1.25.40*  
*I am truly knowledgeable but Mrs. G. is referred to many platforms with her in 1934 after her arrest*

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

901105007

[Letter] 1940 Jan. 25 [Washington, D.C. to] Katharine Mulrenan, Philadelphia / [Malvina T. Scheider] Secretary to [Eleanor] Roosevelt. — 1 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.

*Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, NY. Institutional Location: Eleanor Roosevelt Collection.*

**Summary:** Scheider tells Mulrenan that Eleanor Roosevelt says she never spoke on the same platform with Goldman.

**Notes:** Reply to 901105007.

January 25, 1940

153.9

My dear Miss Mulrenan:

I gave Mrs. Roosevelt your letter and she says that to her knowledge she never met Miss Emma Goldman, nor appeared on any platform with her, or before or after her.

Very sincerely yours,

Secretary to  
Mrs. Roosevelt

Miss Katharine Mulrenan  
Editor, Everybody's Column  
The Philadelphia Inquirer  
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

DD

659



# The Emma Goldman Papers

830523128

[Memorandum] 1940 Feb. 15, Washington [D.C. to Frances Perkins] Secretary [of Labor, Department of Labor, Washington, D.C. / James L. Houghteling, Commissioner, Immigration and Naturalization Service, Department of Labor. — 1 p. ; 23 x 21 cm.

*Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Columbia University Rare Book and Manuscript Library. Institutional Location: Frances Perkins Papers, Special Manuscripts Collection.*

**Summary:** Houghteling informally recommends Harry Weinberger's request to allow Goldman to return for a visit, providing she will not lecture against the Nazis.

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR  
IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION SERVICE  
WASHINGTON

ADDRESS REPLY TO COMMISSIONER OF  
IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION  
AND REFER TO FILE NUMBER

56026/359

February 15, 1940

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM

To: The Secretary

From: Mr. Houghteling

The attached letter of Harry Weinberger to the President, in the matter of Emma Goldman, appears to me to be very appealing. I thoroughly sympathize with Miss Goldman's desire to enter the United States. It appears to me that the recent statement of the President to the National Youth Conference delegates regarding communism and the position of Soviet Russia in world affairs has done much to counteract the false propaganda that this administration is in any way sympathetic with communism. I am inclined to believe that the temporary admission of Emma Goldman, through the invocation of the 9th proviso of Section 3 of the 1917 Immigration Act, might not be greeted with the hostility that it would have been some months ago. This however would depend largely upon whether Miss Goldman would restrict her visit to simply staying quietly with members of her family or whether she would feel herself called upon to lecture against the Nazis in Germany, the Soviet invasion of Finland, etc.

As our last previous experience with Miss Goldman was prior to my tenure of office, I do not feel competent to recommend any action in regard to her.

James L. Houghteling

660

# The Emma Goldman Papers

850128006

Emma Goldman Ill in Toronto Hospital — 15 cm. In [Toronto Daily Star (Feb. 20, 1940)] / [author unknown].

Obtained from the National Archives of Canada. Institutional Location: Record Group 18.

Summary: The Toronto Daily Star reports that Goldman suffered a stroke.

69742 FEB 26 40

TORONTO DAILY STAR

20-2-40

*Emma Goldman*  
*390 269-1E615*

## EMMA GOLDMAN ILL IN TORONTO HOSPITAL

Emma Goldman, anarchist, once described as "the most dangerous woman in America," is seriously ill in hospital here. She passed her 70th birthday last June, and on Saturday night at the home of friends, where she was staying in Toronto, she suffered a stroke. Her niece, Mrs. Bella Ballantyne, of Detroit, has been summoned.

Miss Goldman has been in Canada since last May when she came

here direct from Spain to plead the cause of Spanish refugees. Despite her years she has been, until now, in vigorous health. Last December she conducted a speaking tour in Manitoba.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Bank Book of Emma Goldman] Toronto, 1940 Feb. 22 to June 17 / Dominion Bank. — 5 p. ; 21 × 16 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the University of Michigan, Harlan Hatcher Graduate Library. Institutional Location: Labadie Collection, Frederico Arcos Papers, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections.

## THE DOMINION BANK

ESTABLISHED 1871

### CHANGE OF ADDRESS

Please notify us if you change your address. Should you move to another district, the Manager will be pleased to arrange the transfer of your account to one of our other Branches.

SAVINGS DEPARTMENT

ST. CLAIR AVE. &  
VAUGHAN ROAD.  
TORONTO, CANADA

BRANCH

ACCOUNT NO.

3590

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Bank Book of Emma Goldman] Toronto, 1940 Feb. 22 to June 17 / Dominion Bank. — 5 p. ; 21 × 16 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the University of Michigan, Harlan Hatcher Graduate Library. Institutional Location: Labadie Collection, Frederico Arcos Papers, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections.

## THE DOMINION BANK SAVINGS DEPARTMENT

### REGULATIONS.

Depositors with the bank shall, on the occasion of making their first deposit, declare their name, residence and occupation. The strictest secrecy is observed as to the names of depositors and the amount of their deposits.

All deposits must be made at the Teller's wicket.

Depositors will be furnished with a Pass Book, in which each deposit shall be entered and confirmed by the initials of the Ledger Keeper of the Bank. Strict attention to this regulation is necessary to form a proper voucher for the deposit.

Interest is allowed on deposits at the current rate.

Fifteen days' notice of withdrawal will be required if necessary.

In case of the death of a depositor the claimant of the deposit shall be required to furnish satisfactory legal evidence of the title thereto.

The Pass Book must be produced whenever any business is transacted, and should be exhibited to the Savings Ledger Keeper, once at least in every year for the purpose of being examined.

Please notify the Bank of any change of address.

This book must bear the signature of the Manager.

Use Rubber  
Stamp for  
Domicile.

C. A. R. HUNTER  
Manager.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Bank Book of Emma Goldman] Toronto, 1940 Feb. 22 to June 17 / Dominion Bank. — 5 p. ; 21 × 16 cm.

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3540

No. ~~1255~~ ST. CLAIR AVE. &  
VAUGHAN ROAD.  
TORONTO, CANADA.

THE DOMINION BANK

SAVINGS DEPARTMENT

Date 1940	Particu- lars	Initials	Dr.	Cr.	Balance
Feb 22	Dep			328 90	328 90
24				222	550 90
26				259 80	810 70
					800 70
				100	
8				46 83	747 53
11					772 53
20				5 87	878 40
21				50	875 90
23				28 35	904 25
				40	
27				63 00	927 27

THE DOMINION BANK  
CANCELLED  
ST. CLAIR & VAUGHAN

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Bank Book of Emma Goldman] Toronto, 1940 Feb. 22 to June 17 / Dominion Bank. — 5 p. ; 21 × 16 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the University of Michigan, Harlan Hatcher Graduate Library. Institutional Location: Labadie Collection, Frederico Arcos Papers, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections.

Date	Particulars	Initials	Dr.	Cr.	Balance
Feb 27				927.27	927.27
28			5.00		922.27
29				96.75	
			4.00		230.52
31			88.80		141.72
Apr 5			45.00	29.70	
6				29.70	126.42
16		A		10.26	136.68
10			59.40		77.28
16			50.00		27.28
May 2			3.00		
9			4.48		
11		S		99.00	118.80
15		S		37.08	155.88

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665

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Bank Book of Emma Goldman] Toronto, 1940 Feb. 22 to June 17 / Dominion Bank. — 5 p. ; 21 × 16 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the University of Michigan, Harlan Hatcher Graduate Library. Institutional Location: Labadie Collection, Frederico Arcos Papers, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections.

Date	Particu- lars	Initials	Dr.	Cr.	Balance
May	land				125 88
	St				
	Int				
June 7		J		06	153 84
11				645 -	8008 4
17			100		
4			445 -		1058 4
			1058 4		0

THE DOMINION BANK  
CANCELLED  
St. Clair & Vaughan Rd.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Report] re: Mrs. E.G. Colton [or] Emma Goldman (Anarchist), Toronto [19]40 Feb.  
24 / R.J. Smith, Royal Canadian Mounted Police. — 1 p. ; 35 × 21 cm.  
Obtained from the National Archives of Canada. Institutional Location: Record Group 18.  
Summary: Smith reports that Goldman suffered a stroke.  
Notes: Upper document only. Enclosed with 850128050.

106271 MAR 10 40

Division File No. T935/39

P. 237

ROYAL CANADIAN MOUNTED POLICE

Division	Sub-Division	Detachment
"O"	"Intelligence Branch Toronto"	
Province	Date	
Western Ontario Dist.	24-2-40	

*D935-419*  
*39D-267-1E-613*

File References

Re: Mrs. E.G. COLTON @ Emma GOLDMAN (Anarchist)  
295 Vaughan Rd. Toronto Ont.

~~SECRET~~

Headquarters

D935-419

Sub-Division

Detachment

P. C. R.

29-11-39

1. Arthur WOODS, a Delegate of the I.W.W. called at the residence of Emma GOLDMAN, Mrs. Dorothy BEIZKE @ Dorothy RODGERS who resides with Emma GOLDMAN informed him that on the 7th. inst. Emma GOLDMAN had suffered a Stroke, which left her with a paralyzed condition of the right side of the Body, and loss of speech, further saying she is now fully conscious, and is as well as can be expected.

2. The condition of Emma GOLDMAN will be observed by the writer from time to time and anything of interest will be reported.

*R.J. Smith* Cst.  
R.J. Smith, Reg. No. 10676.

The Commissioner:  
FORWARDED, for your information.

2. You will note that Emma GOLDMAN has suffered a paralytic stroke. It is understood that her condition has improved to the point where she will be removed from hospital in the course of the next few days. Still under Investigation.

*F. W. Schutz*  
(F. W. Schutz) Insp.,  
for O.C. "O" Div., A.O.D.

Toronto  
29-3-40  
MB/WB.

File numbers must be quoted.

667



# The Emma Goldman Papers

Reds' Fear Seen Behind Hoover Attack / Kent Hunter. — 26 cm. In [New York Journal and American (March 2, 1940, excerpt)].

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: Hunter believes fear of J. Edgar Hoover motivates the Communist Party's smear-Hoover campaign. He outlines Hoover's history of attacking radicals, including Goldman.

Notes: Enclosed with 890414004.

NEW YORK JOURNAL AND AMERICAN  
March 2, 1940

Page 7

## Reds' Fear Seen Behind Hoover Attack

### Walter Winchell Tells How Reds Plotted Smear

Walter Winchell, in his "Hicktown News-Paper" column in Friday's Daily Mirror, said: "We all happen to know that on Feb. 15th last at a meeting held in 7th Street N. W. in the Capitol of Our Nation—many Communists who held a 'put-together' quiet-like. But not so quiet-like as to miss the red's ear which he keeps to the ground. These Reds discussed ways and means of discrediting the FBI boys. They proposed 'smearing' members of Congress to 'start the attack' and thereby prevent the Feds from curbing Communist activities." They especially suggested a blast against J. E. H. and "his plug-uglies" to use one of their phrases. "Sure was a coincidence that, almost three weeks later, various sources as suggested came out with their attacks."

### Hope to Balk Fight on Subverters by 'Smearing' FBI Chief

By KENT HUNTER.

With a startling paralleling of objectives, the official Communist press and "liberal" and "progressive" publications which follow the "party line" have embarked on a "smear campaign" directed against the Federal Bureau of Investigation and its director, J. Edgar Hoover. The "smear Hoover" campaign has even found spokesmen in the United States Senate and the House of Representatives.

Communism's "smear Hoover" campaign is motivated by fear.

Twenty-three years ago next July, J. Edgar Hoover came into the Department of Justice, under war conditions, as a Special Assistant Attorney General, to direct counter-radical activities of the War Division of the Attorney General's office.

Strikes, sabotage, industrial unrest inspired by international radicals came under his direct attention throughout the war period.

But it was not until Aug. 1, 1919, that the mailing of bombs to Government officials and a series of bomb outrages in June of that year revealed the anarchists and other extreme radicals were a serious post-war menace.

### ANARCHISTS UNCOVERED.

Within the General Intelligence Division of the Department of Justice was created, with Hoover in charge. Action developed fast.

In Buffalo, N. Y., a Spanish anarchist society was uncovered and led to discovery of the Union of Russian Workers—with an organization network in the United States and Canada.

The report of Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer for 1920 shows radicals were active in the steel strike of 1919, and the coal strike of that year. The Communist Party was formed and became a central force for radical groups.

### ALL ARRESTED.

By Nov. 17, 1919, the investigation had proceeded far enough to warrant 300 arrests.

Dec. 31, 1919, saw the transport of Buford, carrying Emma Goldman, Alexander Berkman, Adolph Schnabel and Peter Blanki, among others, out of the country. Their deportation trials had shown a well organized campaign, apparently well financed, spreading demands to "workers" to rise against the government, calling for "revolution" and "armed revolt."

Jan. 2, 1920, saw more raids—1,500 arrests in 33 towns, seizure of Communist leaders, firearms and definitely linking the Communist Party in the United States to the Third International, formed in Moscow in 1919 under leadership of Lenin and Trotsky.

### INDEX OF RADICALS.

By 1921—getting into the Henry H. Daugherty regime as Attorney General—Hoover's General Intelligence Division had gathered a card index file of most of the radicals in America.

Edward John Lindgren was arrested and documents seized, showing efforts of the Communists to organize the Negroes and the farmers into the Communist Party.

Records showed that 427 alien propagandists against the American form of government came into the United States in the year ending June 30, 1921.

"Many of the leaders of this movement (Communist) war American citizens, though subject to orders from Moscow on their actions and activities in the United States."

# The Emma Goldman Papers

890414004

[Memorandum] 1940 March 4 [Washington, D.C. to Robert H. Jackson] Attorney General [Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.] / J. Edgar Hoover, Director [Federal Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].— 1 p.; 28 x 20 cm.  
Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: Hoover sends the attorney general a newspaper article on a left-wing campaign to smear him and the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Notes: For enclosure, see 890414005.

March 4, 1940

## MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

I am transmitting herewith, as of possible interest to you, newspaper clipping from the New York Journal American dated March 1, 1940 entitled "Reds Smear FBI."

Respectfully,

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

Enclosure

RECORDED  
&  
INDEXED

94-8-1113-113  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
MAR 12 1940  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

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669



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Memorandum, 19]40 March 29, Toronto [to J.H. MacBrien?] Commissioner [Royal Canadian Mounted Police], Ottawa / F.W. Schutz, Insp[ector] [Royal Canadian Mounted Police]. — 1 p.; 35 x 21 cm.

Obtained from the National Archives of Canada. Institutional Location: Record Group 18.

Summary: Schutz forwards a report on Goldman's health.

Notes: Broken type; light copy; barely legible. Lower document only. For enclosure, see 850128005.

Division File No. T935/39

F. 237

## ROYAL CANADIAN MOUNTED POLICE

Division "O"  
Sub-Division "Intelligence Branch Toronto"  
Province Date  
Western Ontario Dist. 24-2-40

*9955-11*  
*39D-269-12-615*

File References

~~SECRET~~  
*changed*

Headquarters

D935-419

Sub-Division

Detachment

P. C. R.

29-11-38

Re: Mrs. E.G. COLTON @ Emma GOLDMAN (Anarchist)  
295 Vaughan Rd. Toronto Ont.

1. Arthur WOODS, a Delegate of the I.W.W. called at the residence of Emma GOLDMAN, Mrs. Dorothy GEIZKE. @ Dorothy RODGERS who resides with Emma GOLDMAN informed him that on the 7th. inst. Emma GOLDMAN had suffered a Stroke, which left her with a paralyzed condition of the right side of the Body, and loss of speech, further saying she is now fully conscious, and is as well as can be expected.

2. The condition of Emma GOLDMAN will be observed by the writer from time to time and anything of interest will be reported.

*R.J. Smith* Cst.  
R.J. Smith, Reg. No. 10676.

The Commissioner:

FORWARDED, for your information.

3. You will note that Emma GOLDMAN has suffered a paralytic stroke. It is understood that her condition has improved to the point where she will be removed from hospital in the course of the next few days. Still under investigation.

*F.W. Schutz*  
(F. W. Schutz) Insp.,  
For O.C. "C" Div., A.O.D.

Toronto  
29-3-40  
FW/AB.

File numbers must be quoted.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1940 May? 14? Rochester? N.Y.? to] F[ederal] B[ureau of] I[nvestigation, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. (government transcript)] / [author unknown].— 1 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: An anonymous citizen responds to news of Goldman's death, emphasizing the history of false reports about her.

Notes: For enclosures, see 890414001, 890414002, and 890414003.

COPY:MM

Rochester, N. Y. "Democrat and Chronicle" May 14, 1940

(b)(7)(c)

So the misguided and often vicious, Emma Goldman is dead! She could not live under the governments she claimed to sponsor, but lived most of her life, and died, in countries whose governments she tried to destroy. A typical blind revolutionist, refusing to see what "revolution" inevitably leads to - a Stalin condition even if she did call him "the great betrayer." It is ever so. But anarchists do not learn. I first, and last, knew her when she was having her affair with the big anarchist Ben Reithman, and I last saw her as Reithman carried her in his arms, held closely, like a little child, from a stand from which she had tried to speak to a hostile crowd. It got too hostile for them.

In Butte, Montana, where she stayed some time, she caused a little trouble. She was mentioned in false and exaggerated reports by such persons, who seldom wrote a true report as [redacted] and his stooge, [redacted]. In reporting on [redacted] a naturalized Russian, and a radical who changed his name to [redacted] by court order, and is now a successful businessman in Butte, they alleged [redacted] was an illegitimate daughter of Emma Goldman. I checked this, finding she was not, but was the daughter of a family with whom Goldman roomed, and was born of a legal marriage, her father being a Montana State employee. The wife and her family were all radicals.

The greatest danger in Radical or Enemy reports is that those reporting, like the ones named herein, incorporate fantastic lies as facts in their reports. If they got facts, or what they wrote, from the I.W.W. hall, they would report mysterious upper story entrances and fake interviews and doings.

I often went in but went in the front door and talked to the I.W.W.'s there, and reported what I found.

[redacted]

*Copy of letter to FBI HQ*

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

Emma Goldman Dies in Toronto; Famous Radical — 16 cm. In [(Rochester) Democrat and Chronicle (May 14, 1940)]. / [author unknown].

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: The Rochester Democrat and Chronicle reports Goldman's death.

Notes: Enclosed with 890414000, 890414002, and 890414003.

## Emma Goldman Dies in Toronto; Famous Radical

Toronto—(Tuesday)—(AP)—Emma Goldman, internationally-known anarchist and resident of Rochester many years, died early today at her home here after an illness of several months.

Mrs. Goldman, who would have been 71 next June 27, suffered a stroke last February and spent several months in hospital. Until recently she had appeared to be improving in health.

Present at the time of death were a brother, Dr. Maurice Goldman, and a niece, Mrs. Stella Balantine, both of New York.

A sister, Mrs. Lena Cummings, Rochester, also survives.

Other Story Page 7



EMMA  
GOLDMAN

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

Miss Goldman, Noted Radical, Resided Here — 28 cm. In [(Rochester) Democrat and Chronicle (May 14, 1940)] / [author unknown].

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: The Rochester Democrat and Chronicle summarizes Goldman's life.

Notes: Enclosed with 890414000, 890414001, and 890414003.

## MISS GOLDMAN, NOTED RADICAL, RESIDED HERE

### Anarchist Known For 'Espousal of 'Left' Causes

Emma (Red Emma) Goldman, anarchist deportee, who found disillusionment in modern Russia and died in Toronto last night, spent years of her youth in Rochester and last visited the city in 1934.

Miss Goldman came to America from Russia when 15 and lived for a time with her family in Rochester. While here, in Feb., 1887, she married Jacob Kerener.

Later she wrote that she never quarreled with Kerener, but that she was going through a "tremendous spiritual upheaval and he did not follow."

#### Joins Radicals

The "upheaval," principally her reaction to the hanging of the Chicago Haymarket bombers, resulted in her conversion to anarchistic philosophy and 1889 found her in New York, a member of an East Side radical group.

In Rochester, besides her husband she had left her baby daughter, Stella; her sister, Helena, and her brother, Yegor.

Miss Goldman was born in Kovno, Russia, (now Lithuania's capital) June 27, 1869, and gained fame both in Europe and America as an advocate of revolutionary social change.

Although she decried advocating violence, her name was mentioned directly or otherwise in connection with violence against the established order in the United States from the time of the Chicago Haymarket bombings of 1886 until 1917, after United States entry into the World War.

#### Deported to Russia

In that year she was convicted of obstructing the Draft Law in New York and was sentenced to two years in prison and fined \$10,000.

After long and futile appeals, including one to the U. S. Supreme Court, she surrendered to a U. S. marshal in New York in February, 1919, and was imprisoned in the Jefferson City, Mo., Penitentiary.

She was released in September of the same year, however, for deportation. She fought the deportation vigorously in the courts, and it was not until Dec. 30, 1919, that she sailed for Russia as a deportee.

### Famed as Anarchist



EMMA GOLDMAN  
... U. S. deported her.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE



# The Emma Goldman Papers

Miss Goldman, Noted Radical, Resided Here - 28 cm. In [(Rochester) Democrat and Chronicle (May 14, 1940)] / [author unknown].

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: The Rochester Democrat and Chronicle summarizes Goldman's life.

Notes: Enclosed with 890414000, 890414001, and 890414003.

Two datelines in the newspaper stories of that trip strike a familiar chord to modern readers, who perhaps never heard of "Red Emma." Her ship landed her at Hanko, Finland, which only last March was leased to Soviet Russia as a naval base after the Finnish war. She proceeded across Southern Finland to Terijoki, where the Soviets officially welcomed her.

(Terijoki is the border town where a Soviet government was proclaimed by Russia for Finland immediately after the Russian invasion last Nov. 30, but it later was eclipsed by the peace settlement.)

## Unhappy in Soviet

But Emma Goldman, who for so long had gone up and down the United States preaching a new social order, was unhappy in the new Russia.

During an address in Toronto last September, Miss Goldman branded Josef Stalin as "the great betrayer of labor."

Her attack followed the signing of the Russ-German pact, prelude to the dismemberment of Poland and the Russian attack on Finland.

"The workers of the world," she declared before a cheering audience, "have been cheated, betrayed and deceived. While they looked to Russia for better days to come, they have been sold out by Stalin, the great betrayer."

Miss Goldman, who came first to Rochester from St. Petersburg, Russia, on a "bleak and cold January morning," again met a wintry scene when she made her last visit here in 1934.

Her return, climaxing a 15-year exile that had begun when, after losing a long court battle, she had been sent to Russia as a deportee in 1919, found the former fiery "Queen of Anarchists" a tired, gray-haired woman of 64.

Entering this country from Canada at Buffalo, she entrained for Rochester, bearing a special permit from President Roosevelt allowing her a 90-day stay in the country.

Professing herself unable to comment on "your New Deal" or other American issues until she had seen "things in operation," Miss Goldman, whose bitterness against the capitalist system had been engendered in a local clothing sweatshop where she worked as a girl, kept silent until Apr. 15, when she delivered her "farewell address" at Convention Hall.

There, under the sponsorship of the Council of Jewish Women, she launched a scathing attack on the growth of totalitarian states abroad and, prophetically, voiced her conclusion that the "ism" leaders threatened the survival of all liberalism.

"Dictatorships are not going to solve the problems now confronting the world," she said. "They maintain themselves by inspiring terror."

VENETIAN  
BLINDS  
195

**PENETRO**  
SPRING COLDS - USE 2 DROPS OF  
TAKE THE SPRING OUT OF  
ST. JOSEPH ASPIRIN  
1st  
FOR SIMPLE HEADACHE  
FIRST CHOICE OF MILLIONS  
THEIR FIRST THOUGHT

yourself. "Sweep the yard and tell me how many minutes it took." "How long does it take you to walk to school?" Keep the idea of time measurement before him and let him have a watch to help him and he will learn to watch the time. With a couple of years' practice he will become time conscious. It is scarcely reasonable to ask a child to come home at a set time unless he has some definite way of knowing when that time arrives.

*Their Needs*

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674

# The Emma Goldman Papers

Death Takes "Red Emma," Anarchist — 28 cm. In [(Rochester) Democrat and Chronicle (May 14? 1940)] / [author unknown].

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: The Rochester Democrat and Chronicle summarizes Goldman's life.

Notes: Enclosed with 890414000, 890414001, and 890414002.

## Death Takes 'Red Emma,' Anarchist

Toronto—(AP)—Death came today to Emma Goldman, once the flaming champion of anarchy in America.

Ill since suffering a stroke in February, she would have been 71 years old on June 27.

At her bedside in her home were a brother, Dr. Maurice Goldman, and a niece, Mrs. Stella Ballantine, both of New York. Mrs. Lena Cummings, a sister, of Rochester, N. Y., also survives.

### Deported to Russia

Her death raised echoes of a radicalism that extended back for half a century and reached its climax in the World War years that brought "Red Emma" Goldman's imprisonment and later deportation from the United States to Russia in 1919 for obstructing the draft. With her went Alexander Berkman, her companion and colleague for two-score years.

In the new Soviet Russia she quickly found disillusionment, and fled to roam in many parts of the world, still a strident voice for social changes, but somehow lacking in the old-time urgency.

In 1924 she published a book, "My Disillusionment in Russia."

Two years later she appeared in Montreal as Mrs. James Colton, announcing she had married a Welsh miner, and thus was a British subject.

### Returned in 1934

Valnly she sought admittance to the United States.

She went to France, and in 1930, while living at Nice, wrote an autobiography. She lectured in Copenhagen and Berlin subsequently, but return to the United States remained a goal.

While lecturing in Canada in 1934, she finally won permission to visit the United States for 90 days only, and on Feb. 1 arrived in Rochester, N. Y., after an exile of more than 14 years.

She made a few lectures in New York and elsewhere, expressed displeasure with Nazism and predicted the downfall of Adolf Hitler, then returned to Canada when the permit expired.

On June 28, 1936, a quiet, obscure resident of Nice was found shot to death—a suicide, police said. He proved to be Alexander Berkman.

### Diogenes, Here He Is

Olympia, Wash.—(UP)—Washington has at least one honest hunter. He sent a \$5 check to the state game commission, saying he was fining himself for killing a prairie chicken, thinking it was a Hungarian pheasant.

## Emma Goldman Lived, Worked Here as Girl

Seventy-year-old Emma Goldman, whose anarchistic preachings made her world-renowned, worked as a young girl in a Rochester sweat shop, married here, left here to pursue a stormy career and made her last appearance here in 1934, when she spoke at Convention Hall and bitterly attacked totalitarian states abroad.



EMMA GOLDMAN

Born in Kovno, Russia, now the capital of Lithuania, June 27, 1869, the girl who was to become known as "Red Emma" Goldman, came to Rochester on a bleak January morning when she was 15 years old.

### Worked in Sweat Shop

Here she worked in a clothing sweat shop, and here, in February, 1887, she married Jacob Keraner, from whom she was later separated, not because they quarreled, she wrote, but because he "did not follow" as she went through "a tremendous spiritual upheaval."

Greatest force in the so-called "upheaval" was her bitter reaction to the hanging of the Chicago Haymarket bombers, which had much to do with her conversion to anarchism.

By 1889, she had left Rochester and was identified with a radical group in New York City's East Side. Her husband, her sister, Lena, brother Yago, and her baby daughter, Stella, were still in Rochester.

All her life she insisted she was not an advocate of violence, but her name was mentioned for many years in connection with actions against the established order in this country.

### Drew Prison Term

In 1917 she was convicted of obstructing the draft law in New York and drew a prison sentence of two years and a fine of \$10,000. Long appeals to higher courts were futile. She surrendered to a U. S. marshal in February, 1919, and was sent to the Jefferson City, Mo., penitentiary. She was released in September, 1919, for deportation.

Deported to Russia, she landed at Hanko, Finland, which the Russians acquired as a naval base after the recent Finnish-Russian war. She was greeted by the Soviets.

In 1934, after 15 years of exile, she obtained a special 90-day permit to visit America, entered by way of Canada and Buffalo, came to Rochester and delivered a speech at Convention Hall in which she attacked totalitarianism, bitterly predicted that the "ism" leaders threatened the survival of all liberalism.

Emma Goldman leaves a brother, Dr. Maurice Goldman of New York, a sister, Mrs. Lena Cummins of Rochester.

## Hope Advanced For Curb on Tuberculosis

New York — (AP) — Tuberculosis can be substantially wiped out in upstate New York by 1960, a conference of state and local tuberculosis and health committees of the State Charities Aid Association heard today.

Dr. Louis I. Duhlin, vicepresident and statistician, Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, recalled the skepticism which greeted his forecast 20 years ago that the death rate from tuberculosis would be reduced to less than 40 per 100,000 population by 1940. In 1939 upstate, he pointed out, the rate had fallen to 26.4.

"Black spots" still remaining, Dr. Duhlin stated, include Columbia, Seneca, Sullivan and Greene counties with rates of 50 or over. Buffalo, Albany, Troy, Amsterdam and White Plains have rates over 45, he added, indicating need for much more intensive control measures.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

Emma Goldman, Anarchist — 28 cm. In [Philadelphia Star? (May 14? 1940) / [author unknown].

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: A Philadelphia newspaper reports on Goldman's death.

## Emma Goldman, Anarchist

TORONTO, May 14.—(AP)—Death came today to Emma Goldman, once the flaming champion of anarchy in America.

At the bedside in her home were a brother, Dr. Maurice Goldman, and a niece, Mrs. Stella Ballantine, both of New York. Mrs. Lena Cummings, a sister, Rochester, N. Y., also survives.

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Her death raised echoes of a radicalism that extended back for half a century and reached its climax in the World War years that brought "Red Emma" Goldman's imprisonment and later deportation from the United States to Russia in 1919 for obstructing the draft. With her went Alexander Berkman, her companion and colleague for two score years.

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Two years later she appeared in Montreal as Mrs. James Colton, announcing she had married a Welsh miner, and thus was a British subject.

### Visited U. S. in 1934

Vainly she sought admittance to the United States.

She went to France, and in 1930, while living at Nice, wrote an autobiography. She lectured in Copenhagen and Berlin subsequently, but return to the United States remained a goal.

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On June 28, 1936, a quiet nature resident of Nice was found shot to death—a suicide, police said. He was Alexander Berkman.

### John G. Smedley, Jr.

John Gray Smedley, Jr., 45, superintendent of the Fidelity-Philadelphia Building, died yesterday in the United States Naval Hospital.

Active in veterans' organizations since his return from France as top-sergeant with the A. E. F., Mr. Smedley was treasurer of the Veterans of the 314th Infantry Regiment. He was a Mason.

Shortly after putting himself through the night school of the Drexel Institute of Technology, Mr. Smedley went to work for the Fidelity-Philadelphia Company. He was there 12 years.

He leaves his wife, Marie; two brothers, Jeffrey and Charles, and a sister, Carrie.

### C. Wetherill

Funeral services for William Coolidge Wetherill, 80, who died Saturday at Germantown Hospital, were held today at Mount Moriah Cemetery.

Proprietor of the Wetherill Printing Company, formerly at 814 Walnut St., publishers of music books and theatre programs, Mr. Wetherill also was a business associate and brother-in-law of the late Fred Zimmerman, theatre operator. He lived at 449 W. Harvey St., Germantown.

### Mrs. Ellen E. McCarthy

Mrs. Ellen E. McCarthy Lawler, widow of James Lawler, died Saturday at her home, 3428 Sunnyside Ave., East Falls.

Solemn Requiem Mass will be celebrated tomorrow in St. Bridget's Catholic Church, Midvale Ave., East Falls. Interment will be made in St. Mary's Cemetery, Roxborough.

### John M. Johnson

John M. Johnson, 41, formerly a widely known paint contractor here, died Saturday at his home, 16 N. Martindale Ave., Ventnor, N. J., following a long illness.

Mr. Johnson leaves his mother, Mrs. Mary I. Johnson, Philadelphia; a brother, William E. Johnson, real estate editor of the Record, and a sister, Mrs. John L. Moncrief.

### Dr. James Fairley

Funeral services for Dr. James Fairley, dairy farmer and former Philadelphia veterinary hospital owner, will be held at 2 P. M. tomorrow at his home near Burlington, N. J. Burial will be in Cedar Hill Cemetery, Florence Township.

Dr. Fairley, who was 73 and a University of Pennsylvania graduate, died Sunday.

### Daniel J. Neary, Court Aide

Daniel J. Neary, 63, former member of the State Legislature and a tipstaff in Quarter Sessions Court for the last 23 years, died of a heart attack at 7:30 A. M. today at his home, 2315 South St.

Neary collapsed on May 3 and was taken to Jefferson Hospital. His condition was not regarded as serious, and he went home with instructions to rest.

Most of his life he had taken an active part in Republican politics in the Seventh Ward, serving from 1917 to 1919 as a member of the State House.

### Judge J. W. Willett

DES MOINES, May 14.—(AP)—Judge James W. Willett, 94, former national commander of the Grand Army of the Republic, died yesterday at the Iowa Soldiers' Home at Marshalltown.

## Deaths

BARNES.—On May 11, 1940, WILLIAM B. BARNES, husband of Jean Duling Barnes, Relatives, friends, Meridian Sun Lodge, No. 124, P. and A. M., and members of P. E. O. are invited to the service, on Wednesday, at 1 P. M., at the Oliver H. Blair Hotel, 1429 Chestnut St. Interment Mt. Moriah Cem.

BARRINGER.—May 11, BELLA M. BARRINGER, aged 88 years, Relatives, friends, at the Methodist Church, 1300 N. 12th St., at 10 A. M., at the Oliver H. Blair Hotel, 1429 Chestnut St. Interment Mt. Moriah Cem.

BELLINI.—May 10, CLARA, wife of the late Joseph Bellini, Relatives and friends are invited to attend funeral, Wed., 8:30 A. M., late residence, 2112 E. Somerset St. Requiem Mass of Requiem Church of Mother of Divine Grace in A. M. Int. Holy Redeemer Cem.

BETHE.—May 12, of 2342 W. Bergeon St., CHARLES B. BETHE, husband of Mrs. N. beige late 151st, Relatives and friends, also Vaux Lodge, No. 293, P. and A. M., and Book Binders Union, Local No. 2, are invited to the service, Thurs., 2:30 P. M., Carlisle Harold P. Mullins, 1119 W. 2nd high Ave. Int. Mt. Moriah Cem. Friends may call Wed. eve.

BINDER.—May 10, 1940, LILLIAN, widow of Charles A. Binder, of 447 N. Brooks Ave. Friends are invited to service, Thurs., 11 A. M., at David G. Frankford Home, 317 N. 52d St. Int. private. Friends call Wed., 8-10 P. M.

BOPPE.—At Elmstein, N. J., May 12, ARTHUR B. BOPPE, beloved husband of Bertha B. Boppe and son of the late United and John Boppe, to the 42nd year of his age. Funeral service will be held at his late home, 223 1/2 St. Elizabeth, N. J., on Thurs., at 2:30 P. M. Int. to Evergreen Cem., at convenience of family.

BORIAN.—May 11, PEARL, wife of the late William J. Borian (nee General), deceased Wed., 2 P. M. (former Funeral Home) 1025 Frankford Ave. Friends call Tues. eve.

BRAY.—May 12, 1940, HANNAH, wife of the late Andrew Bray, Relatives and friends invited to funeral, Thurs., 8:30 A. M., from her home, 1892 Walling Ave. Requiem Mass of Requiem Church of the Transfiguration 11 A. M. Int. Holy Cross, CANTON.—May 12, THOMAS, husband of Angelina (Gauger), Relatives and friends are invited to funeral, Thurs., 9 A. M. from 1223 Rinker St. Poloma Requiem Mass Church of St. A. M. Int. Holy Cross Cem. Viewing Wed. eve.

CLEGG.—May 12, EPHRAIM, beloved husband of Ellen Clegg, of 1232 E. Cornwell St. Relatives and friends, also members of Fireworks & Gunners, are invited to service, Thurs., 2:30 P. M., Keaton's Funeral Home, 609-11 E. Allegheny Ave. Int. Oakland Cem. Friends may call Wed. eve.

COOPER.—May 12, MARTHA DARRAH, of 4802 Cedar Ave., widow of Joseph Cooper, of Clayton, Del. Services at Dr. F. P. Collins residence, 4000 N. Del. Thurs., 2 P. M. Standard time.

DEARMOND.—On May 12, 1940, EDNA M. wife of Clarence DeArmmond, of 4803 Marlborough Ave. Relatives and friends are invited to the service, on Thursday, at 2 P. M., at the Oliver H. Blair Hotel, 1429 Chestnut St. Interment private.

DIET.—May 12, 1940, of 1221 Arrol St., JOHN C. DIET, husband of Mrs. V. Diet, Services Wed., 2 P. M., McGowan's Funeral Home, 1805 Harrison St., Frankford, Int. Port Clinton, Pa.

DOUGHERTY.—May 11, GRACE A. DOUGHERTY, wife of Harry V. Dougherty, Relatives, friends and R. V. M. Rodellis are invited to funeral, Wed., 9:30 A. M., from 124 E. 11th St. Poloma Mass of Holy Cross Church of St. Francis de Sales in A. M. Int. St. Joseph's Cem. Basmali Mt. Moriah

**Fitz Patrick**  
The Order of the Golden Rule, an international organization of dependable funeral directors, selected this firm as its member in Philadelphia.

**Fitz Patrick Funeral Home**  
M. J. FITZPATRICK & SON  
BROAD AT WESTMORELAND  
RAYMOND FITZPATRICK  
RESIDENCE  
WALNUT LAKE & LIMERICK PIKE

Phone  
RADCLIFF  
9225

# The Emma Goldman Papers

"Red Emma," Noted Anarchist, Dies — 35 cm. In [Calgary Herald (May 14, 1940)] / [author unknown].

Obtained from the National Archives of Canada. Institutional Location: Record Group 18.

Summary: The Calgary Herald reports Goldman's death.

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CALGARY HERALD

MAY 13 1940

~~8935-419~~  
Emma Goldman  
348 769-1E 615

## 'Red Emma,' Noted Anarchist, Dies

Toronto, May 14 (CP) — Emma Goldman, internationally-known anarchist, died at her home here early today. She had been ill for several months.

Born in Kovno, Russia (now in Lithuania), she was the daughter of a Russian-Jewish family and went to the U.S. when she was 15. Around 1887 she became converted to anarchistic philosophy and became known as "Red Emma" on both sides of the Atlantic through her preachings of social revolution.

Miss Goldman always denied she advocated violence, but from the time of the Chicago Haymarket bombings on May Day, 1886, until the U.S. entered the first Great War in 1917, her name was linked directly or indirectly with almost every major instance of violence against the existing order that took place in the U.S.

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J

19-1-49

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SEP 9 '40

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

Emma Goldman, 70, Is Dead at Toronto — 35 cm. In [Montreal Gazette (May 14, 1940)] / [author unknown].

Obtained from the National Archives of Canada. Institutional Location: Record Group 18.

Summary: The Montreal Gazette reports Goldman's death.

1700-4 MAY 17 40

MONTREAL GAZETTE

14-5-40

## EMMA GOLDMAN, 70, IS DEAD AT TORONTO

Internationally - Known Anarchist Was Deported from U.S. in 1919

Toronto, May 14.—(Tuesday)—Emma Goldman, internationally-known anarchist, died at her home here early today. She had been ill for several months.

Miss Goldman, who would have been 71 years old next June 27, suffered a stroke last February and spent several weeks in hospital after which she returned home. Until recently she had appeared to improve.

Present at the time of her death were a brother, Dr. Maurice Goldman of New York, and a niece, Mrs. Stella Ballantyne of New York. Also surviving is another sister, Mrs. Lena Cummings of Rochester, N.Y.

Emma Goldman, a philosophical anarchist, became known as "Red Emma" on both sides of the At-

lantic because of her constant preaching of a social revolution.

She always denied that she advocated violence, but from the time of the Chicago Haymarket bombings on May Day, 1886, until the United States entered the world war in April, 1917, her name was linked, directly or indirectly, with almost every major instance of violence against the existing order that took place in this country.

Deported in December, 1919, after serving a short prison term for obstructing the world war draft, she was sent to her native Russia. She soon fell out with the Soviet leaders, denounced Bolshevism as tyrannical and spent the following years wandering restlessly about Europe, finally coming to Canada to reside.

19-1-49  
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# The Emma Goldman Papers

World's Woman Anarchist Emma Goldman Dies Here — 35 cm. In [Toronto Star (May 14, 1940)] / [author unknown].

Obtained from the National Archives of Canada. Institutional Location: Record Group 18.

Summary: The Toronto Star writes a detailed obituary of Goldman.

TORONTO STAR  
CANNING DATE 14/5/40... ISSUE OF... 14/5/40...

## WORLD'S WOMAN ANARCHIST EMMA GOLDMAN DIES HERE

Stormy Champion of Revolutionists for 50 Years, Had  
Toronto Headquarters

### STROKE ENDED TOUR

Emma Goldman, anarchist, for 50 years stormy champion of revolutionists, died early today in her 71st year. She suffered a stroke at the home of friends in Toronto, with whom she had made her headquarters since coming to Canada last May.

Her brother, Dr. Maurice Goldman, and a niece, Mrs. Stella Ballantyne, both of New York, were with her when she died. A sister, Mrs. Lena Cummings of Rochester, N.Y., also survives.

No woman of her generation was more widely known or lived more fully than Emma Goldman. None clung more staunchly, through adversity, to her ideals. For years she was known as the "mother of



EMMA GOLDMAN

anarchism," and although she constantly maintained that she never advocated violence, her name was linked constantly for years with violent social upheavals here and in Europe.

She clung with passionate faith throughout her life to the philosophy that mankind's happiness and prosperity could be gained only through abolishing political parties and governments and rooting society in economic and cultural units. She hoped to see this philosophy brought into being in Russia—but fled from there in bitter disillusionment. She hoped to see it come in Spain. But she saw instead a people torn between Communists and Fascists.

At 70 years of age she was still fighting for her ideals when death came. Since last May she had gone on a speaking tour across Canada to raise money for Spanish refugees in camps in France.

#### Came From Lithuania

Emma Goldman was a factory worker in Rochester, N.Y., only 16 years old, and an immigrant girl from Lithuania, when, in 1886, her passionate sympathy was aroused by the execution of five men accused of participation in the Haymarket riot in Chicago.

In 1889, she went to New York with 50 cents in her pocket and a flaming zeal for liberty. Three years later she landed in prison on a charge of inciting riot during a cloakmakers' strike. In prison, while her socialistic ideals crystallized, she acquired an excellent command of English and read voraciously Emerson, Whitman, Spenser and the Russian authors whom she considered spiritual revolutionaries. It was in this period she laid the foundation for a scholarship which later in life gave her the ability to speak on drama and literature as an authority.

From then on her life was one turbulent episode after another. She went to Europe, studied philosophy, dietetics, children's diseases, sat at the feet of the famous Prof. Freud in his original lectures. She made many intellectual acquaintances and returned to United States to tour and lecture on an astonishingly wide range of subjects.

She was constantly before the public because of the efforts of police to upset her meetings, and restrain her activities. When President McKinley was assassinated she was charged with participation in the plot, but later, her innocence proved, she was freed. She was always a pacifist, and through her editorship of a magazine continued to propound these views after the United States entered the war. She was arrested for conspiracy to defeat the operations of the government, sentenced to two years, at the expiration of which she was deported to Russia.

#### Fled From Soviet

During this time she was associated with Alexander Berkman, another radical, who also had been incarcerated. Together they went to Russia, hopeful about the Soviet experiment. But Emma Goldman fled, at odds with the Soviet leaders.

For the next few years she lectured in Canada and Great Britain on literature, companionate marriage, birth control, had rifts with the police here and there, lived quietly in France for a while, won an amnesty from President Roosevelt allowing her once more to visit the United States. When the Spanish revolution broke out, she made two trips of six months each into that country. She emerged to begin a new crusade—this time to

raise money to help Loyalist refugees.

Emma Goldman was married twice. The first marriage was when she was 18, to Jacob Kersner, but two years later she left him when she "went through a tremendous spiritual upheaval and he did not follow me." She never heard from him again. Her second marriage was one said to be to gain the benefit of a British passport when in 1926 she married James Colton, a Welsh miner.

Colton died a year ago. Undoubtedly the man who most affected her life was Berkman, the radical with whom she was deported to Russia and who fled from there at the same time she did. Their paths took them apart for years but Miss Goldman was with him when he died in the south of France shortly before her marriage to Colton.

#### Suitcase Was Home

Emma Goldman never took the easy way. She spent most of her life in circumstances of little comfort, living with friends, of whom she had thousands all over the world, or in very modest lodging places. Her home literally was her suitcase. She took in vast sums of money at her meetings and from her books, but it was used to further the causes which she advocated.

When she came to Toronto last spring, she was asked by a reporter if she had not wearied, if she had not become discouraged. "I would never take the easy way," she said. "I think if I have had any experience at all... it is that I am temperamentally unfitted for what you would call the easy way. No, I'm still going on."

Six years ago she said that Hitler was the most dangerous man in the world and would cause world conflict.

She had little interest in material things. Once she told The Star's Frederick Griffin that "I'd rather have roses on my table than diamonds on my neck," and that most people were "tied down by material things." She placed ideals above all else in life, and was convinced that "nothing else but liberty as the basis of society and of life will ever solve the present problems of the world."

"Whatever will happen will happen. I hope to die on deck, true to my ideals with my eyes towards the east—the rising star," she said 14 years ago when, disillusioned, she returned from Russia.

From 1928 to 1930 she was in France, and in 1932 was seen in Copenhagen. During that period she listed Denmark, Sweden, Norway and England, in that order, as the most-nearly free countries in the world.

Arrangements for Miss Goldman's funeral have not yet been made; her friends here are awaiting other friends from out of town before completing them. The body is at the funeral rooms of H. Benjamin and Son, Spadina Ave. The service, said the Toronto friends, will "not be a religious one but will be rather just a gathering of her friends."

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 194[0] May 14, New York [to] Ministero [degli] Affari Esteri, Rome / Vecchiotti, Console Generale d'Italia. — 1 p. ; 31 x 24 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from Archivio Centrale dello Stato, Rome.

Summary: The Italian consul general in New York reports Goldman's death.

Notes: In Italian.



*Consolato Generale d'Italia*

No. 1394

Goldmann Emma, ebrea d'origine tedesca, anarchica, propagandista

*N. 106827-2.5*  
*10-6-1940*

*New York, 14 maggio 1949-XVIII*



Signor Ministro,

Facendo seguito al mio rapporto N.78629-4118 del 26 novembre 1937, mi onoro di riferire all'E.V. che la nominata Goldmann Emma morì ieri in Ontario, Canada in seguito ad attacco cardiaco.

Vogliate gradire, Signor Ministro, gli atti del mio profondo ossequio.

Il R. Console Generale

*Vecchiotti*  
(Vecchiotti)

*John*

R. Ministero Affari Esteri,  
Direzione Affari Generali,  
Ufficio IV - Roma

e per conoscenza: R. Ministero dell'Interno, Roma  
R. Ambasciata d'Italia,  
Washington, D. C.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[File Revocation Request Card for Emma Goldman] 1940 June 12 [Rome?] / Ministero dell' Interno. — 1 p. ; 30 × 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from Archivio Centrale dello Stato, Rome.

Summary: The Interior Ministry closes Goldman's file upon her death.

Notes: In Italian.

**MINISTERO DELL' INTERNO**  
DIREZIONE GENERALE DELLA PUBBLICA SICUREZZA

Divisione a. g. d. h. r. u.

N. hhz/10680-4 di prot. 15 GIU 1940 Il 12/6.40

On. Divisione Polizia Frontiera e Trasporti  
— SERVIZIO RUBRICHE DI FRONTIERA —  
SEDE

RICHIESTA DI ~~REVOKA~~ dalla rubrica (1) a. h. u. m. pag. 317

COGNOME Goldmann

Nome Emma paternità \_\_\_\_\_

nato il 1871

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

IL CAPO DIVISIONE

\_\_\_\_\_

(1) indicare se a stampa o suppletiva.

av. 30. x. 40  
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# The Emma Goldman Papers

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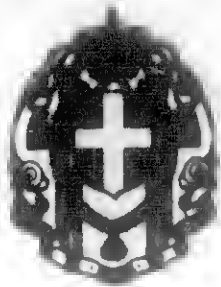
[Report re: Death of Emma Goldman] Rome, 1940 June 24 / Ministero dell' Interno.  
no. - 1 p. ; 30 x 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from Archivio Centrale dello Stato, Rome.

Summary: The Interior Ministry copies a telegram from its consul general in Ottawa reporting on Goldman's death.

Notes: In Italian.

Mod. 840



## Ministero dell' Interno

DIREZIONE GENERALE DELLA P.S. -DIV. AFF. GEN. E RISERVATI

N. 441/OI4994 Sezione I<sup>a</sup>

Roma, 11 24/6/1940-XVIII

ALLA SEZIONE TERZA - S E D E -

COPIA DEL TELESPIRESSO N. 34/R. 08250/2265 IN DATA 12 GIUGNO 1940  
DEL MINISTERO DEGLI AFFARI ESTERI - A. G. IV<sup>o</sup> -, DIRETTO A QUESTA DI  
VISIONE, AVENTE PER OGGETTO: "EMMA GOLDMAN - ANARCHICA"

Riferimento a nota n. 441/OI7172 del 13 giugno 1935 XIII

Il R. Consolato Generale in Ottawa comunica:

"Si ha l'onore di comunicare ad ogni buon fine che la nominata  
Emma Goldman è deceduta il 14 maggio corr. a Toronto.

Si acclude un ritaglio di giornale relativo alla persona in  
oggetto."

Si unisce l'allegato, richiamando il rapporto del R. Consolato  
Generale in New York n. 27804 del 14 maggio u.s. inviato per co-  
noscenza, a codesto R. Ministero. -

d'ordine DEL MINISTRO  
P. Vidan

P.C.C. - per il fascicolo personale, significando che si è provve-  
dute alla revoca della iscrizione.  
IL CAPO DELLA SEZIONE PRIMA

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9 p. ; 34 x 25 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from Archivio Centrale dello Stato, Rome.

**Summary:** The prefect of Trento submits the declaration of former anarchist, Emilio Strafelini, who describes his expatriation in France and work in the Spanish Revolution where he met Goldman.

**Notes:** In Italian.

**R. PREFETTURA DI TRENTO**

N° 07499 Gab.P.S.

Trento, li 9 Agosto 1940-XVIII°

OGGETTO: STRAFELINI Emilio fu Felino- anarchico.

**Vi è copia per ogni nominativo**

AL MINISTERO dell'INTERNO  
Direzione Generale della P.S.  
Div. Affari Gen. e Riservati  
R O M A

Con riferimento al telegramma del 29/6 u.s. N° 47180/46386/3198 C.P.C. si trasmettono i verbali di interrogatorio del soprasoritto STRAFELINI Emilio espatriato olandestinemente in Franoia nell'Agosto 1933, attraverso l'Austria e la Svizzera, per asserite difficoltà economiche e per procacciarsi occupazione.

Lo STRAFELINI dopo sette anni di permanenza all'estero, il 25 luglio u.s. è rimpatriato volontariamente, passando per la frontiera di Brennero, dove è stato fermato e tradotto alle carceri di Trento.

Interrogato da Funzionari di P.S. circa i contatti avuti e la attività svolta durante la sua permanenza in Francia lo Strafelini, come si rileva dagli allegati verbali, ha dichiarato di aver conosciuto sì, numerosi esponenti del fuoruscitismo, che però la sua attività in seno alla "concentrazione" ed altre associazioni sovversive, è stata quasi nulla. Conferma invece di essersi recato a combattere, pieno di entusiasmo nella Spagna rossa, prima dell'intervento Italiano, entusiasmo - dice lui - attenuato ben presto per la constatazione di intrighi e disonestà commesse dai maggiori esponenti del fuoruscitismo internazionale.

Lo STRAFELINI afferma di aver abbandonato le idee professate in passato e vuol sostenere che appunto per questo abbandono delle sue idee si sia deciso a rimpatriare, pur sapendo le conseguenze cui andava incontro, tornando in Patria.

L'attività segnalata e quella dallo stesso STRAFELINI confessata, svolta all'estero è prevista dal Codice Penale nei delitti contro lo Stato; tuttavia sulla scorta degli atti, non si ritiene aver elementi sufficienti per la denuncia all'Autorità Giudiziaria speciale.

E pertanto, salvo maggiori elementi che possano essere in possesso del Ministero e diversa valutazione dell'attività dello STRAFELINI sul quadro generale del fuoruscitismo, si propone che egli venga assegnato al confino di Polizia per anni cinque.

## IL PREFETTO

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L'anno Milleenovecentoquaranta, XVIII, addì 20 luglio, nello Ufficio Politico della R. Questura di Trento.

Innanzi a Noi FELICIANGELI avv. Alessandro, Questore, assistito dal Commissario Agg. di P.S. RUGGI Ciro, addetto all'Ufficio Politico, è presente STRAFELINI Emilio fu Felino e di Rosa Perli, nato il 3 febbraio 1897 a Rovereto, ivi domiciliato, recentemente rimpatriato dalla Francia, carpentiere, coniugato con Franchi Ida, dalla quale vive separato, il quale, interrogato, dichiara:

" " " Rimpatriato dal confino nel dicembre 1932, tornai a Rovereto, mia città natale, prendendo alloggio presso mia madre in piazzetta Santa Maria n. 4; ma per questioni famigliari e nella impossibilità di trovare lavoro sul luogo, decisi di allontanarmi da Rovereto e recarmi a Milano. Avevo scelta tale città prima perchè, data la sua vastità, la richiesta di mano d'opera era maggiore e poi perchè volevo incontrare gli architetti L. Baldessari ed Armani, antichi miei compagni di scuola ed amici, i quali mi dovevano circa 2.200 lire. Poi cercavo la ditta Ravani e Teodori, che mi doveva dalle 45.000 alle 50.000 lire. Trovai i due primi, ebbi uno scambio di lettere con loro, ma per recuperare il mio credito, avrei dovuto impiantare una lite giudiziaria, per cui, trovandomi nella impossibilità di anticipare spese, decisi di soprassedere. Dei secondi non potetti avere l'indirizzo. Le somme sopraindicate rappresentavano per i primi due, un prestito da me fatto loro quando erano a Rovereto, e per i secondi il rimborso di somma che io ero stato costretto a pagare alla Banca Cattolica di Rovereto a seguito di avallo apposto ad una cambiale da essi accettata e non pagata. Mi trattenni a Milano fino ai primi di maggio 1933, lavorando circa una settimana come aiuto pittore. Vidi a Milano parecchi amici ed ex confinati di Lipari, ma con essi non mantenni nessun contatto. Poi partii per Brescia, occupandomi presso una fattoria, di cui non ricordo il nome, per più di un mese, lavorando in innesti di vite. Cessato tale lavoro, verso la fine di giugno di quell'anno mi recai a Verona. Là con l'aiuto del dott. Germignani Giuseppe, procuratore di una società di assicurazioni, potei lavorare in mestieri diversi per circa un mese. Vedendo che non mi era possibile una sistemazione definitiva, pensai di espatriare. Verso il 10 agosto, con circa 150 lire in tasca, presi la via per recarmi al Brennero. nei miei viaggi non adoperai alcun mezzo meccanico di locomozione. Arrivai a Ponte all'Isarco il 27 agosto e la notte sul 28, valicai la montagna a sinistra del passo e mi diressi verso Innsbruck, dove arrivai due giorni dopo. Andai alla camera del lavoro ed incontrai un impiegato, originario di Rovereto, di cui non ricordo il nome, il quale mi presentò ad alcune persone tedesche, fra cui il deputato Linder, che si offrì di accompagnarmi con la sua automobile alla prima stazione di frontiera svizzera. Partii il giorno successivo da Innsbruck in compagnia del predetto deputato e, oltrepassata la frontiera, proseguì da solo per Basilea, sostando una notte a Zurigo, e quindi per Saint Louis, Moulhouse e poi per Parigi, dove arrivai fra l'8 ed il 10 settembre, alla stazione dell'Est. Alla camera del lavoro di Innsbruck avevo ottenuto l'indirizzo della "concentrazione" in faubourg Saint Denis n. 3, dove mi presentai. Fui ricevuto dal portiere ORTONA (117108) Silvio, il quale, evidentemente, sapeva del mio arrivo, poichè sapeva già il mio nome, senza che io lo dicessi. Poco dopo giunse TOVAZZI (40136) Giuseppe, da Aldeno, il quale in quell'epoca era cameriere all'hotel Savoy, in rue de Jarry. Il Tovazzi, che conoscevo da Lipari e che avevo ivi aiutato dandogli del danaro, per gra-

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...tudine mi garentì alla proprietaria dell'albergo Savoy, presso cui presi alloggio. Il giorno seguente mi incontrai con Carlo ROSSELLI (12850 morto) il quale mi chiese come avevo fatto a passare la frontiera italo-austriaca, cosa intendeva fare circa le mie vedute politiche e mi spiegò che cosa era la "concentrazione". Gli risposi che per momento, non conoscendo l'ambiente, volevo pensare per decidere cosa dovevo fare. Per mettermi a riparo delle ricerche o noie della polizia francese, essendo io sprovvisto di documenti, il ROSSELLI mi presentò alla signora Ernesta (127358) Campolonghi, che era segretaria della L.I.D.U. — Dopo una quindicina di giorni ottenni una carta della lega francese, che attestava chi era io. Alla "concentrazione" conobbi: Carlo ROSSELLI, Pietro (161) NENNI, Odino (14247) MORGARI, Francesco (22449 morto atti arch. Stato) CLERICI, che fu ammazzato, Emilio (12818) LUSSU, Mario (3847) PISTOCCHI, Alberto (5386) CIANCA, il professor TRENTINI (24874), l'ing. ROSSETTI Luigi, Luigi (86827) CAMPOLONGHI, Bruno (73476) BUOZZI, SARDELLI (73456) Giuseppe, certo TONELLO da Massa Carrara, BOSSO (2548) Ferdinando, che era cassiere generale della L.I.D.U.; certo FACCHINETTI (86824), della direzione del partito repubblicano, l'avv. ANGELONI (26358 morto), deceduto in Spagna il 28 agosto 1936 ed altri di cui mi sfugge il nome. Con nessuno dei summenzionati ebbi intimità od affinità politiche. Nel dicembre 1933 ebbi con Carlo Rosselli un colloquio durante il quale quest'ultimo mi fece l'offerta di collaborare con "giustizia e libertà". Io rifiutai, perchè le idee propagate in Italia sotto il nome di "G. e L." che erano poi l'idea della "concentrazione" erano in disaccordo completo con le mie idealità politiche, l'una rappresentando una gamma che dal pensiero AMENDOLA (30960) GOBBETTI (vari), TARCHIANI (27325) e SFORZA (6904), concentrava le diverse gradazioni politiche anti-fasciste fino ad arrivare ad un neo-socialismo revisionista espresso da Carlo ROSSELLI, mentre io avevo delle concezioni diametralmente opposte sia dal lato sindacale che dal lato politico: dal lato sindacale, perchè fin dal 1924 appartenevo all'Unione Sindacale Italiana, affiliata alla A.I.T. "associazione internazionale del lavoro"; politicamente ad una concezione libertaria.

In conseguenza di questo mio rifiuto e per la diversità di carattere le relazioni fra me ed il ROSSELLI si raffreddarono, e poi addirittura si spezzarono. Ci risalumammo solo il 24 agosto 1936 a Vicien (Aragona), avendo appreso del suo arrivo con una centuria di italiani. Di questa centuria facevano parte MONTI Angelo, di circa 55 anni, che ritengo sia morto, GUNSCHER (14732) Rodolfo, che comandava una sezione mitragliatrici e che è deceduto sul fronte d'Aragona verso la fine del 1937 o ai primi del 1938, PERRONE (12825 morto) Vincenzo, da Salerno, morto il 28 agosto 1936, l'ORTONA (117108) Silvio, già citato, Enzo (19862) FANTOZZI, da Livorno, Bruno (198 morto) GUALANDI, morto nel cimitero di Huesca; ed altri di cui non mi sovviene il nome. Il numero complessivo di questa centuria era di 114 elementi, compresi gli ufficiali. Col ROSSELLI ci siamo rivisti diverse volte al fronte, ma solo per questioni militari.

Le mie relazioni con Emilio LUSSU si compendiano in due soli incontri: una volta invitato da lui al "Lusenbourg" a cena, alla quale partecipò anche DOLCI (39054 morto), che conobbi a Lipari, e che poi sposò la Luigina NITTI, altra volta lo incontrai in occasione dello scioglimento della "concentrazione". Lo scioglimento di questa ebbe origine perchè "G. e L." si proclamò partito indipendente dalla "concentrazione".

A.D.R. — Nella "concentrazione" non ho mai ricevuto alcun sussidio, specifico, anzi, che questa, per quanto mi consta, non dava sussidi a nessuno, a meno che non fossero impiegati propri, nel qual caso non si trattava di

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sueidi, ma di stipendi. Per la questione di aiuti ad antifascisti esisteva un comitato autonomo, diretto dalla professoressa Luigina NITTI, che istituì anche una cucina a carattere assistenziale. Mai, neppure a questo comitato, sono ricorso per aiuti, perché intuivo molto bene che mi avrebbero dato quello che volevo, ma poi avrei dovuto conformare la mia attività secondo i canoni loro. Dopo circa una ventina di giorni di permanenza all'hotel Savoy, andai presso certo TURRINI (Varese), che conobbi alla "concentrazione" poi a Fontenay sur Bois, in casa GIGLIOLI (54921), dove sono restato fino alla mia partenza per Bordeaux, nel giugno o luglio 1934. Dalla mia partenza da Parigi, non sono più ritornato in questa città, altro che nel marzo di quest'anno, quando passai su di un vagone bestiame, diretto nel dipartimento del Nord, incorporato coattivamente nella 253<sup>a</sup> compagnia lavoratori, col numero di matricola 128.

Durante la permanenza a Parigi, ho avuto occasione di avere due colloqui con Angelica (Sez.3) BALABANOFF, uno in casa di CONSANI (48479) Alessandro a Rueil, l'altra ad una conferenza in rue Trétaine. Nel primo la BALABANOFF mi chiese perché non ero più massimalista, parlando poi della condotta tenuta dal partito socialista in Italia dal 1919 in poi, nel secondo parlammo di letteratura, ed ella mi offrì una sua poesia con dedica.

Non ho voluto mai accettare aiuti o suseidi da nessun comitato, di qualunque colore esso fosse, per quanto qualche volta mi fossi trovato in ristrettezze, e questo dal 1933 al 1940, e questo lo specificò perché continuai nel mio metodo di rifiutare ogni soccorso in Spagna, dove, per soccorso distribuivano anche viveri, ed ai campi di concentramento, di Argelès sur Mer e di Gurs.

Nel congresso di Bordeaux della L.I.D.U. l'opposizione formata da FITTON (Varese) da Schio (rappresentante della sezione della L.I.D.U. di Lione) FANTOZZI (19862) (rappresentante della L.I.D.U. di Chartrouville) Alceste (73466) morto di Ambrie (rappresentante della sezione di Brive e Perigot) Randolph Vella<sup>(17912)</sup> (rappresentante di Nizza) Pasotti (rappresentante della sezione di Perpignano MIONE (9595) della sezione di Bordeaux, ed altri, mi nominarono loro rappresentante in seno al comitato centrale. Non avevo mai preso la parola, ma essi conoscevano le mie idee e per di più ero l'unico in quel momento che abitava a Parigi. Partecipai ad una decina di sedute, facendomi un'idea esatta dell'ambiente massonico, settario e compiacente verso la Francia, a costo di qualunque abdicazione, anche della propria dignità. Fui sempre il solo voto contrario su questioni di principio, fin che, per una questione di Alceste De Ambrie, non entrai in aperta e violenta campagna contro CAMPOLONGHI ed i suoi sostenitori. L'Alceste De Ambrie aveva protestato verso Victor (Sez.3<sup>o</sup>) BASCH e verso Emil KANN, per il loro modo scaprese, sovietico con cui avevano trattato una pratica per tre espulsioni di carattere completamente politico. (Partecipazione al corteo di formazione del fronte popolare e contro i fatti di Piazza della Concordia). Il CAMPOLONGHI ne dava versione erronea, volutamente falsata, e dava ragione completa, sotto tutti i rapporti alla "lega francese" dalla quale era stipendiato. Risultato di tale lotta fu che la vita divenne per me quasi intollerabile a Parigi, ove avrei dovuto sottostare, dopo la mia presa di posizione contro Campolonghi, ad un cambiamento di atteggiamento della polizia nei miei riguardi, nella mia condizione di straniero, e sarei incorso, quasi certamente, nel provvedimento di "refoulement", e ciò per i buoni rapporti che esistevano tra il Campolonghi e la polizia francese.

Per fortuna mi si offrì a Bordeaux del lavoro da carpentiere nella ditta "A.MIONE". Accettai subito e partii per quella città. Il MIONE era pre-

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ente della L.I.D.U. del Sud-Ovest e dei Pirenei Orientali. Nel primo congresso federale, dopo il mio arrivo a Bordeaux, per valorizzare il mio atteggiamento, assunto nei riguardi del Campolonghi, fui nominato presidente della sezione di Bordeaux, e segretario della federazione. Questo nel luglio od agosto del 1934. A Bordeaux conobbi NITTI (525) Fausta, Sante (137084) Garibaldi e tutti i presidenti delle sezioni, di cui non ricordo i nomi.

A Bordeaux abitai sempre in corso Verdun n. 90. Il cantiere nel quale lavorai era a Baccalan, nè io ho lavorato in altri cantieri. Durante la mia permanenza a Bordeaux, il CAMPOLONGHI, seccato per l'ostracismo che gli si faceva, mandò il FAETTOZZI per cercare di regolare le cose e, per questo, avemmo un colloquio alla "casetta delle Rose" a Brieve, alla fine del quale l'Alceste De Ambris, che ci aveva convocati, morì improvvisamente. Si sapeva che il De Ambris lavorava ad un libro sulle corporazioni, si sapeva che noi avevamo le bozze per la stampa, si cercava da parte dell'ex direttore della "concentrazione" di impedirne la pubblicazione, ma venne stampato ugualmente a spese della federazione, per iniziativa del MIONE.

Nell'ottobre 1934, a seguito dell'interessamento del MIONE presso il Prefetto di Perpignano, ottenni la carta di identità da 100 franchi (non travailleurs). Nel febbraio 1935 l'impresa assunse dei grandi lavori ad Argelès sur Mer, ed io fui inviato in quel paesetto, e là lavorai fino al fallimento della ditta, nell'aprile del 1935. Dopo questa data mi trasferii a Marsiglia, dove andai ad abitare alle "Cappellette", sobborgo di Marsiglia, rue d'Espagne n. 7, presso una famiglia francese.

A Marsiglia conobbi il Celso (27716) Persici, Giulio Baconi, Ciocotti di circa 50 anni attualmente, che lavorava al porto stabilmente, certo Ange- li (varii), bolognese, che adesso potrà avere una quarantina d'anni, FUSERO (118858) Giuseppe, che però io conoscevo sotto il nome di FUSERO (rub. 118858) Mario, ma del quale riconosco la fotografia che mi viene esibita. Non ho mai saputo che egli avesse assunto il nome di CONSALES Carmelo. Costui era capitano addetto alle trasmissioni, durante la guerra in Spagna, ed il brevetto di nomina ad ufficiale che io gli vidi recava il nome FUSERO Mario. Certo "Emilio", parente del Persici, ed un certo "Peppino" milanese, cognato della Astolfi (73857) Amleto, che hanno partecipato entrambi alla guerra in Spagna, ma che io non ho mai incontrati. A Marsiglia conobbi altresì Benci (19080) Etrusco, da Grosseto, che è stato miliziano nelle truppe spagnole, certo CHIODINI (vari), autore di diverse pubblicazioni a cura della casa editrice E.S.I.L.; ed altri. Il PERSICI era "contre-maitre" della "SIMEX" e mi diede lavoro nella sua cooperativa, la quale era formata da elementi sedicenti anarchici. Dico "sedicenti anarchici" perchè molti di costoro, per trovare lavoro, si qualificavano di idee anarchiche, pur non conoscendo tale idea.

In Francia ho appartenuto sempre alla C.G.T.S.R. (confederation générale travailleurs syndicaliste révolutionnaire) della "A.I.T." (Associazione internazionale lavoratori) iscritto alla 28ª regione (Tolone); mentre in Spagna appartenni alla C.N.T.-sezione spagnola della "A.I.T.". Vissi molto appartato e per questo ebbi molte critiche, perchè non scrivevo a nessuno. Qualche volta sono stato a La Seyne, dove ho conosciuto Del Papa (45065) Romualdo e parecchi altri di cui mi sfugge il nome. Sempre per la "SIMEX" ho lavorato a Tolone, alle scuole di Val Buordin; ad una villa privata ed alla facciata della Banca di Francia.

Da Marsiglia partii l'11 agosto 1936 per Barcellona, dove arrivai il 13, alle 11 e mezzo di mattina ed alle sette della sera di quel giorno partii

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il fronte di Huesca. Andai in Spagna spinto dalle mie idee ed avrei considerata viltà imperdonabile, non essere presente nel momento in cui si lotta sul serio. Ho sempre considerato indissolubile: pensiero, volontà ed azione. Avevo molto entusiasmo, però conoscendo gli antifascisti italiani, mi estraniai dalle loro formazioni e partii miliziano del 77° gruppo, ottava centuria, colonna "Francesco Ascaso". Questa colonna era comandata da ALBADETRECO, eredo, Alberico, il capitano TORTOSA, sotto il comando centrale del colonnello VILLALBA. A Las Casas subimmo il primo bombardamento d'artiglieria. La Las Casas andammo a Bunales, Tabernas Viejen, Castillo San Luis, Quarte, Banarias, Huerios. Qui vi restò ferito il centurione TORELLI Alessandro, abruzzese e, per il primo assalto di St Jorje lo rimpiazzai nel comando. Dopo la conquista di Nostra Signora di Loreto e la "casa bianca" fui eletto comandante da tre centurie: 8^ Ascaso, 4^ Valles Orientales, 15^ Aguillu-  
cios.

Il 13 novembre tornai a Barcellona per un riposo di 15 giorni, con circa 1000 uomini, tutti spagnoli, per andare poi in soccorso di DORUTTI a Madrid. Invece il 1° dicembre fui chiamato per radio ed inviato a Santa Perpetua della Moguda, all'istruzione del 1° battaglione d'assalto nella "generalità di Catalogna". Il comandante era un certo Candido (9107) TESTA, giornalista dell' "Italia del popolo" di Buenos Ayres, oriundo genovese. Commissario era Diego Abate de SANTILLAN, ministro della "generalità" e capo delle milizie antifasciste spagnole. Scopo del battaglione era di supplire con l'audacia e col sacrificio alla mancanza di armi: cannoni ed aerei. Sul fronte montava in linea solo per dar l'assalto a qualche posizione eccezionale, altrimenti faceva infiltrazioni al di là della linea franchista per scuotere il morale della retroguardia, neutralizzare il traffico, far saltare i ponti; danneggiare linee di corrente elettrica, acquedotti, linee ferroviarie e campi d'aviazione. L'armamento di questo battaglione era costituito da mitragliette Mauser, calibro nove, pugnale e bombe a mano. Problema ben risolto fu solo quello delle bombe a mano, offensive e difensive, adottato poi da tutto l'esercito repubblicano spagnolo. Durante la campagna in Spagna io ho sempre percepito la paga come soldato, semplice. Durante tale periodo ricevetti la visita di Emma (Sez. 3^) GOLDMANN, giornalista, e KAMINSKY Hans, BERTONI (Sez. 3^), direttore del "Risveglio" di Ginevra; BERNERI (73478) Camillo, TRONCHET Lucien e qualche altro di cui non ricordo il nome.

Agli ultimi di marzo 1937 partimmo per Albalade Luchador (Albalade el Vispo) dove doveva venire completato l'armamento del battaglione e fare opera di esplorazione fra Belchite e Quinto sulla via di Saragozza. Per intrighi e disonestà, ciò non avvenne: verso il dicembre 1936 o gennaio 1937 capitarono in Spagna una quantità di affaristi che cercavano di far traffico di armi; fra questi vi era il Fausto Nitti che si incaricò di fornire al "battaglione" sei lanciapiamme. Al momento della consegna presentò due vecchie macchine agricole irroratrici.

Così ai primi d'aprile 1937 rassegnai le dimissioni che, dopo insistenze, furono accettate il giorno sette. Il successivo giorno 9 fui nuovamente a Barcellona completamente libero da ogni obbligo militare, ma però depressa da molte tare e disonestà che avevo osservate. Andai a stabilirmi a Pins del Valles (S.t Cugat) e trovai subito lavoro, come impiegato al controllo all' "Industria del calzado", paseo Colon n. 15. In quel comune sono restato fino che la Commissione della Società delle Nazioni, per la ritirata dei volontari, mi inviò al campo di concentramento di Cardedeu, attendendo di lasciare la Spagna secondo le istruzioni di detta commissione. In

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non frequentai mai riunioni politiche e culturali di nessuna specie di nessun colore. Naturalmente lessi quanto potei, interessandomi molto all'esperimento delle collettività agricole delle industrie socializzate, dei controlli di fabbrica, ecc. Il 7 febbraio 1939, in conseguenza dell'avanzata delle truppe di Franco, vengo alla frontiera franco-spagnola a Port Bou e fui internato nel campo di Argelès sur Mer. Dopo una decina di giorni, data la denutrizione, l'assoluta mancanza di baracche, esposti a tutte le intemperie mi prese la febbre di "volinia" e rimasi 78 giorni con gli arti inferiori paralizzati, senza il minimo soccorso. In questo periodo fui portato nel campo di Gurs. Le autorità francesi cercarono in tutti i modi di farci arruolare nella "legione stranieri" oppure nei battaglioni di marcia. Infine fu imposto a tutti l'inquadramento forzato nelle compagnie di lavoro - febbraio-marzo 1940. - Io fui assegnato alla 253<sup>a</sup> compagnia lavoratori internazionali e condotto, con gli altri, sotto scorta armata, a Nord-Peene, S.t Omer (Nord). Quivi ci fecero lavorare in condizioni pessime dodici-quattordici ore al giorno, con vitto insufficiente, mancanza di acqua e d'igiene, privi di corrispondenza e con la retribuzione giornaliera di 50 centesimi al giorno. Il lavoro veniva eseguito di notte o di giorno, piovesse o nevicasse. Arrivammo a fare fino ventisei ore di lavoro continuato. Nel corso dell'avanzata dei tedeschi nelle Fiandre, fummo incolonnati e, assieme alle truppe, - contrariamente ad ogni diritto delle genti - obbligati a camminare fino a Loon-Plage (dipartimento del Nord), evidentemente per farci comparire come truppe di manovra. Da tale località, dopo parecchi giorni, sempre sotto l'arco delle cannonate, ci incamminammo verso Dunkerque, in un piccolo paesetto, del quale non ricordo il nome, i germanici ci presero sotto il fuoco serrato e diretto dei loro 75. Dato il numero considerevole di morti ed il tiro improvviso ci fu uno sbandamento, del quale ne approfittai per darmi alla campagna. La sera arrivai a Rosendaël assieme a dei cubani, a degli spagnoli e tre italiani. Subimmo il terribile bombardamento del 29 maggio. Visti i soldati francesi ubbriachi e un'infinità di donne e bambini feriti, uscimmo tre italiani: io, certo Paulucci e certo Calliero (43047), questo ultimo di San Remo e tre cubani per raccoglierci. A Rosendaël fummo liberati dai tedeschi il 3 giugno u.s.

Il giorno successivo all'occupazione tedesca mi misi in cammino per raggiungere il Belgio. A Gand mi presentai al direttore della scuola "San Marco" fiduciario del Fascio e gli dichiarai tutto quello che mi era occorso, pregandolo di indicarmi e farmi raggiungere il Consolato più vicino. Mi rilasciò una carta per raggiungere Bruxelles, dove arrivai presentandomi al R. Console, dichiarando che volevo rientrare in Italia, che avevo espatriato clandestinamente e che, qualunque cosa fosse, la mia intenzione era di ritornare in Italia. Fui ben trattato e mi fu rilasciato il foglio di via. Nessuna Autorità, sia tedesca che italiana, mi fece la minima pressione per rientrare in Italia, per quanto avrei potuto rimanere a Bruxelles, dove avrei potuto trovare lavoro ben remunerato. Ma non trovavo più un motivo plausibile per restare all'estero. Ciò perché nel gennaio, febbraio 1937, quando detti le dimissioni dalla milizia, modificai molto le mie idee e cominciai ad esaminare più profondamente cosa era l'uomo. La Francia democratica distrusse in me tutte le illusioni di un tempo. Non avendo mai avuto interessi o stipendi da difendere, ma avendo sostenuto e pagato per delle idee alle quali credevo, una volta distrutto, dovevo riconoscere lealmente dove stava il vero. Questo, nel mio intimo, i motivi che mi hanno fatto rimpatriare "".

A.D.R. - Ho già specificati i miei rapporti con ROSSELLI Carlo e LUSSU Emilio. Circa il Bonomini (2982) Ernesto, questi mi fu presentato una domenica

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

880511030

[Report re:] Emilio Strafelini, Trento, Italy, 1940 Aug. 9 / Prefetto di Trento. — 9 p. ; 34 x 25 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from Archivio Centrale dello Stato, Rome.

Summary: The prefect of Trento submits the declaration of former anarchist, Emilio Strafelini, who describes his expatriation in France and work in the Spanish Revolution where he met Goldman.

Notes: In Italian.

- 7 -

casa di CREMONINI (44691) Bernardo a Fontenay sur Bois, assieme all'ing. GIOFF (17733). Con nessun anarchico, come con nessun altro, ho lavorato in quel periodo per propaganda. Col BONOMINI non ho avuto alcun rapporto particolare.

A.D.R. — Mai dal 1933 al 1940, come ho detto, ho dato alla stampa un rigo, non impota su quale soggetto. Ignoro l'articolo riprodotto sul giornale "la libertà" del 28 settembre 1933, circa "una rivolta nel Trentino", ma so che chi forniva dei dati per la compilazione di notizie sulla regione erano i due iscritti al partito socialista: Giuseppe (40736) Tovazzi di Aldeno e Bianchi (13510) Silvio di Mori. Il Tovazzi prendeva le notizie a Nogent sur Marne, dove vivevano molti lavoratori di Aldeno, in continua corrispondenza con le loro famiglie. So questo perchè fui qualche giorno loro ospite a Nogent sur Marne.

A.D.R. — E' puerile l'addebito di aver raccontato episodi della mia vita a Lipari, poichè alla "concentrazione" vi erano numerosissimi individui che erano stati confinati a Lipari: ANGELONI, ROSSELLI, LUSSU, DOLCI, GUNSCHER, PERONE, TANEQ, DEL PROPOSTO, ed altri, che avrebbero riso se io avessi raccontato di aver armato dei confinati in quella colonia.

A.D.R. — Anche per l'episodio di una donna arrestata a Rovereto mi riferisco a quanto sopra ho detto circa la fonte informatrice.

A.D.R. — Durante la mia permanenza a Parigi ho conosciuto molti anarchici, come, per esempio, DIOTALLEVI (19691), CASTAGNOLI (17772), MOSCARDINI (134136), GORI (vari), GIGLIOLI (54921?), ecc., ma non ho mai avuto abboccamenti particolari con loro, prima perchè molti erano individualisti, altri sindacalisti, ecc. correnti di pensiero in disaccordo tra loro; nè io ho mai saputo che a Parigi ci fosse un movimento libertario coordinato, e poi perchè non avevo nessuna intenzione di partecipare a qualsiasi azione con tali elementi. Nel tempo che mi trovavo a Marsiglia ho visto una volta nel caffè "quai du port" n. 44, l'OXILIA (25685) Italo ed egli mi si presentò, sapendo che conoscevo il ROSSELLI, mi raccontò delle sue prodezze col motoscafo a Lipari, per effettuare la fuga di LUSSU, NITTI e ROSSELLI. Successivamente, pur avendolo visto altre volte, non ho mai parlato con lui. Due settimane prima della mia partenza per la Spagna, seppi che l'OXILIA voleva convincere un gruppo di uomini per prendere un piroscafo e portarlo in Spagna. Quando seppi questa cosa sconsigliai energicamente gli individui in proposito e dissi loro che ritenevo l'OXILIA o un agente provocatore o uno squilibrato. Con l'OXILIA, anche in quella circostanza, non ho parlato.

A.D.R. — Non partecipai mai ad alcun comitato di aiuto o simili, e questo dal 1920 al 1940, in quanto sono note le mie idee in proposito, cioè: considero tali comitati come delle chiesole o camarille per maneggiare irresponsabilmente del denaro. Nè ho mai assistito ad alcuna elezione di questi comitati.

A.D.R. — Date le mie idee non potevo partecipare ad un corteo del "fronte popolare". In Francia ho partecipato una volta sola ad un corteo, ed era quello per la commemorazione annuale della "comune" al "muro dei federati" al cimitero di Pèer Lachaise.

A.D.R. — Non sono mai uscito dalla Francia, altro che per andare in Spagna; non conosco Lugano e non ho mai avuto incontri in quella città. Nè dopo la mia partenza da Parigi, sono più ritornato nella capitale francese.

A.D.R. — Non sono mai stato imbarcato su navi, di qualsiasi cabotaggio. Una sola volta sono stato invitato ad assistere ad una pesca su un moto peschereccio, da marinai connazionali che avevo incontrati nel caffè in quai du port, n. 44, ai quali io espressi il desiderio di veder pescare con i mezzi

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Notes: In Italian.

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cerni. Ignoro se detto moto peschereccio si chiamasse "Fine Blanc".

A D.R.— Rammento, durante la mia permanenza in Francia la mia attività politica si può definire quasi nulla, poichè limitata soltanto alla frequenza della "L.I.D.U." per il tempo che risiedetti a Parigi e, se si vuole considerare attività politica, l'incarico da me ricoperto di segretario della federazione dell'Ovest. Non ho tenuto mai conferenze, nè svolta propaganda con qualsiasi mezzo, nè corrispondenza con chicchessia nel Regno.

La mia attività vera è stata la mia partecipazione alla guerra in Spagna, per dove partii prima del riconoscimento di Franco da parte del Governo Italiano e del successivo aiuto militare al Governo Spagnolo. D'altronde io mi sono ritirato dal fronte il 13 novembre 1936, ho dato le dimissioni dal comando ai primi d'aprile 1937, accettato il giorno sette di detto mese, in data, cioè, anteriore, per quanto mi consta, all'intervento armato di volontari o regolari Italiani.

A.D.R. - Non ho altro da aggiungere.

Letto, confermato e sottoscritto.

*Emilio Strafelini*

IL COMMISSARIO AGG. DI P.S.  
Dirigente l'Ufficio Politico

*[Signature]*

I L Q U E S T O R E

*[Signature]*

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Report] re: Emma Goldman (Mrs. E.G. Colton) Anarchist, Toronto, 1940 Sept. 11 /  
 R.J. Smith, Royal Canadian Mounted Police. — 1 p.; 35 x 21 cm.  
 Obtained from the National Archives of Canada. Institutional Location: Record Group 18.  
 Summary: Smith reports that Goldman died on May 14.  
 Notes: Upper document only. Enclosed with 850128000.

Division File No. **T 935/39**

F. 237

## ROYAL CANADIAN MOUNTED POLICE

398269-1E615

Division Sub-Division Detachment  
 "J" "Intelligence Branch Toronto" 376127 SEP 23 40  
 Province Date  
 Western Ontario Dist. 11-9-40

## File References

~~SECRET~~

## Headquarters

D 935-419

## Sub-Division

## Detachment

## P. C. R.

24-2-40

Re: Emma GOLDMAN (Mrs. E.G. COLTON) Anarchist,  
 295 Vaughan Rd. Toronto, Ont.

1. With reference to the above and further to the marginally noted crime report, I have to report that Emma GOLDMAN passed away on May 14th. at her captionally mentioned residence, she was 71 years of age when she passed away.

2. It is understood by the writer that her body was taken to Chicago, Ill. to be laid to rest alongside the Martyrs of the Chicago Haymarket Tragedy.

CASE CONCLUDED:

*R.J. Smith* Cst.  
 R.J. Smith, Reg.No. 10676

The Commissioner:

FORWARDED, for your information.  
 You will note that Emma GOLDMAN passed away on May 14th and that her body is reported to have been interred in Chicago, Ill., U.S.A. CASE CONCLUDED.

Toronto  
 21-9-40  
 MB/WB.

(V.A.M. Kemp) Supt.,  
 24 SEP Comdg. "O" Div.



File numbers must be quoted.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

850128000

[Memorandum, 19]40 Sept. 21, Toronto [to J.H. MacBrien?] Commissioner [Royal Canadian Mounted Police, Ottawa] / V.A.M. Kemp, Sup[erintenden]t, O Div[ision, Royal Canadian Mounted Police]. — 1 p. ; 35 x 21 cm.

Obtained from the National Archives of Canada. Institutional Location: Record Group 18.

Summary: Kemp forwards a report on Goldman's death.

Notes: Lower document only. For enclosure, see 850128001.

Division File No. T 935/39

F. 237

CANADIAN MOUNTED POLICE

349269-1E615

on Sub-Division Detachment

"Intelligence Branch Toronto"

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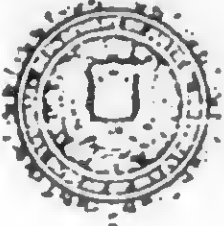
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# The Emma Goldman Papers

870708073

[Memorandum] 1942 Oct. 16, Washington, D.C. [to] Mumford, [Washington, D.C.?] /  
Federal Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice. — 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.  
Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.  
Summary: The Federal Bureau of Investigation sends Mumford some material on Goldman.  
Notes: For enclosures, see 870708074 through 870708086.

J. EDGAR HOOVER  
DIRECTOR



Federal Bureau of Investigation  
United States Department of Justice  
Washington, D. C.

KRM:alo'd

Date: October 16, 1942

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. MUMFORD

RE: EMMA<sup>0</sup> GOLDMAN

Attached hereto is photostatic material concern-  
ing the captioned matter

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

*A Microfilm Edition*

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**Reel 66**

**Government Documents**

**April 1, 1922 to October 16, 1942**

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and

Daniel Cornford

Government Documents Editor:

Alice Hall

**CHADWYCK-HEALEY INC.**

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Cambridge, England



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